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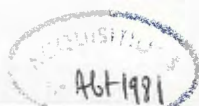
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HOOFDARTIKELN

The Gnostic Treatise on Resurrection from Nag Hammadi*

Le traité sur la Résurrection du Codex I de Nag Hammadi est une lettre qu'un maître adresse à son disciple Rhèginos en réponse à ses objections ou plus exactement ses doutes, lesquels sont toujours clairement énoncés. Toute la doctrine de résurrection de l'Épître à Rhèginos (Rheg) est exposée dans des schèmes et des thèmes cosmologiques, anthropologiques et eschatologiques qui sont plus ou moins gnostiques, à tel point que l'on peut se demander si c'est le disciple qui est gnostique ou le maître, et, si ce n'est pas le maître qui emprunte une terminologie gnostique familière à son disciple, et non l'inverse, pour l'instruire sur le véritable sens de la résurrection. Dans un remarquable article¹⁾, le regretté van Unnik démontrait que cette notion de résurrection dans Rheg est beaucoup plus «orthodoxe» qu'on ne serait porté à le croire et qu'elle refléterait les questions que l'on se posait à ce sujet à la fin du II^e et au début du III^e siècle de l'ère chrétienne. Le distingué coptologue de Yale, le Professeur Bentley Layton, s'inscrit en faux contre cette opinion de van Unnik dans une très brillante communication²⁾ donnée au Colloque international sur les textes de Nag Hammadi tenu à Québec en août 1978 et qui paraîtra dans les Actes du Colloque (*Bibliothèque Copte de Nag Hammadi*, «Études», 1), Québec, 1981. Ainsi que l'écrit le même auteur dans sa non moins brillante thèse de Harvard dont nous faisons ici le compte rendu, Rheg est essentiellement à rapprocher de la littérature gréco-agnostique pour laquelle seul l'esprit de l'homme est sauvé. Rheg dit bien en effet (p. 46, 21-24)³⁾:

Ne
périra pas la pensée de ceux qui
sont sauvés; ne périra pas
l'esprit (νοῦς) de ceux qui l'(le Christ) ont connu.
Mais ailleurs (p. 47,1-10) on lit une description de la résurrection qui paraît sensiblement différente:
Aussi
ne doute pas de
la résurrection (ἀνάστασις), mon fils Rhèginos.
En effet, si tu n'as pas (pré)existé
dans la chair (σάρξ), tu as pris chair (σάρξ), quand tu es
venu en ce monde: pourquoi
ne prendras-tu pas la chair (σάρξ), quand
tu monteras dans l'Eon (αἰών)?
Ce qui est supérieur à la chair (σάρξ) est pour elle cause
de la Vie.

Ou encore (p. 47,38-48,3):

Comment alors les membres (μέλος) visibles,
une fois morts,
ne seront pas sauvés, puisque les membres (μέλος)
vivants qui sont en
eux sont censés ressusciter?

Pour adapter ces deux derniers passages à sa thèse d'une seule immortalité du νοῦς, Layton est obligé de sous-entendre qu'ils reprennent des objections courantes à l'époque, particulièrement empruntées, par exemple, au *De resurrectione*, c. 12, d'Athénagore, pour lequel une âme humaine ne saurait jouir d'un bonheur éternel sans sa chair (p. 23, 25, 80). Mais les passages de Rheg plus haut cités ne sont pas présentés comme des objections à l'exemple des autres doutes de Rhèginos. Aussi Layton se sent-il obligé d'ajouter au texte des «you might wrongly suppose» ou «so might run the argument». N'est-ce pas là étrangement simplifier la notion de la résurrection de la chair, qui ne peut être que spiritualisée tant pour un saint Paul que pour la littérature intertestamentaire biblique, ainsi que nous l'avons montré ailleurs⁴⁾, ou que pour Rheg (p. 47,17-24):

L'arrière-faix (χόριον) du corps (σῶμα) est
la vieillesse, et tu es
corruption. Tu en as
l'obsolescence (ἀπουσία) pour gain.
Car tu n'abandonnes pas le
meilleur, quand tu partiras. Le pire
comporte la diminution,
mais c'est grâce pour lui.

Lorsqu'ils mentionnent une chair spirituelle, celle du Christ, dans laquelle nous ressusciterons, les gnostiques, et en particulier les Valentinien, ne seraient-ils pas beaucoup plus près du σῶμα πνευματικόν de Paul que bien des Pères de l'Église qui ne font avec la Résurrection que de la physique? C'est le fait, me semble-t-il, du valentinien Théodote (*Extraits* 1 et 26), quand il parle du Christ στολισμένον, enveloppé de ses membres, ou encore de l'auteur de l'*Interprétation de la Gnose* du Codex XI, dont l'écriture d'Oxyrhynque est la même que celle de Rheg⁵⁾, lorsqu'il écrit (p. 11,34-38) que le Père a complété par le Fils sa mission aux Eons, vu que, grâce à des στόλεια λογικά, il le revêt des membres de l'Église spirituelle comme de vêtements. N'est-ce pas toute la notion du Corps du Christ, de l'Ἀνθρώπος qu'il incombe aux chrétiens de constituer, selon le témoignage d'Eph 4,13?

La notion de résurrection de Rheg peut être aussi bien «orthodoxe», en se réclamant de la notion juive et iranienne, que grécisante et spiritualisante. Elle est marquée au coin du syncrétisme de l'époque.

Les textes gnostiques, ainsi que nous l'avons déjà écrit à propos de Rheg⁶⁾, ont toujours besoin d'être interprétés à deux niveaux différents, soit qu'ils dépendent d'une

*) Bentley LAYTON, *The Gnostic Treatise on Resurrection from Nag Hammadi*. Missoula, Montana, Scholars Press, 1979 (22 cm., x + 220 pp.) Harvard Dissertations in Religion, 12. Price: \$ 7.50. ISBN 0 89139 341 3.

¹⁾ Cf. W.C. van Unnik, «The Newly Discovered Gnostic 'Epistle to Rhèginos'», *JEH* 15 (1964) 141-167.

²⁾ Cf. «Vision and Revision: A Gnostic View of Resurrection».

³⁾ Cf. M. Malinine, H.-Ch. Puech, G. Quispel, W. Till (R. McL. Wilson, J. Zandee), *De resurrectione (Epistula ad Rhèginum)*, Codex Jung F. XXII¹-F. XXV¹ (p. 43-50), Zurich-Stuttgart, 1963.

⁴⁾ Cf. «La notion de 'résurrection' dans l'Épître à Rhèginos», in *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of Pahor Labib (Nag Hammadi Studies, 6)*, Leiden, 1975, p. 110-124.

⁵⁾ Cf. C. Sandré, «Note de paléographie copte (A propos des manuscrits de Nag-Hammadi)», *ZPE* 27 (1977) 179-180.

⁶⁾ Cf. «La notion de Résurrection dans l'Épître à Rhèginos», in *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Gnosticism (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Filologisk-filosofiska serien, 17)*, Stockholm, 1977, p. 123-131.

Vorlage qu'ils relisent dans une perspective gnostique, soit qu'ils veulent donner l'impression d'orthodoxie. Rheg (p. 49,13-16), comme le *Témoignage de Vérité* du Codex IX, laisse percer toutes les divisions qui existaient à l'intérieur d'une orthodoxie encore mal définie⁷⁾. Rheg pourrait se tenir bien près de la notion orthodoxe juive de résurrection et voudrait se faire l'interprète de la notion paulinienne de *σῶμα πνευματικόν*.

En effet, l'eschatologie de Rheg, bien que plus individualisée que celle de Paul ou de l'iranisme, en a retenu des traits essentiels qu'il est bon de rappeler ici, avant de souligner que ce ne peut être toutefois là le seul aspect sous lequel il faille étudier la notion de résurrection de ce traité, qui côtoie dans le Codex I l'*Évangile de Vérité* (EvVer), par exemple, dont l'idée de résurrection est bien celle d'un réveil à la conscience claire (p. 25,11-25). Déjà en Rheg la résurrection est une reprise en main de ce que l'on est. Une idée chère aux gnostiques!

a) La notion «orthodoxe» de résurrection de Rheg

Tout comme l'auteur de Rheg, l'Apôtre Paul admettait en 1 Cor 15,39ss la pluralité des chairs. La sentence 23 de l'*Évangile selon Philippe* (EvPhil) (p. 56,26-57,19) blâme aussi bien ceux qui nient la résurrection de la chair que ceux qui la proclament⁸⁾:

Il y en a qui

craignent de ressusciter nus.

C'est pourquoi ils veulent ressusciter

dans la chair et ils ne savent pas que ceux qui

portent la [chair, ceux-là] sont nus.

Pour ceux qui se [dépouilleront] au point de se

mettre nus, [ceux-là] ne sont pas nus. Il n'y a ni chair

[ni sang qui peut] hériter

[du Royaume de] Dieu. Quelle est celle qui n'hérite-

ra pas? Celle que nous avons revêtu. Mais quelle

est celle qui héritera? Celle du Christ

et son sang. C'est pourquoi il a dit:

«Celui qui ne mangera pas ma chair et ne boira pas

mon sang n'a pas la vie en lui». Qu'est-ce

que sa chair? Sa chair est le Logos, et son sang,

l'Esprit-Saint. Celui qui a reçu ceux-là a

une nourriture et une boisson et un vêtement.

Moi, je blâme les autres, ceux qui disent

qu'elle ne ressuscitera pas. Or, ils sont tous les deux

dans la déchéance. Tu dis que

la chair ne ressuscitera pas. Mais dis-moi

qui ressuscitera, pour que nous te

vénérons? Tu dis que l'esprit est dans la chair,

mais il y a aussi cette lumière dans la chair. Car ce que tu

diras, tu ne dis rien en dehors de la chair.

Il faut ressusciter dans cette chair, parce que tout

est en elle.

Rheg enseigne de la même manière (p. 47,2-12):

Ne doute pas de la

résurrection, mon fils Rhéginos.

En effet, si tu n'as pas (pré)existé

dans la chair, tu as pris la chair, quand tu es

venu en ce monde: pourquoi

ne prendras-tu pas la chair, quand tu

monteras dans l'Eon?

Ce qui est supérieur à la chair est

pour elle cause de la Vie.

Ce qui vient à l'être pour toi n'est-il pas

tien?

Aussi bien dans l'esprit de l'auteur de Rheg que dans celui de l'EvPhil il est supposé à l'intérieur de l'homme un esprit, une chair qui est supraterrrestre, ou, mieux, une lumière, un peu comme cette lumière dans l'iranisme qui laisse l'élément terrestre (*gêtik*) se fondre ou se transfigurer immédiatement après la mort dans l'élément céleste (*mênôk*)⁹⁾. Tel est l'enseignement d'un autre passage de Rheg (p. 45,24-46,2):

Aussi, comme l'Apôtre

l'a dit, nous avons souffert

avec lui et nous sommes montés au ciel

avec lui. Et, si nous sommes

manifestés en

ce monde Le revêtant,

nous sommes ses rayons

et nous sommes

entourés par

Lui jusqu'à notre couchant,

c'est-à-dire notre mort en cette

vie; nous sommes attirés au ciel

par Lui comme les rayons

par le soleil, retenus

par rien. Telle est

la résurrection (*ἀνάστασις*) spirituelle (*πνευματική*)

qui engloutit la psychique (*ψυχική*)

tout aussi bien que la charnelle (*σαρκική*).

Ces dernières lignes laissent entendre que si la chair est sauvée, c'est d'une chair spirituelle qu'il s'agit, tout comme à la p. 46,24 il sera dit que c'est l'esprit qui sera sauvé. Et pourtant, un peu plus loin dans son traité (p. 47,26-48,12) notre auteur invoquera le témoignage de Mc 9,14ss sur la Transfiguration pour prouver que la résurrection de la chair n'est pas une illusion.

Il semble donc que Rheg tenterait une synthèse de deux courants de pensée auxquels il était confronté: le courant judéo-chrétien, ou encore iranien, d'une résurrection de l'homme entier et celui, grec cette fois, d'une survie unique de l'esprit. Pour notre auteur, s'il y a une discontinuité entre les deux états terrestre et céleste de la chair, il y a toutefois continuité, grâce à l'homme intérieur et à la chair spirituelle qui conserve des caractéristiques personnelles identifiables. La découverte du texte de Rheg aurait sans doute réjoui Reitzenstein dans ses recherches sur 2 Cor 5,4¹⁰⁾. Semblable interprétation, en effet, se rapproche de la doctrine paulinienne, — dans les deux cas l'âme se revêt d'un mystérieux vêtement (la chair spirituelle) immédiatement après la mort —, et aussi de l'idée iranienne de la Transfiguration du juste en sa *daëna* au moment de la traversée du pont Cinvat.

⁹⁾ Cf. H. Corbin, «Le temps cyclique dans le mazdéisme», *Eranos Jahrbuch* 20 (1951) 149-183; J. Duchesne-Guillemin, «Espace et temps dans l'Iran ancien», *Revue de Synthèse* 55-56 (1969) 259-280.

¹⁰⁾ Cf. E. B. Allo, *Saint Paul. Seconde Epître aux Corinthiens (EB)*, Paris, 1937, p. 126, 153.

Mais, d'autre part, l'auteur de notre traité tient tout aussi fermement à l'idée que l'homme ressuscité est celui qui redécouvre ce qui est sien, — ce qui veut dire dans le langage gnostique hellénisé, son «moi» essentiel et transcendantal (p. 47,11-12) —, ou encore que l'homme ressuscité est celui qui se libère de ce monde et se ressaisit lui-même (p. 49,30-36):

Il convient

à chacun de pratiquer l'ascèse

de plusieurs façons et elles

le délivreront de cet élément (*στοιχείον*),

pour qu'il ne soit pas dans l'erreur, mais

qu'il se reçoive de

nouveau tel qu'il était d'abord.

Le maître de Rheg tente donc une synthèse entre deux courants de pensée aussi diamétralement opposés que le judéo-christianisme, d'une part, et l'hellénisme, d'autre part. La tentative de synthèse est par conséquent à étudier à deux niveaux, et cette synthèse se révèle être plus du syncrétisme qu'une synthèse véritable. Comme nous l'avons répété à maintes reprises¹¹⁾, les gnoses des II^e et III^e siècles sont nées dans des milieux populaires. Elles savaient faire flèche de tout bois. Elles tentaient de rassembler en un tout homogène des éléments épars empruntés à des contextes différents et à des doctrines consistantes qui n'avaient été jusque là que le bien propre des Écoles et des Académies. Le difficile problème des origines de la gnose demeure entier, si l'on ne tient compte de ce phénomène du syncrétisme de l'époque qui coïncide avec l'éclosion et la diffusion des manuels scolaires, s'adressant aux couches sociales de petite et moyenne culture.

b) La notion juive et iranienne de résurrection

Les deux conditions corporelles de *σῶμα ψυχικόν* et de *σῶμα πνευματικόν* que Paul oppose l'une à l'autre reflètent l'idée que l'on se faisait de la résurrection dans les milieux rabbiniques. Certains passages rabbiniques mettent expressément en rapport l'esprit et la résurrection des morts «aux jours du Messie». De tous ces textes celui qui éclaire de manière décisive le milieu littéraire de l'adamologie dont dépend Paul et qui est renfermée dans l'expression *πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν* est le *Genesis Rabba*, 14 (10c)¹²⁾:

Et il insuffla dans ses narines (Gen 2,7b). Ceci enseigne qu'il l'(Adam) a façonné comme une masse sans vie s'étendant de la terre jusqu'au ciel pour lui insuffler ensuite une âme. Car en cet éon là vie lui est accordée par le moyen de la respiration, tandis que dans l'éon à venir il la recevra comme un don ainsi qu'il est écrit: Et je mettrai mon esprit en vous (Ez 37,14).

L'auteur rabbinique oppose comme Paul la condition humaine première à celle des temps messianiques, obtenue à la résurrection et due à une nouvelle effusion de l'Esprit divin. Semblable interprétation d'Ez 37,1-14 est courante

¹¹⁾ Cf. «Les manuscrits de Nag Hammadi. Étude bibliographique», *BO* 13 (1956) 2-6; «Die Handschriften von Nag Hammadi: Einfluss des Iranismus und des Judentums auf den Gnostizismus», in *Akten des XXIV. Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses München* (28. August bis 4. September 1957), Wiesbaden, 1959, p. 481-485.

¹²⁾ Cf. J. Theodor, *Bereschit Rabba mit kritischem Apparat und Kommentar*, Berlin, 1912, p. 132.

chez les rabbins¹³⁾; l'oracle fait même l'objet de la lecture liturgique au temps de la Pâque¹⁴⁾. La *Règle de la Communauté* de Qumrân (IQS IV,20-23) établit également un lien essentiel entre l'homme eschatologique et l'esprit de sainteté. Il y est dit qu'au «moment de sa visite» ou «du jugement» Dieu nettoiera les œuvres de chacun et qu'il épurera le cœur de l'homme

en arrachant tout l'esprit de perversité de ses membres charnels et le purifiant par l'esprit de sainteté de tous les actes d'impiété; et il l'aspergera de l'esprit de fidélité comme d'une eau lustrale.

(Ainsi seront enlevées) toutes les abominations mensongères où il s'était vautré par l'esprit de souillure.

Il fera comprendre aux justes la connaissance du Très-Haut et enseignera la sagesse des Fils du ciel (les anges) aux parfaits de conduite.

Car eux, Dieu les a choisis en vue de l'Alliance éternelle et toute la gloire d'Adam leur (appartiendra)¹⁵⁾.

La *Règle* se rapproche de 1 Cor 15 et de d'autres textes de la littérature pseudépigraphique biblique¹⁶⁾, lorsqu'elle mentionne la transformation radicale de l'homme dans les termes d'une purification, au moyen de l'esprit, de ce qui est «charnel». Il n'y avait qu'un pas à franchir pour mentionner un corps purifié par l'esprit, un *σῶμα πνευματικόν*.

Mais par delà Qumrân, nettement influencé par le dualisme iranien, Paul et Rheg rejoignent certaines idées chères à l'*Avesta* récent sur la résurrection, celle, entre autres, du *Yesht*, 22,7-12. Le texte décrit la rencontre de l'âme du juste et de sa *daëna*, représentée sous les traits d'une jolie jeune fille se tenant dans un beau jardin. A l'admiration du juste devant une telle apparition, la *daëna* répond, comme le fait le vêtement au jeune prince du *Chant de la Perle* des Actes syriaques de Thomas¹⁷⁾, qu'elle est la nature de son propre corps et que, si elle est belle, c'est parce que le juste l'a rendue ainsi grâce à ses bonnes actions, ses bonnes paroles et ses bonnes pensées (par. 11-12)¹⁸⁾:

11. Alors sa propre nature lui répond: Je suis, ô jeune homme, tes bonnes pensées, tes bonnes paroles et tes bonnes actions, la nature même de ton propre corps. Qui t'a faite de cette grandeur (demande le jeune homme), de cette excellence, de cette beauté, avec une odeur si parfumée, ainsi triomphante, dominant tes ennemis, telle que tu te présentes à moi?

12. C'est toi, ô jeune homme, qui m'a faite ainsi (formée de) ton bon penser, (de) ton bon parler, (de) ton bon agir, la nature de ton propre corps, avec cette grandeur, cette excellence, cette odeur parfumée, cette force victorieuse triomphant des ennemis.

¹³⁾ Cf. *Pesiqta*, 76a; *Pesiqta R*, Supplément 1 (192b); *Gen R*, 77 (49c); *Lev R*, 27 (125c); *Midr Qoh*, III,15 (20b).

¹⁴⁾ Cf. *TB Megilla*, 31a.

¹⁵⁾ Cf. J. Carmignac, *Les textes de Qumrân, traduits et annotés (Autour de la Bible)*, Paris, 1961, I, p. 36-38; A. Dupont-Sommer, *Les écrits esséniens découverts près de la Mer Morte (Bibliothèque historique)*, Paris, 1959, p. 97.

¹⁶⁾ Cf. *Jubilés*, 1,21-23; 4 *Esdras*, 6, 26; *Testament de Lévi*, 18,7.

¹⁷⁾ Cf. J. E. Ménard, «Le 'Chant de la Perle'», *RevScRel* 42 (1968) 289-325.

¹⁸⁾ Cf. C. de Harlez, *Avesta. Livre sacré de Zoroastre traduit du texte zend (Bibliothèque Orientale, 5)*, Paris, 1881, p. 570-571.

⁷⁾ Cf. J. E. Ménard, «Normative Self-Definition in Gnosticism», in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition, I: The Shaping of Christianity in the Second and Third Centuries*, Londres, 1980, p. 134-150.

⁸⁾ Cf. J. E. Ménard, *L'Évangile selon Philippe*. Introduction, texte, traduction, commentaire, Paris, 1967.

La tradition anthropologique iranienne qui s'est cristallisée dans ce texte du *Yesht* a pu facilement servir de substrat à l'eschatologie qumrânienne et paulinienne, et elle expliquerait partiellement la notion que Rheg et l'EvPhil ont de la résurrection. Leur idée de chair spirituelle, renfermant une lumière, rejoint celle de l'anthropologie iranienne prônant que l'être matériel et terrestre (*gêtik*) et que l'être spirituel et céleste (*mênik*) sont remplis d'une lumière qui leur sert de lien.

c) *Une notion spiritualisante de résurrection dans Rheg*

Il ne faudrait pas toutefois s'y méprendre. La résurrection est bel et bien actualisée pour Rheg (p. 49,9-16.30-36):

Aussi, ne va pas

penser partiellement, ô
Rhêginos, ni te conduire
selon cette chair au nom
de l'Unité, mais dégage-toi
des divisions et des
liens, et déjà tu possèdes
la résurrection
..... Il convient
à chacun de pratiquer l'ascèse
de plusieurs façons et elles
le délivreront de cet élément (στοιχείον),
pour qu'il ne soit pas dans l'erreur, mais
qu'il se reçoive de
nouveau tel qu'il était d'abord.

Et si cette possibilité existe pour le gnostique de remonter d'une multiplicité à une Unité, dont la résurrection est le vivant symbole, c'est parce que celle-ci ne fait que lui restituer ce qui lui est sien (p. 47,2-12).

Même si l'enseignement ésotérique du traité peut être plus largement diffusé et suppose un progrès, chez les auditeurs ou les lecteurs, et une attente (p. 50,1-16), il reprend fondamentalement une notion particulière chère à la gnose des Valentinien, le retour aux origines divines, et qui est une constante dans la phénoménologie de la gnose.

«Se recevoir tel qu'on était d'abord», c'est bien se recevoir chacun pour soi-même dans l'Unité, ainsi que l'enseigne l'EvVer du même Codex I (p. 25,12). L'expression correspond à l'ἀπολαμβάνειν ἑαυτὸν des *Actes d'André* 6, p. 41,3 Bonnet ou de Porphyre, *Sent.*, p. 37,1; 38,9,21; 39,14,17 Mommert. La gnose, connaissance de soi-même, rappelle à l'homme ce qu'il est lui-même, elle lui révèle ce qu'il était avant d'être jeté dans la «diminution» d'ici-bas (Rheg, p. 47,23). Les *Extraits de Théodote*, 78,2 définissent ainsi la gnose: ἡ γνῶσις, τίνες ἡμεν; on rejoint ici Plotin, *Enn.*, IV,7,10: οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔξω πού δραμοῦσα ἡ φυγή σωφροσύνην καθορᾷ καὶ δικαιοσύνην, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ παρ' αὐτῇ ἐν τῇ κατανοήσει ἑαυτῆς καὶ τοῦ πρότερον ἦν. Ainsi que l'enseigne l'EvVer, p. 22,13-19, nous reconnaissant nous-mêmes, nous revenons à nous-mêmes, ou, par anticipation, celui qui possède la gnose «connaît d'où il est venu et où il va». Revenant à lui-même, il rétablit ce qui lui est propre, ainsi que l'enseignaient les Valentinien, au témoignage d'Irénée, *Adv.*

¹⁹⁾ Cf. J. E. Ménard, «Das Evangelium nach Philippus», in *Christentum und Gnosis* (BZNW, 37), Berlin, 1969, p. 46-48.

Haer., I,21,5: κατάγω δὲ τὸ γένος ἐκ τοῦ προόντος, καὶ πορεύομαι πάλιν εἰς τὰ ἴδια, ὅτεν ἐλήλυθα. Dans le *C. H.*, I, 21 on lit: ὁ νοήσας ἑαυτὸν εἰς αὐτὸν χωρεῖ ... ἐὰν οὖν μάθης ἑαυτὸν ἐκ ζωῆς καὶ φωτός ὄντα καὶ ὅτι ἐκ τούτων τυγχάνεις, εἰς ζωὴν πάλιν χωρήσεις ou chez Porphyre, *De abstinencia*, I,29, p. 107,6-7 Nauck: εἰς τὸν ὄντως ἑαυτὸν ἢ ἀναδρομή. Des formules encore plus proches de celle de Rheg sont celle des *Actes de Thomas* 15, p. 121,11-13 Bonnet: ὁ τὰ ἴδια σπλάγχχνα μὴ ἐπισχῶν ἐξ ἑμοῦ τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου, ἀλλὰ ὑποδείξας μοι ζητήσαι ἑμαυτὸν καὶ γνῶναι τίς ἡμῖν [καὶ τίς] καὶ πῶς ὑπάρχω νῦν, ἵνα πάλιν γένωμαι ὃ ἡμῖν et celle du c. 43, p. 161, 9-10: γένωμαι καὶ γὰρ ἐλευθέρα, καὶ συναθροισθῶ εἰς τὴν ἀρχαιογόνον μου φύσιν. Certains Pères de l'Eglise ont aussi interprété la résurrection comme un retour au commencement. C'est ainsi que Grégoire de Nysse écrit dans un passage du *De anima et resurrectione* (PG, 46, 148A): ὅτι ἀνάστασις ἐστὶν ἡ εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἀποκατάστασις. Dans sa *I Homélie sur l'Ecclésiaste*, le même auteur écrit (PG, 44, 633C): οὐ δὲ γὰρ ἄλλο τί ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνάστασις, εἰ μὴ πάντως ἡ εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀποκατάστασις. Pour lui, la résurrection est un dépassement du στοιχείον du monde, cf. *In funere Pulcheriae oratio* (PG, 46, 866A): τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνάστασις, ἡ εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἀναστοιχείωσις. Voir M. Malinine *et alii*, *op. cit.*, p. 44-45.

Comme d'autres écrits gnostiques, Rheg est à interpréter à deux niveaux. S'il doit sa notion de résurrection et de chair spirituelle à un milieu judéo-chrétien et iranien, il dépend tout autant d'un milieu hellénistique où l'immortalité est avant tout celle du νοῦς²⁰⁾. Rheg n'est pas de la main d'un grand maître, il est une œuvre de petite et de moyenne culture qui tente une synthèse. Il demeure marqué de syncrétisme dans son amalgame d'éléments hétéroclites qu'il ne réussit pas à fondre en un tout consistant. De plus, dans ces milieux de petite et de moyenne culture, les distinctions trop nettes que l'on voudrait établir entre l'immortalité de l'âme de l'hellénisme et la résurrection du corps du judéo-christianisme ne valent pas²¹⁾. Notre traité tient avant et par-dessus tout à une retrouvaille des origines divines de l'homme par l'homme lui-même, et sur ce point il se sépare du don paulinien d'un σῶμα πνευματικόν. L'homme est une émanation de Dieu, il n'est pas sa créature. En ressuscitant, il se ressuscite lui-même.

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²⁰⁾ Cf. J. E. Ménard, «La notion de Résurrection dans l'Épître à Rhêginos», in *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Gnosticism*, p. 123-131.

²¹⁾ Cf. H. Clavier, «Brèves remarques sur le ΣΩΜΑ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ», in *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology* (Studies in Honour of C. H. Dodd), Cambridge, 1956, p. 342-362.

Tawfiq al-Hakîm on the Rigidity of Moslem Law

In 1977, the much-translated and well-known Egyptian novelist Tawfiq al-Hakîm (b. 1898 or 1902) published his own private 900 page anthology from a medieval Koran commentary. To his collection of passages selected from this commentary he gave the title of *Mukhtâr Tafsîr al-Qurṭubî*, "An Anthology from Al-Qurṭubî's Koran Commentary". This Al-Qurṭubî (in full: Shams ad-Dîn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abî Bakr b. Farḥ al-Anṣârî al-Qurṭubî) was a scholar who died in Upper-Egypt in 1273 A.D. His commentary on the Koran is entitled *Al-Gâmi' li-Aḥkâm al-Qur'ân*, "The Comprehensive Commentary on the Precepts and Regulations Given in the Koran". It is usually printed in twenty heavy volumes¹⁾.

In a volume of essays published in 1980, Tawfiq al-Hakîm — who is a lawyer by training — writes somewhere: "Many have asked me recently why I published that bulky volume on Al-Qurṭubî. We need knowledge of the fundamentals of our religion and its legal regulations, *uṣûl dîn'nâ wa-tashrî'ihî*. This makes it our duty to refer directly to the source of our religion. This source (*manba'*) is the Koran, and the Koran needs interpretation"²⁾.

In the traditional system, the term *uṣûl ad-dîn* is used to designate dogmatical theology³⁾. However, in the last decades dogmatical theology is usually called '*ilm al-'aqâ'id*', literally the "science of the articles of the faith". Consequently only few people will have difficulty in understanding that in the terminology of Tawfiq al-Hakîm the term *uṣûl ad-dîn* does not refer to creed and dogma only, but designates the fundamentals and principles of Islam in general.

The source of these fundamentals and principles, then, is, according to Tawfiq al-Hakîm, the Koran. In the traditional system, the Koran had to share its position as source with (1) the example of the Prophet, the *Sunna*, (2) the consensus of the Moslem community or *igṡmâ'* and (3) inferences by analogy from known rulings, or *qiyâs*⁴⁾. In modern times, however, the position of the Koran as a source seems to become more elevated, at the cost of these other three sources, and hence at the cost of the traditional system. But also in its new place the Koran, as Tawfiq writes, needs interpretation. Few people will disagree with this view. Enormous disagreement, however, arises on the question how this interpretation of the Koran is going to be executed.

Tawfiq al-Hakîm writes in the essay quoted above, that people want to know the answers the Koran gives to questions on retaliation, theft, usury, alcohol, adultery, corruption, on prayer, alms and pilgrimage, on doubt and belief, on free will and predestination, on the rule over non-Moslems, on the rights of the poor, on repentance, on food and drink, on the visual arts, on how to look at the universe, on the proper position of women, the proper distribution of income, on democracy, on marriage and divorce — and Tawfiq's list contains more items⁵⁾.

Al-Qurṭubî's work, so Tawfiq al-Hakîm maintains, contains a good example of how to supply Koranic answers to all these questions. Then a most significant remark follows. "The most important thing about Al-Qurṭubî's great reference work", Tawfiq writes, "is that we find in it free discussions and different interpretations of these regulations. Whether the views expressed in it differ or agree, we feel as if we are attending a session of a legislative council where each article of a new law is discussed in full"⁶⁾. "Each Imâm and each commentator contributes to the discussion according to his commitments, according to his temperament and according to the character of his culture (*thaqâfa*)"⁷⁾.

The orthodox Moslems strongly identify the prescripts of Islamic Law with the command of God, with the very word of God, and hence regard it as unchangeable, determined for ever in the past, solid, impressive, and unmovable. It is clear that Tawfiq al-Hakîm's simile of a legislative council in session must have a disturbing effect on those who believe that Islamic Law and its doctrine of duties is a ready-made gift with which God has blessed the Moslem community. Furthermore, few Moslems will think that the comparison between members of parliament and "Imâms and Koran commentators" is edifying. It may be aimed at this way of thinking when someone like the popular Egyptian religious leader Sheikh As-Sha'râwî preaches that belief is not a "thought that ought to be subjected to permanent debates", and that belief, *imân*, is not the same as a *mashrû' imân*, a "draft of a belief"⁸⁾.

Tawfiq al-Hakîm gives some examples of the direction into which his reflections on the subject lead him, in another essay in the same volume from 1980. The first example concerns theft, on which the Koran says: "As for the thief, male and female, cut off their hands" (Koran 5:(42) 38). "According to Al-Qurṭubî", Tawfiq writes, "this was the customary punishment for theft in the days before Islam". "So now the question arises: can we conclude that the revelation (*at-tanzîl*) of this verse did come after this practice existed already, in order to confirm or amend it, according to the circumstances?"⁹⁾ Tawfiq seems to imply — but to imply only — that if amputation of the hands as punishment for theft was customary in the pre-Islamic Arabian society, the Koran addresses only that society when it permits or confirms this form of punishment. In that case, he seems to uphold, this cruel ruling does not concern other, more developed, societies.

The second example concerns *zinâ*, translatable as "fornication". Here the discussion originates in another well-known verse from the Koran: "The fornicatress and the fornicator — scourge each of them with a hundred stripes; let no pity affect you" (Koran 24:2). Nevertheless, Islamic Law prescribes death by stoning (*ragm*) as punishment for sexual intercourse outside marriage, and in

⁶⁾ o.c., 121.

⁷⁾ *Mukhtâr*, vii.

⁸⁾ Muh. Mutawallî as-Sha'râwî, repeatedly so during television sermons during Ramadan 1980, and also e.g. in his *Tafsîr Sûrat an-Naba'*, Cairo 1980, p. 19.

⁹⁾ *Tahâdiyyât*, 124; This article was originally published in *Al-Ahrâm*, 26.5.78, p. 11.

¹⁾ C. Brockelmann, GAL G I 415 and S I 737.

²⁾ *Tahâdiyyât*, 120.

³⁾ Th. W. Juynboll, *Handleiding* ..., 46.

⁴⁾ o.c., 32-43.

⁵⁾ *Tahâdiyyât*, 120.

Khomeini's Persia this punishment seems to be carried out regularly. The Islamic doctors of law when prescribing this punishment do not base themselves on the Koran, but on Traditions in which it is told how the Prophet Mohammed (d. 632 A.D.) himself ordered fornicators to be stoned (Cf. the canonical collections of Traditions by Muslim and Al-Bukhârî in their chapters on *Hudûd*). Stoning, so Tawfiq al-Hakîm now argues, is not prescribed by the Koran as the proper punishment for fornication, and here we meet just one out of many examples, according to Tawfiq, where the Prophet did not follow the Koran¹⁰), since the spirit of his age and the standards of his society seem to have demanded a form of punishment different from the one the Koran prescribes. People in our age, Tawfiq al-Hakîm seems to imply, ought to claim the same right.

Like many other Islamic modernists before him, Tawfiq al-Hakîm attempts to solve the dilemma with which he sees himself confronted, by dividing the traditional precepts of Moslem Law into two parts¹¹). "We ought to divide Islam into two", he writes, "naqsim al-Islâm ilâ qismayn". The first part then would contain the regulations on the relation between God and Man. Only this part, which he wants to call *ilâhiyyât*, "things divine", would be invariable, valid in all times and places. The second part, which he wants to call *insâniyyât*, "things human", would concern the relations between the different members of Mankind. It would have to "develop with the development of mankind, and to change with the changes of society. Here the word of God applies: "God alters not what is in a people until they alter what is in themselves (Koran 13:(12)11)".

Formally, these discussions on theft and fornication, on *sariqa* and *zinâ*, seem to concentrate on the Koran and its proper interpretation, and the relationship between the Koran and the canonized Mohammedan Tradition. Yet, in spite of all learning and erudition adduced, the true subject of the debate is the degree to which outside (especially Western) influence on the secular and religious aspects of life can be tolerated¹²). Few writings make this clearer than these articles by Tawfiq al-Hakîm, who concludes his second essay by referring to the Arabicity of the Koran: according to Islamic orthodox belief, the Koran is written in pure Arabic, and contains no non-Arabic words. Words taken from foreign languages (e.g. *qistâs* or *qaswara*) that nevertheless do occur in the Koran, became pure Arabic by their very inclusion in the text of the Koran. This leads Tawfiq al-Hakîm to conclude: "This means that God grants the Arabs that they should profit from whatever is appropriate to them and whatever is right for them when this comes from other nations, whether it be in language or in other fields". Then follows the story of the digging of the ditch of Al-Khandaq, a ruse devised by a Persian adviser of the Prophet Mohammed, which lead to an essential victory in the wars between the Moslems and the Meccans in the early days of Islam. The lesson of this story is, according to Tawfiq al-Hakîm,

that "a thing imported, *as-shay' al-mustawrad*, is acceptable to the Moslems when it is of avail to them"¹³.

In the final conclusion of his article, Tawfiq al-Hakîm expresses the hope that it will soon be possible to drop the accusations of inertia and of incapability of sharing in the culture and progress "of our changing world with all its new things from which mankind may profit". Then the general opinion that the Moslems and the scholars of Islam are imprisoned in petrified texts can be controverted, Tawfiq expects. In its essence, he writes, Islam is valid for all places and all times, but, so he adds, Moslems have to realise the meaning of a saying of the Prophet Mohammed: "You know best the affairs of your world", "*Antum adrâ bi-shu'ûn dunyâkum*".

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id., *Tahâdiyyât Sanat 2000*, Cairo (Al-Markaz at-Thaqâfi al-Gâmi'i) 1980, 244 pp.

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BOEKBESPREKINGEN

ALGEMEEN

André CAQUOT/David COHEN [Hrsg.]: *Actes du premier congrès international de linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique*. Paris 16-19 juillet 1969. The Hague/Paris, Mouton 1974 (8vo, 416 S.) = *Janua Linguarum. Series Practica*, 159.

In den Akten des Kongresses sind neben der Eröffnungsansprache von M. Cohen und der Schlussrede von A. Dupont-Sommer 38 Beiträge in den 5 Sektionen „Chamito-sémitique“ (9 Referate), „Berbère“ (5 Referate), „Couchitique“ (1 Referat), „Sémitique“ (19 Referate) und „Études connexes“ (4 Referate) gedruckt. Einige der auf dem Kongress gehaltenen Vorträge erschienen bereits an anderer Stelle, z.B. der von Gideon Goldenberg, „Tautological Infinitive“, in: *Israel Oriental Studies* 1 (1971), S. 36-85.

Bei der Vielfalt der auf dem Kongress behandelten Themen ist es natürlich unmöglich, über alle 38 Referate ausführlichen Bericht zu erstatten. Innerhalb der Semitistik sind 5 Referate hebraistischen und 6 arabistischen (einschliesslich Maltesisch) Themen gewidmet. Ihr Inhalt ist im folgenden in ein bis zwei Sätzen jeweils zusammengefasst.

René Samuel Sirat (S. 234-245) sprach über „Ya-t-il un élément 'ain-resh' commun à plusieurs racines hébraïques“?

¹³) *Tahâdiyyât*, 127-8.

(Der Verf. stellt die Hypothese auf, daß das Element 'r in hebr. Wurzeln die Bewegung bezeichnet, die eventuell auch mit Geräuschen verbunden ist, und sucht die Hypothese durch eine Untersuchung der 59 Wurzeln zu beweisen.)

Mathias Delcor, „De l'origine de quelques termes relatifs au vin en hébreu biblique et dans les langues voisines“ (S. 223-233).

(Der Verf. bespricht die hebr. Termini *yayin*, *tirōš*, *hemer* und *kerem*.)

Haiim B. Rosén, „La position descriptive et comparative des formes contextuelles en hébreu“ (S. 246-255).

(Der Verf. betont im Anschluß an H.J. Polotsky die Ursprünglichkeit der Pausalformen im Biblisch-Hebräischen und stellt Regeln auf, um den Übergang von den Pausalformen zu den Kontextformen zu erklären.)

Michel Masson, „Remarques sur les diminutifs en hébreu israélien“ (S. 256-279).

(Der Verf. untersucht die Diminutiv-Bildungen im heutigen Hebräisch hinsichtlich ihrer Bildungsweise — die Suffixe *-it*, *-on*, *-onet*, *-čik*, *-le*, *-uš*, *-iko*, *-iya* bzw. die Schemata *qatalal* und interne Vokalwechsel — und die jeweilige Distribution.)

Jean Carmignac, „La portée des négations devant les verbes au causatif“ (S. 220-222).

(Der Verf. greift von den 50 Beispielen für Negationen vor Verben im Kausativ, die er in seinem Buch „Recherches sur le Notre Père“ [S. 284-290] aus dem AT und dem Qumran-Schrifttum zusammengetragen hat, einige heraus und weist auf die besondere semantische Funktion der Negation in diesem Kontext hin, die in den hebr. und aram. Grammatiken nicht behandelt ist.)

M. Rodinson, „Sur un pseudo-relatif sudarabique“ (S. 290-291).

(Der Verf. bezweifelt die Existenz einer proklitischen Relativpartikel des Femininum *t-* in der spätabäischen Inschrift CIS, pars quarta, Nr. 540 ab und schlägt für *tbšnf* (Z. 14), *tbn* (Z. 18) und *tšn* (Z. 16 und 19) andere Deutungen vor.)

H. Fleisch, „*tašrif* selon les grammairiens arabes“ (S. 292-304).

(Der Verf. bespricht die Auffassung der arabischen Grammatiker von *at-tašrif* und die Stellung im grammatischen System.)

G. Vitestam, „*As-sidra (-i?) al-muntahā*. Quelques commentaires linguistiques sur des textes existants“ (S. 305-308).

(Der Verf. untersucht, ob *as-sidra al-muntahā* grammatisch richtig ist oder ob es *sidra al-muntahā* heißen muß. Er kommt zu dem Ergebnis, daß *as-sidra al-muntahā* richtig ist.)

J. Aquilina, „Prepositional verbs in Maltese“ (S. 309-321).

(Der Verf. weist an 60 Verben nach, daß ihre Bedeutung wesentlich von der Präposition, die sie regieren, abhängig ist.)

Jean Lecerf, „Remarques sur l'accent de mot dans les dialectes arabes d'Orient“ („L'accent de mot en arabe d'Orient“) (S. 322-328).

(Der Verf. bespricht die Stellung des Akzents in verschiedenen arabischen Dialekten.)

Lucienne Saada, „Les structures du purisme grammatical arabe à travers les termes essentiels de son lexique technique“ (S. 329-337).

„L'état actuel des recherches linguistiques en Tunisie“ (S. 338-346).

(Ein Rapport über die Aktivitäten der Sektion de Linguistique des Institut de Planification de Statistique et d'Études Juridiques Économiques et Sociales in Tunis.)

Ausserhalb des hebraistischen und arabistischen Bereiches wurden folgende Themen behandelt:

E. B. Gankin, „Some ways and means of enriching the modern Amharic vocabulary“ (S. 347-353).

(Der Verf., dem auch ein ausgezeichnetes Wörterbuch verdankt wird, bespricht die drei Wege der Anpassung des amharischen Wortschatzes an die Moderne, die Übernahme von Fremdwörtern, die Neubildung von Wörtern und Wortverbindungen und die Erweiterung der Bedeutung bereits bekannter Wörter. Die Übernahme von Fremdwörtern spielt dabei die geringste Rolle.)

Jonas C. Greenfield, „Standard literary Aramaic“ (S. 280-289).

(Der Verf. gibt einen ausführlichen Bericht über die aramaistischen Forschungen, definiert seinen im Titel gebrauchten Terminus und weist auf die Desiderata der aramaistischen Forschung hin.)

André Caquot, „Notes de lexicographie ougaritique“ (S. 203-208).

(Der Verf. bespricht die folgenden Wörter: *bgy*, *štn* (= Šafel von *ytn*), *ld*, *npr*, *nsh*, *š-rb*, *rtm*, *šhp*, *šnw* und *tgg*.)

Maurice Sznycer, „La vocalisation des formes verbales dans l'écriture néopunique“ (S. 209-219).

(Der Verf. sammelt aus vielen neupunischen Inschriften die Verbalformen und erläutert daran die Möglichkeiten, über die Vokalisierung des Neupunischen mit Hilfe der *matres lectionis* in den Verbalformen bessere Einsichten zu erhalten.)

Der in Ungarn gedruckte Band enthält verhältnismässig viele Druckfehler. In dem zur Verfügung gestellten Besprechungsexemplar fehlen die Seiten 369-384.

Wie bei jedem Kongress üblich, so ist auch hier die Qualität der Beiträge recht unterschiedlich. Insgesamt gesehen enthalten die „Actes“ aber wichtige und interessante Anregungen und Einsichten. Die Organisatoren des Kongresses und die Herausgeber verdienen Dank und volle Anerkennung der semitistisch interessierten Leser.

Marburg/Lahn

R. DEGEN

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Dorothy IRVIN, *Mytharion. The Comparison of Tales from the Old Testament and the Ancient Near East*. Kevelaer Verlag Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 1978 (4°, xv, 135 S., 3 S. Tabellen) = *Alter Orient und Altes Testament*. Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients und des Alten Testaments, Band 32. Preis: Gnzl. DM 79.-. ISBN 3-7887-0568 X (Neukirchener Verlag), ISBN 3-7666-9017-5 (Butzon & Bercker).

Dieses Buch will darlegen, wie bestimmte Methoden, die sich schon bei der Interpretation volkstümlicher Erzählungen als erfolgreich erwiesen haben, auch zu einem

¹⁰) o.c., 125. II. o.c., 127.

¹¹) o.c., 127.

¹²) Cf. my *The Interpretation of the Koran in Modern Egypt*, Leiden 1974, p. 97.

besseren Verstehen des Erzählungsstoffes des Alten Testaments führen können. Hiermit hat schon Hermann Gunkel (S. xiv) mit seinem *Das Märchen im Alten Testament*, Tübingen 1917, begonnen. Aus Mangel an einer systematischen Ordnung des Materials konnte seine Absicht damals noch nicht genügend realisiert werden. Jetzt steht als Ausgangspunkt für diese Methode Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of World Folklore* (Copenhagen und Bloomington, Indiana, 1957/1958) zur Verfügung. Diese Methode geht nicht nur aus von Erzählungstypen, die schon vorher indiziert waren, und eine noch zu oberflächliche Einteilung darboten, sondern auch von „Motiven“, die einen genaueren Vergleich von Erzählungen ermöglichen. Diese Motive sind gewisse Züge, die Erzählungen auch dann gemein haben können, wenn sie untereinander Verschiedenheiten aufweisen. Die Definition eines Motivs, die Thompson gab, soll aber weiter präzisiert werden, so dass der Verband mit der ganzen Tendenz der Erzählung klar ausgeprägt wird. Ein Motiv ist also (S. 2) ein Teil der Verwicklung („plot“) der ganzen Erzählung, der die Abwicklung der Geschichte weiterführt. Übrigens wird das Motivverzeichnis von Stith Thompson beibehalten. Neu im Vergleich mit Thompson ist, dass ausserdem ein anderes Prinzip der Analyse und der Klassifikation angewandt wird, nämlich das Prinzip der „traditionellen Episode“. Dieses Prinzip ist dem Buch von Milman Perry, *L'épithète traditionnelle dans Homère* (Paris, 1928), entlehnt worden. Darin handelt es sich besonders um übliche Epitheta wie „der Wolkensammler Zeus“, usw. Die „Episode“ umfasst mehr als das Epitheton. Sie ist eine zusammenhängende Einheit („unit“) im Laufe der Erzählung. So können die traditionellen Episoden der Mahizeit, die zugleich eine Ratsversammlung ist, der Epiphanie (eines Gottes), des Boten und der Geburt (S. 10, 11) unterschieden werden. Die zusammenhängenden Teile der traditionellen Geburtsepisode sind Kinderlosigkeit, Versprechung der Schwangerschaft, Geburt, Anerkennung des Kindes seitens des Vaters, Namensgebung und Prophezeiung der Zukunft des Kindes.

Die Analyse durch das Entwicklungsmotiv („plot-motif“) und die traditionelle Episode wird jetzt (S. 14f.) auf einige Erzählungen aus Genesis angewandt, in denen ein Bote im Namen Gottes auftritt (Gen. 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 28). In diesen Geschichten ist der *mal'ak* noch kein Engel als himmlisches Wesen oder Mittler, wie in nachexilischer Zeit, sondern ein göttlicher Bote (S. 103). In der Hagar-Geschichte (Gen. 21), z.B., kann man einer Anzahl Entwicklungsmotive auf die Spur kommen, die sich im Motivverzeichnis von Thompson vorfinden, nämlich: Gott, aufgerufen durch Weinen — eine Quelle entspringt zugunsten der Hauptperson — Quelle und Strauch fungieren als magische Objekte — der Hagar, der Schwächeren im Vergleich mit Sarah, wird recht gegeben — Vorhersagung der Zukunft des Kindes — Gott als Helfer — Kind seinem Schicksal überlassen — die verfolgte Frau — polygame Heirat — Neid zwischen zwei Weibern eines Ehegattens. Die ätiologische Erklärung des Ursprungs der Quelle fällt ausserhalb des Thompsonschen Verzeichnisses. Die Erzählung enthält zu gleicher Zeit die traditionelle Episode der Epiphanie eines Gottes (S. 26).

Im zweiten Kapitel werden Erzählungen aus der Welt des Nahen Ostens auf dieselben Weise analysiert. Auch in diesem Fall erweisen sich Entwicklungsmotiv und traditionelle Episode anwendbar. Nacheinander werden Sumer,

Akkad, Hittiter, Ugarit und Ägypten auf die Tagesordnung gebracht. Nur diejenigen Erzählungen werden behandelt, die Parallelen zu biblischen Geschichten enthalten. In der Erzählung „Der arme Mann aus Nippur“ wird, wie in Gen. 21 (Hagar), das Motiv „der Schwächere siegt“ vorgefunden (S. 44). Das Motiv „Gott als Helfer“ ist sehr üblich. In der hittitischen Geschichte der zwei Söhne des Appu (S. 58ff.) handelt es sich, wie bei Abraham, um die Geburt der Kinder eines Kinderlosen durch den Eingriff einer Gottheit. Bei der Erbschaftauseinandersetzung bekommt der jüngste Bruder den grössten Teil. Das ist vergleichbar mit Jakob und Esau, und auch mit Hagar, denen allen als der schwächsten Partei recht gegeben wird.

In Kapitel III werden einige Schlussfolgerungen gezogen, hauptsächlich auf die theologische Bedeutung des Boten zugespielt. Gemäss des Entwicklungsmotivs (S. 94ff.) ist er der Bote Gottes, der die Geburt des Kindes vorhersagt — eine Rolle, die in Ugarit dem Gotte El zugeteilt wird —, die den ungerecht Verfolgten und den Hilflosen rettet und die Gottlosen prüft und bestraft (die Männer von Sodom). Als traditionelle Episoden finden sich (S. 98ff.) die Sendung des Boten, die Epiphanie des göttlichen Helfers und die Geburtsgeschichte.

In den Schlussfolgerungen wird der Gunkelsche Standpunkt weitergeführt. Während in den nicht-biblischen Erzählungen immer ein klarer Unterschied zwischen dem Gott und seinem Boten gemacht wird, spielt in den biblischen Geschichten der Bote immer die Rolle Gottes selber (Ausnahmefall Gen. 28). Die Theorie, dass es sich hier um einen „depotenzierten Gott“ der heidnischen Umwelt handelt, wird mit Recht abgewiesen. Obgleich der *mal'ak* den Namen „Bote“ trägt, so fungiert er doch — z.B. in seiner Hilfe an die Kinderlosen — in gleicher Weise wie Ea, Schamasch, Ba'al und El in den nicht-biblischen Erzählungen, d.h. er tritt wie ein Gott auf. Der *mal'ak* in den Genesisgeschichten wird nicht zuvor von einem Gott instruiert und ausgeschiedet: er kommt einfach auf eigene Faust und handelt als ob er Gott selber wäre.

Schliesslich (S. 105f.) wird zusammenfassend noch etwas gesagt über den Wert der Methode, die von der volkstümlichen Erzählung ausgeht, für das Studium des Alten Testaments.

In der Problematik des Quellenstudiums und der Redaktionsgeschichte ist man bisweilen zu einer weitgehenden Quellenspaltung gelangt (Kilian). Die jetzt gefolgte Methode zeigt, dass die meisten Züge zu den festen Motiven einer Erzählung gehören, so dass bei weitgehender Quellenspaltung nur unvollständige Teilgeschichten übrig bleiben.

Die Form der Erzählung bestimmt die Motive. Obgleich im allgemeinen das Erstgeburtsrecht galt, konnte die Bevorzugung des jüngsten Kindes eingeschoben sein, um die Urgeschichte interessanter zu machen.

Man hat zu oft angenommen, dass alttestamentliche Geschichten einer bestimmten Kultur entlehnt worden sind (S. 112f.) auf Grund der Übereinstimmung etlicher Motive. Sintflutgeschichten werden überall in der Welt vorgefunden. Deshalb braucht der biblische Sintflutbericht nicht ausschliesslich den Mesopotamischen Quellen (Gilgamesch, Atrachasis) entlehnt zu sein. Das Gleiche gilt von der Geschichte des Joseph und des Weibes Potiphars in der ägyptischen Erzählung der zwei Brüder Anubis und Bata. Es hat sich gezeigt, dass das gleiche Motiv sich auch in der hittitischen Geschichte des Elkunisscha

vorfindet. Man soll sich also besinnen auf die Frage, wie buchstäblich eine Übereinstimmung sein soll, um von Entlehnung reden zu können.

Eine genaue Klassifikation von Motiven, wie sie von Thompson unternommen wurde, kann zur Einsicht führen, dass die Motive in alttestamentlichen Erzählungen einen breiten Hintergrund haben, so dass man sich nicht zu schnell zu einer Entlehnung aus einer bestimmten Kultur entschliessen darf.

Jetzt folgen noch etliche Schlussbemerkungen zum Buche im Ganzen.

Man kann nicht nur sagen, dass die Erzählung die Wahl der Motive bestimmt, sondern auch das Gegenteil ist wahr: die Motive bestimmen die Erzählung. Wenn ägyptische Beschreibungen über einen Feldzug berichten, sind nicht alle Elemente „historisch“. Bestimmte Züge sollen nun einfach dem siegreichen König zugeschrieben werden (siehe A. de Buck, *Het typische en het individuele bij de Egyptenaren*, Leiden 1929). Der ägyptische König soll immer die klassischen Feinde Ägyptens, Asiaten, Nubier und Libyer, besiegt haben. So kann es geschehen, dass Pharao Ramses III. Siege erringt, die den Kriegerberichten aus der Zeit Ramses' II entlehnt sind. Auf dieser Weise könnte es möglich sein, dass der Stammvater eines Volkes eine besondere von einem Gott verursachte Geburt haben soll, z.B. an einem Zeitpunkt, dass die Mutter unfruchtbar ist. Man will damit sagen, dass der Ursprung und gleichfalls das ganze Fortbestehen der Nation unter der Führung eines Gottes stattfinden.

Es ist methodisch richtig, sich zu fragen, wie buchstäblich Parallelen sein müssen, soll von einer Entlehnung die Rede sein. Wenn es sich z.B. ergibt, dass das Entsenden von Vögeln eine nahezu buchstäbliche Parallele aus Gilgamesch enthält, die nirgends in den vielen Sintflutgeschichten über der ganzen Welt vorkommt, so zeugt dies von Beeinflussung des Alten Testaments von seiten Mesopotamiens. Solches soll auch genau untersucht werden im Fall der Geschichte des Joseph und des Weibes Potiphars. Ist es so, dass die hittitische Geschichte von Elkunisscha mindestens ebenso buchstäbliche Parallelen darbietet wie die ägyptische Erzählung von den zwei Brüdern? Dabei soll auch mithineinbezogen werden, dass die Josephgeschichte sich in Ägypten abspielt und dass der Kulturkontakt zwischen Israel und Ägypten eng war. Wenn sich mehrere Parallelen zwischen Ägypten und Israel ergeben, besonders mit dem Aufenthalt Israels in Ägypten zusammenhängend (z.B. Moses und die ägyptischen Zauberer), so kann der Einfluss Ägyptens stärker gewesen sein als auf Grund etlicher Erzählungsmotive angenommen werden könnte. Die literarisch-kritische Methode mit Analyse von Erzählungsmotiven ist brauchbar und hat nützliche Erfolge, soll aber mit anderen Methoden, z.B. mit historischen Untersuchungen nach möglichen Kulturkontakten ergänzt und korrigiert werden. In diesem Zusammenhang soll nicht vergessen werden, dass Israel im Nahen Osten kulturell ein Spätling war, und sich, namentlich was die literarische Gestaltung anbelangt, auf die benachbarten Kulturvölker orientiert haben soll. Dies alles verringert nicht, dass die Erzählungsform im Nahen Orient bestimmte feste Komponente benutzte, die nicht immer von historischen Daten herrühren, sondern als obligate Schablonen in die Erzählung aufgenommen werden sollten.

Was das Verhältnis von *mal'ak*, beziehungsweise von

Jahweh/Elohim und den ausländischen Göttern anbelangt, wobei mit Recht die Theorie des „depotenzierten (fremden) Gottes“ abgewiesen wird, kann noch das Folgende hinzugefügt werden. Man soll darauf achten, dass der Jahwismus das kanaaneische Heidentum dadurch zu besiegen versucht hat, dass er Züge heidnischer Götter in das Wesen Jahwehs aufgenommen hat mit Handhabung von dessen Transzendenz. Auf diese Weise hat Jahweh z.B. die Züge eines Regen- und Donnergottes, den Aspekt des Wolkenreiters, Ba'al entlehnt (A. S. Kapelrud, *Die Ras-Schamra-Funde und das Alte Testament*, München/Basel, 1967, S. 41ff.). Dies kann auch erklären, warum der *mal'ak* Jahweh, der manchmal auftritt, als ob er Jahweh selber wäre, wie z.B. El in den Erzählungen aus Ugarit fungiert.

Was die Abweisung der Beeinflussung der Ägäis durch Ugarit betrifft kann auf die treffende Übereinstimmung zwischen dem hittitischen Mythos des verschwundenen Sturmgottes und einer ägäischen Erzählung hingewiesen werden. Der Drache besiegte den Sturmgott und entnahm ihm das Herz und die Augen. Der Sohn des Sturmgottes heiratete die Tochter des Drachen, trat in dessen Haus ein und es gelang ihm, das Herz und die Augen zurückzubekommen. Hiernach besiegte der Sturmgott den Drachen. Diese Erzählung zeigt eine grosse Ähnlichkeit mit der griechischen Geschichte vom Kampf zwischen Zeus und dem Riesen Typhon auf dem Kasiosberg, d.h. dem Sapon, nördlich von Ugarit, der auf Hurritisch Hazzı heisst. Typhon verbirgt die Sehnen des Gottes in einer Grotte in Kilikien. Von dort werden sie von Hermes und Aigipan geraubt, die sie dem Zeus zurückgeben (M. Vieyra in H.-Ch. Puech, *Histoire des Religions* I, Paris 1970, S. 289, 290). Schon weil die griechische Erzählung sich im Bereich der hittitisch-hurritischen Welt abspielt, ist Beeinflussung dorthin höchstwahrscheinlich. Dies möge ein Argument sein, um annehmlich zu machen, dass nebst der literarischen Formgeschichte auch die topographischen und religionsgeschichtlichen Aspekte mit in die Beurteilung der Möglichkeit von Beeinflussung oder Entlehnung hineingezogen gehören.

Wenn man der Methode der Motivanalyse folgt, soll man sich vor Atomisierung der Erzählungen hüten. Teilweise wird solch ein Fehler schon dadurch neutralisiert, dass die traditionelle Episode in die Untersuchung mit hineingezogen wird. Die Zerstückelung einer Erzählung in Motive aber kann einem die Bedeutung des Ganzen oder den Sinn einer bestimmten Geschichte im Rahmen einer ganzen Überlieferung aus den Augen verlieren machen. Bei der jetzigen Endredaktion des Alten Testaments kann man nicht allein an die stereotypen Erzählungselemente halten, sondern man soll der Absicht Rechnung tragen, in der die Erzählungen in die ganze Überlieferung aufgenommen worden sind. Die Erzvätergeschichten bilden eine Episode in der ganzen Reihe, die zeigen will, wie Jahweh/Elohim die Grundlage für das Volk Israel gelegt hat, den Anfang der historischen Führung Israels durch seinen Gott.

Bisweilen ist der Zusammenhang auch in kleinerem Verband gefährdet, verloren zu gehen. So wird z.B. das Versprechen der Geburt eines Kindes an Sarah als eine Belohnung für erwiesene Gastfreundschaft betrachtet (S. 20, 97; Gen. 18). Die Veranlassung dazu wird im Text nicht angegeben. Schon in Gen. 17, 16 wird der Sarah ein Sohn versprochen. Das Motiv „Belohnung (mit einem Kinde)

für erwiesene Gastfreundschaft" (vergleiche Philemon und Baukis) hat in diesem Fall solch einen Einfluss auf die Interpretation gehabt, dass das Erzählelement „Versprechen an Sarah und Abraham" im Verband des Textes übersehen wird. Das Versprechen eines Kindes ist ein Sonderteil des Leitmotivs der Sorge Jahwehs für Israel durch die ganze Geschichte hindurch. Durch die Zersplitterung der Erzählung in eine Anzahl von Verwicklungsmotiven („plot-motifs") wird der weitere Verband aus den Augen verloren.

Ein anderes Beispiel, dass ein anderswoher erhaltenes Motiv sich der biblischen Erzählung bemächtigt, ist Gen. 22 (S. 28, 29). Der Widder wird als magischer Gegenstand (Motivindex D 800) und als Substitut durch Täuschung statt des Opfers des Kindes (K 520) betrachtet. Der Geschichte gemäss hat Elohim selber für das Brandopfer gesorgt (Gen. 22,8), so dass hier weder von einer Täuschung noch von einer vom Menschen auf Gott ausgeübten Magie die Rede ist. Gen. 22 wird der traditionellen Epiphanieepisode zugeteilt. Am Anfang der Erzählung ist aber zu lesen, dass die Hauptabsicht war, dass Gott Abraham erproben wollte. Dies sollte also dem Motiv A 1871, Gott als Richter der Menschen, zugeteilt werden. Man kann sich fragen, ob solches in Gen. 22 nur als ein Motiv, oder aber als eine traditionelle Episode zu betrachten sei. Das Thema „Gott als derjenige, der die Menschen erprobt, ihren Glauben beurteilt", kann das Leitmotiv einer ganzen Erzählung sein, in der etliche Motive verarbeitet sind. Auch in Gen. 19 ziehen die Boten im Namen Gottes aus, um Sodom und Gomorra zu untersuchen. Solche Fälle machen die Zuteilung zu bestimmten Motiven oder Episoden bisweilen gewissermassen willkürlich und man kann ebensogut an andere Zuteilungen denken.

In Gen. 28 (S. 31, 32) wird der Traum Jakobs sowohl D 1810.8.2, „Information durch einen Traum empfangen", wie M 302.7, „Prophezeiung durch Träume", zugewiesen. Dies lässt vermuten, dass der Thomsonsche Motivindex nicht immer genügend brauchbar ist.

Von den erwähnten Geschichten aus Genesis werden zwei ganz oder teilweise der Geburtsepisode zugeschrieben, der Rest der Epiphanieepisode. Unter Epiphanieepisode wird alles verstanden, was zu einer Offenbarung Gottes an Menschen gehört. Dazu kann man so viele Arten von Kontakten zwischen Gott und Menschen rechnen, dass es notwendig wäre, diese weiter zu klassifizieren, oder einige Subklassifikationen anzubringen.

Die Annahme bestimmter Gestalten vonseiten eines Gottes wird der Motivgruppe D, Magie, zugewiesen. Nun ist es aber üblich, nicht einen Gott sondern einen Menschen als das Subjekt der Magie zu betrachten (obgleich ein Gott wie Ea oder Thot, die Magie beaufsichtigen kann). In der Magie wendet ein Mensch ein natürliches Verfahren an, das einen übernatürlichen Erfolg hat. Deshalb kann man die Gestaltverwandlung eines Gottes nicht der Rubrik „Magie" zuteilen. Der Begriff „Magie" wird hier sehr weit aufgefasst. Auch die Beschaffung eines Widders in Gen. 22 (S. 39) gehört dazu. Die Schöpfung von zwei Helfern für Inanna durch Enki wird auch „Magie" genannt, obwohl es eine Tat des Schöpfergottes ist (S. 38).

Der Fall Dumuzis, der statt Inanna in die Unterwelt herniederfahren muss, wird dem Motiv L 400, „Erniedrigung des Stolzen", zugewiesen. Dumuzi ist aber hauptsächlich

ein Beispiel des sterbenden und wiederauferstehenden Vegetationsgottes vom Typus Kore, Dionysos, Osiris, Attis, Adonis, usw.

Die Parallele zwischen dem armen Mann Gimil-Ninurta (S. 43, 44) und Hagar (Gen. 16 und 21) trifft nur teilweise zu. Der arme Mann rächt sich zwar am Bürgermeister, er selber aber gewinnt dabei nichts, während Hagar in ihrem Sohne gesegnet wird und Gottes Rettung erfährt.

Auch in der Erzählung von Nergal und Ereschkigal trifft die Parallele mit Gen. 18 nur teilweise zu (S. 44-47). Nergal wird von Ea in einen elenden Menschen verändert, um ihn vor dem Zorn der Ereschkigal zu verbergen, während Jahweh sich eben in seiner „Vermummung" dem Abraham offenbart (Gen. 18,1: „Jahweh erschien ihm bei den Eichen von Mamre"). Die Erzählung gehört also zur traditionellen Epiphanieepisode. Das Motiv „Gott in Vermummung" hat in jeder der beiden Erzählungen eine andere Bedeutung. Die allzu detaillierte Motivanalyse leitet die Andacht von der Hauptabsicht der Erzählungen ab.

Im Gilgameschepos (S. 53) unterscheidet sich das von Enkidu vorhergesagte Schicksal der Hure, das ungünstig ist, sehr vom prophezeiten Schicksal des Ismael, das günstig ist. Bei Enkidu handelt es sich um die Rache an der Hure, bei Ismael um den Segen Gottes. Die Motivanalyse führt in diesem Fall zu einer unrichtigen Auslegung der Genesisgeschichte.

In Gen. 21 wird nicht angenommen, dass Jahweh Isaak bei Sarah erzeugt hat, sondern dass er die Ehe des Abraham und der Sarah zu einem späten Zeitpunkt auf wunderbarer Weise mit einem Kinde gesegnet hat. Obgleich die ägyptische Erzählung von Papyrus Westcar besagt, dass dem Rawose drei Söhne geboren werden werden, ist es doch die Hauptabsicht der Erzählung, dass die Könige der fünften Dynastie leibliche Söhne des Gottes Re sein sollen (S. 85). Die Hypothese, dass Isaak ein leiblicher Sohn Jahwehs sein könnte, wird von der Rawosererzählung her in die Genesisgeschichte hineininterpretiert. Vor solchen Gefahren der Motivanalyse soll man sich hüten!

Auf diese Weise könnten weitere Beispiele erwähnt werden, nach denen die Motivanalyse die Akzente in einer Erzählung dort legt, wo sie in Wirklichkeit nicht liegen. Die Gefahr ist nicht imaginär, dass einem durch die Motivanalyse die Hauptabsicht einer biblischen Geschichte abhanden kommt, da man zuviel im Detail gefangen ist.

Trotz dieser Vorbehalte ist nichtdestoweniger die Auslegung mittels des Verwicklungsmotivs und der traditionellen Episode eine zuverlässige Methode, um die Struktur der alttestamentlichen Erzählungen besser zu verstehen.

Die Komposition und die typographische Einteilung des Buches sind deutlich und übersichtlich. Die Tabellen auf den letzten drei Seiten fördern die Brauchbarkeit. Es gibt nahezu keine Druckfehler. Davon sind nur zwei zu erwähnen: S. 50, „remebering" soll „remembering" sein, und S. 108 ist „world play" ein störender Fehler statt „word play".

Utrecht, Mai 1980

J. ZANDEE

Mit Dank sei erwähnt, dass Herr Dipl. Ing. Dr. F. Peschek, Haag, die Korrektur der deutschen Sprache ausgeführt hat.

Walter W. MÜLLER, *Weihrauch. Ein arabisches Produkt und seine Bedeutung in der Antike*. München, Alfred Druckenmüller Verlag, 1978 (24 cm; 77 Spalten) = Supplement-Band XV der Realencyclopädie von Pauly-Wissowa, Sp. 700-777. DM 16.80.

Seit einigen Jahren werden grössere Beiträge zu den Supplement-Bänden der berühmten „Pauly-Wissowa" als Sonderdrucke in den Handel gebracht. An verschiedenen dieser als Broschüren ausgestatteten Publikationen wird auch der Altorientalist interessiert sein; (z.B. R. Büll und E. Moser, *Wachs und Kerze. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte dreier Jahrtausende*. (1974) = Suppl.-Band XIII, Sp. 1347-1416). Das trifft aber besonders zu auf die vorliegende Arbeit, eine in knappster Form gehaltene Übersicht über alles was wir von Herkunft und Verwendung des Weihrauches wissen. Der Verfasser arbeitet alle einschlägigen altorientalischen, klassischen, arabischen und auch mehr entlegenen Quellen auf und kann sich bisweilen auf eigene Erfahrungen in den Weihrauchländern stützen. Wir haben hier eine gründliche Behandlung des Themas gemäss der besten Tradition des „Pauly-Wissowa" vor uns. Alles wird behandelt: Botanik, Herkunft, Handel, Verwendung bei altorientalischen Völkern, Griechen, Römern, im frühen Christentum, bei den Arabern (Sp. 751f.), als Räuchermittel, Heilmittel und Ingredienz zu Parfümen und Getränken. Bisweilen ist es inmitten dieser Fülle des Materials schwierig, Zusammengehöriges wieder zurückzufinden; z.B. die Erörterungen zu „Manna" und Rinde des Weihrauches als *materia medica* in Abschnitt 23 (Sp. 770f.) sind nur verständlich, wenn man sich an die Beschreibungen auf Sp. 720f. erinnert. Der wichtige Hafen Cane wird auf Sp. 712 und Sp. 727 behandelt. Querverweisungen kommen vor, aber nicht häufig.

Es fällt auf, dass das Wort „Weihrauch" in Mesopotamien nur zweimal vorkommt (Sp. 742), in einem Rezept und im Kommentar zu einem Text mit Vorschriften für Räucherwerk, akkadisch *qutāru* (BRM 4 32:15 zu TCL 6 34 Rs. II 11). In jenem Kommentar ist das Wort *la-ba-na-tum* die zweite Gleichung eines sumerischen Ideogramms; vielleicht handelt es sich also um ein spätes Fremdwort (M. Stol, *On Trees, Mountains, and Millstones in the Ancient Near East*, 1979, S. 72 unten). Die Identifizierung des ägyptischen Wortes *sntr* mit echtem Weihrauch (siehe W. W. Müller, Sp. 737ff., 775) ist nicht unbedingt sicher und vielleicht zu spezifisch (siehe Renate Germer, *Untersuchung über Arzneimittelpflanzen im Alten Ägypten*, 1979, S. 69-74, die allerdings zugunsten des Weihrauches argumentiert). Zu den Angaben im Alten Testament (Sp. 743) sei jetzt verwiesen auf Menahem Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel*, 1978, S. 208 und 230ff. Wir danken W. W. Müller für seine ausgezeichnete Arbeit.

Leiden, Mai 1980

M. STOL

* *

MODERNE NABIJE OOSTEN

Edward INGRAM, *The Beginning of the Great Game in Asia, 1828-1834*. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1979 (xv, 361 S. mit 5 Kt.). £ 11.00. ISBN 0 19 822470 2.

„The great game in Asia", d.h. die Verteidigung Britisch-Indiens gegen die Gefahren des Vordringens Russlands nach Persien und Innerasien, hatte nicht erst 1828/29 begonnen, als durch die Friedensschlüsse von Turkmançay und Edirne ein gewisses Übergewicht des nördlichen Nachbarn in den beiden orientalischen Reichen besiegelt worden war. Bereits durch das jämmerlich gescheiterte Ägypten-Abenteuer Napoleons hatte man sich in Indien bedroht gefühlt. Diese Furcht erreichte ihren ersten Höhepunkt trotz oder gerade wegen der genannten Verträge, in denen Russland die Integrität der beiden Staaten ausdrücklich anerkannt hatte. Auf britischer Seite nährte man gern geographische und strategische Vorstellungen, die sich weniger an den militärischen Katastrophen des Korsen, sondern eher an den Kriegszügen Alexanders des Grossen durch Westasien orientierten, und sah die russische Armee innerhalb von zwei Jahren durch den Kaukasus und Persien oder über Chiwa und den Lauf des Oxus nach Afghanistan und weiter durch den Khaiberpass nach Indien hineinströmen, wo sie auf Verbände stossen würden, die allenfalls Ordnungsfunktionen ausüben und einer europäischen Streitmacht nicht widerstehen könnten. Selbst eine Vormarschlinie über den Euphrat und den Persischen Golf wurde erwogen — deshalb und nicht wegen einer möglichen Verbesserung des Handels und der Postverbindungen zwischen Indien und England wurde die Schiffbarkeit des Flusses so intensiv untersucht. Stimmen wie jene des ersten britischen Residenten in Bagdad, Sir Harford Jones Brydges, der ein solches russisches Vordringen für ebenso unsinnig wie die Indienpläne Napoleons gehalten hatte und allenfalls eine Einfallsrouten über Astarabad und Herat erwog (S. 286f.), wurden selten vernommen.

Die zeitliche Abgrenzung des vorliegenden Werkes wird einerseits durch die Verträge, auf der anderen Seite, nicht so eindeutig, durch den Thronwechsel in Persien 1834 und das davorliegende russisch-türkische Abkommen von Hünkâr İskelesi gegeben; über letzteres musste deshalb hier und da hinausgegriffen werden. Quellenmässig beruht die Arbeit, was im Titel auch durch das „great game" nicht deutlich zum Ausdruck kommt, ausschliesslich auf britischen Material: diplomatische Korrespondenz, gedruckte Quellen, Memoiren und Reiseberichte; die bedeutendste Gegenseite, Russland, kommt so natürlich nicht direkt und meist nur verzerrt zu Wort. Wie üblich ist die Lektüre der Berichte und Briefe wenig erfrischend, da sie voll von Eigenlob und Selbstüberschätzung, Herabsetzungen von Kollegen und Konkurrenten, sinnlosen Spekulationen, Biertischstrategie und geographischer Ignoranz sind, zu denen sich noch der relativ grosse zeitliche Abstand zwischen Absendung und Erhalt gesellt, doch kann die historische Forschung ja nicht auf sie verzichten. Wohl treffend bezeichnete der genannte Sir Harford Jones die britischen Agenten als „often too proud, too lazy, and too puffed up with themselves" (S. 317).

In der Einleitung wird vor allem auf die Zwitterstellung Englands hingewiesen, die seine Politik bestimmen musste; in Europa war es ein Inselstaat und eine Seemacht, in Asien hingegen ein Kontinentalstaat und eine Landmacht. Hinsichtlich des zwischen Europa und Indien liegenden Raumes bestand u.a. die Überlegung, dort eine Zone von Pufferstaaten zu schaffen, worauf weiter unten zurückgekommen wird. Der Verf., der seine Arbeit 1976 ab-

EGYPTOLOGIE

FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF EGYPTOLOGY, CAIRO, OCTOBER 2-10, 1976. Edited by Walter F. Reineke. Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1979 (25 cm., 704 pp.) = Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients, 14. Price: 150.-. M. Lizenznummer 202.100/94/79.

October 2-10, 1976 the "First International Congress of Egyptology" took place in Cairo. The present volume gathers together the abstracts of the lectures presented, under the editorship of Walter F. Reineke. He must be congratulated for his success in rounding up 112 abstracts of the 128 papers read. This enormous material covers the entire spectrum of Egyptology in all its subdivisions. Although only abstracts they nevertheless convey a concise account of what happened at that memorable gathering in Cairo. A number of the major contributions have since been published in extenso. To present it in an offset reproduction was certainly a wise choice and meets adequately the reader's needs. The numerous accompanying plates, although reproduced offset, are, on the whole, clear enough to illustrate the points raised. The only shortcoming of the publication is the lack of an index, which would have facilitated its use.

At the First International Congress of Egyptology the International Association of Egyptologists was reactivated. A number of resounding resolutions were passed, but very little has happened in the years since. It shows only too clearly that the enthusiasm generated at big gatherings might be more a straw fire than productive energy. Nevertheless, the Congress was unquestionably most successful, as is documented by this volume, which the "Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR" graciously undertook to publish.

The Johns Hopkins University,
September 1980


HANS GOEDICKE

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

K. A. KITCHEN, *Ramesseide Inscriptions* II 4; II 13-20. Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, 1979 (8vo, jedes Heft 32 p.).


Mit den hier angezeigten Heften werden die Inschriften Ramses' II. fortgesetzt; dabei ist Heft II 4 nachgebracht, wohl weil die Aufnahme der Amara-Texte eine Verzögerung gebracht hat. In diesem Heft werden die Inschriften des zerstörten Tempels Ramses' II. in Abydos fortgesetzt und abgeschlossen. Zu diesen Texten ist die projektierte Neuveröffentlichung des gesamten Tempels durch K. P. Kuhlmann abzuwarten (vgl. MDAIK 35, 1979, 189ff.). Die Hauptmasse der Texte von II 4 machen aber die Beischriften zu den Kriegsszenen und die topographischen Listen aus den nubischen Tempeln aus, zu denen Reineke nichts Eigenes beibringen kann. Er verweist nur auf die wichtige Publikation der topographischen Listen aus Amara-West, die Parallelen in Aksha und im Tempel Amenophis' III. in Soleb haben, wodurch es jetzt etwas leichter wird, die Frage der Abfolge solcher Listen anzu-


gehen, wenn auch die volle Publikation der Soleb-Listen noch aussteht.

Heft II 13 (p. 577-608) setzt zunächst die Inschriften der Hypostylen Halle in Karnak fort und gibt einzelne Inschriften dieses Königs in diesem Tempelbereich. S. 580 Nr. 222 Z. 12 Ende sah ich  — aber ob richtig? Es folgen die Aufschriften kgl. Statuen aus Karnak und die Litanei des siegreichen Theben (Nr. 226), diese mit dem Zusatz einer fragmentarischen Variante Sethos' I. aus dem Hypostylen Saal.

Zu Nr. 227 (Inschrift Ramses' II. im Mut-Tempel):

596,7 las ich  (!) hr nhm Hnmw hr  (2) ... = nfrw

569,9  ist sicher.

Zu Beginn von Z. 5 lies: 

Zu Beginn von Z. 10 sah ich: 


597,3 Beginn Z. 18: 

597,4 Ergänze doch zu Beginn von Z. 19  ... 


597,6 Zu Beginn von Z. 22 sah ich







(sic) 

Es folgen ab S. 598 (Nr. 228) Inschriften Ramses' II. aus Luxor, die sich in II 14 fortsetzen. Sie sind bereits meist schon mehrmals publiziert; Stichproben ergaben keine Abweichungen von eigenen Abschriften bzw. Photos.

In 628,11 glaubte ich  zu erkennen.

In 631,5 steht  da.

Ab S. 634 (Nr. 239) sind die Inschriften Ramses' II. aus dem Totentempel seines Vaters in Qurna gegeben. Zu 635ff Nr. 240 B-C folgende Bemerkungen:

636,4 ist nach Parallelen (639,10) zu lesen:  sšm-hw.f ebenso in 637,4.

637,3 lies doch  wie in 636,3.

Heft II 15 schließt die Ramses II.-Texte aus Qurna ab und enthält abschließend die Texte des Ramesseums. Leider enthält mein Exemplar einen Ausdruckfehler, sodaß 653-656 doppelt vorhanden sind anstelle von 649, 652, 661 und 664.








646,2 lies:  (mit Helck, Ritualdarstellungen)

648,10: Es steht wirklich  da! (nach Photo).

Am Ende des Heftes folgen die bei Spiegelberg, Hieratic Papyri gegebenen Ostraka über Steintransporte für das Ramesseum, die hiermit einer notwendigen Bearbeitung zugänglicher gemacht worden sind, ebenso wie dann in Heft 16 die Aufschlüsselung der Weinkrugaufschriften, zu deren zeitlichen Anordnung die Bemerkungen bei Helck, Materialien, 732 ff. heranzuziehen sind.



Das Heft 16 endet mit den Texten aus der Hathorkapelle von Deir el-Medineh, welche in Heft II 17 weitergeführt werden, gefolgt von einzelnen Stelenfragmenten und Graffiti aus diesem Bereich.





II 710 Nr. 260 ist eine Stiftungsstele, bei der ich folgende Lesungs- bzw. Ergänzungsvorschläge machen möchte:




710,3:       




a) Die an diesen Stellen angegebenen senkrechten Strichreste sind wohl Trennstriche.

710,5 und 6: Die angegebenen Lesungen „365“ sind richtig.







710,7 ergänze: ...  

710,8 ergänze     Die Ergänzung [ms]st mit einer Stoffangabe davor ist wahrscheinlicher als [jn]st in der Publikation.

710,9 möglicherweise zu ergänzen:   

710,10 wohl:   

710,11: ...  

710,12:      

Es folgen Statuen- und Stelenfragmente aus Erment (Nr. 261), die (usurpierte) Dyade aus Nahamid Gibli (Nr. 262), Inschriftreste aus Elkab (Nr. 263), Elephantine (Nr. 264), Beit el-Wali (Nr. 264), Gerf Husein (Nr. 266), Wadi es-Sabua (Nr. 267). Diese Kopien aus den nubischen Tempeln setzen sich in II 18 fort mit Derr (Nr. 268), Anibe (Nr. 269) und den beiden Tempeln von Abu Simbel (Nr. 270-1); in II 19 dann mit Faras (Nr. 273), Aksha (Nr. 274), Buhen (Nr. 275), Amara West (Nr. 276) und Kawa und Napata (Nr. 277). Diese Kopien sind durchgängig den einschlägigen Publikationen entnommen.

Darauf folgen „Miscellaneous and Minor Monuments (Royal)“ von Ramses II., darunter eine Anzahl Skarabäen.

Ab Nr. 283 bis 288 in II 20 folgen dann Dokumente aus der Zeit Ramses' II., darunter eine neue Umschrift der Lederrolle des Louvre mit der Aufzählung der Angehörigen eines kgl. Stalles, unter denen bekannte Namen (wohl noch als jugendliche Zöglinge) auftauchen. Weiter werden aufgeführt der fragmentarische Papyrus über den Sklavinnenkauf, und der über einen Felderprozess (Pap. Berlin 3047), die bekannten Logbücher sowie der Turiner Königspapyrus mit seiner Vorderseite, den leider stark fragmentarischen Notizen aus dem kgl. Schatzhaus.

Auch die hier angezeigten Hefte sind, auch wenn sie für historische Fragen wenig ergeben, ein erneuter Beweis dafür, wie nützlich die KRI sind. Es darf aber dabei auch nicht übersehen werden, wie viel unpubliziertes Material neben den bekannten Texten gegeben wird; die eingehende Durchsicht eines jeden Heftes hat etwas von einer Entdeckungsfahrt an sich.

Hamburg, Juni 1980

W. HELCK

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Erik HORNING, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter*. Eingeleitet, übersetzt und erläutert von —. Zürich und München, Artemis Verlag, 1979 (17.4 × 10.5, 544 S., 92 Abb.) = Die Bibliothek der Alten Welt, Reihe der Alte Orient. Preis: S Fr 78.—.

Bis zur Erscheinung dieses vorzüglichen Bandes gab es noch keine vollständige deutsche Uebersetzung des Toten-

schloss, konnte — glücklicherweise? — nicht ahnen, welche Parallelen sich bei aller gebotenen Zurückhaltung seit dem Dezember 1979 geradezu aufdrängen.

Den Hauptteil des Werkes, das, wie es im Vorwort (S. ix) heisst, vor allem eine Lücke in den historischen Darstellungen zwischen den Verträgen von Turkmançay und Edirne sowie der Begegnung von Münchengrätz im Herbst 1833 zwischen den Kaisern von Russland und Österreich ausfüllen soll, macht naturgemäss der englisch-russische Konkurrenzkampf in Persien, wo der Schah „formed the only bond that held the discordant parts of the kingdom together“ (S. 302), und im zersplitterten Afghanistan aus. Gleich danach rangieren Indien selbst, wo die Kompanie zwar die Industlinie als Verteidigungsfront in Betracht zog, sie damals aber noch nicht erreicht hatte, die innerasiatischen Khanate Chiwa und Bucharä, wo das russische Vordringen mit den britisch-indischen Handels- und Schutzinteressen kollidierte, sowie Mesopotamien, das von der osmanischen Zentralgewalt noch nicht wieder hatte unter Kontrolle gebracht werden können. Über die Bewahrung der Integrität der Türkei waren sich in jener Epoche die beiden rivalisierenden Grossmächte einig, was eine Zurückdrängung der ägyptischen Ambitionen einschloss.

Abschliessend stellt der Verf. fest, dass die Briten an sich eine Grenze zwischen dem europäischen politischen System des Gleichgewichts der Kräfte und den Sicherheitsinteressen Indiens vorgezogen hätten. Da diese Grenze jedoch für sie zu weit östlich verlaufen wäre, entschieden sie sich für die Schaffung einer Pufferzone; ihr grösstes Problem hierbei wie bei der Abwehr der russischen Expansion war die Entgegnung auf den russischen Anspruch, dass Russland als Nachbar sowohl der Türkei in Europa und in Asien als auch Persiens in Asien ein grösseres Interesse an den dortigen Vorgängen habe als Grossbritannien (S. 328f). Britischerseits wurden alle bekannten diplomatischen und politischen Mittel bis hin zur Kriegsdrohung angewendet; Repressalien wie Boykottmassnahmen, Sanktionen oder gar „Bestrafungen“ sind noch nicht zu registrieren, doch hat das allgemeine Völkerrecht seitdem mancherlei Veränderungen nicht nur in positiver Richtung durchgemacht.

Der Arbeit sind ein umfängliches Quellen- und Literaturverzeichnis sowie ein (unvollständiger) Index beigegeben. Die fünf Kartenskizzen wurden etwas oberflächlich gezeichnet, und vor allem S. 147 weist einige Kuriositäten bei der Wiedergabe der Küstenlinien z.B. am Mittelmeer und bei den Dardanellen auf. Trotz des Hinweises auf S. ix, wonach die Schreibung der Orts- und Personennamen dem englischen Brauch angepasst worden sei, hätten eindeutig falsch geschriebene Eigennamen wie „Diabekir“ (ohne ein r in der Mitte), „Kutayah“ (ohne das gesprochene h als fünften Buchstaben), „Sulemanieh“ (S. 145, fehlt im Index, ohne y als fünften Buchstaben), „Nishi-Novgorod“ (S. 122, fehlt im Index), „Beles“ (S. 281, fehlt im Index, statt Balis) u.a. wenigstens ausserhalb der Zitate korrigiert werden sollen.

Mainz, Mai 1980

HANS-JÜRGEN KORNRUMPF

* *

buches. Wir verdanken Herrn Hornung nicht nur eine solche, wissenschaftlich tadellose Uebersetzung. Er legt auch Einführung und ausführlichen Kommentar vor, und damit eine richtige Fundgrube. Ueberzeugt von der Wichtigkeit der Illustrationen bespricht er ebenfalls die Vignetten und gibt eine grosse Menge von kontemporären Proben. Der enge Zusammenhang mit den vorhergehenden Sargtexten und den gleichzeitig angetroffenen Unterweltbüchern wird ständig hervorgehoben.

Der Beitrag dieses Buches ist um so reicher, weil Verfasser eine Anzahl von unveröffentlichten Abschriften aus der 18. Dynastie mit benutzen konnte. So die Exemplare der Hatnefer (Leichentuch in Kairo), und des Baksu (Brocklehurst II in Hannover), Maiherperi (Kairo), Sen(en)-mut (TT 353) und Useramun (Edinburgh). Er beschränkt sich prinzipiell auf die Quellen der 18.-20. Dynastie, mit einem gelegentlichen Exkurs über Totenbücher der 21.

Hornung versteht sich darauf, Nüchternheit und Begeisterung so zu dosieren, dass er besonnen und klar schreibt, trotzdem stets fesselt. In seiner, auch in literarischer Hinsicht schönen, Uebersetzung bleibt die Struktur des Originals immer wieder erkennbar. Und nicht seine geringste Leistung: Laien und Fachgelehrten dient er in gleichem Masse mit diesem ausgezeichneten Werke.

Voorschoten, August 1980

M. HEERMA VAN VOSS

* *

Wolfgang SCHENKEL. *Das Stemma der altägyptischen Sonnenlitanei*. Grundlegung der Textgeschichte nach der Methode der Textkritik. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1978 (24 cm., 71 pp.) = Göttinger Orientalforschungen, IV. Reihe 1: Ägypten. Bd. 6 DM 12.-. ISBN 3 447 01964 6.

Pages 1-39 of this work are devoted to the principles of textual criticism and of the stemma-construction which seeks to establish the relationship of manuscripts to one another. These are themes which have been much discussed in the orbit of classical philology, and Schenkel follows, in the main, Paul Maas in his presentation of the aims and methods employed. Contemporary classical scholarship may appear to give less attention to textual matters than used to be the case, while more energy is correspondingly spent on literary, conceptual, and historical themes. It should not be forgotten, however, that this re-channelling of effort is often possible only because previous scholars have successfully dealt with the major textual problems. Admittedly, there has also been a measure of reaction against the enthronement of the textual critic. In his recent presidential address to the Classical Association of England and Wales B. R. Rees confessed that he gave up attending Eduard Fraenkel's famous Oxford seminar on the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus after discovering that progress was so slow that only about twenty lines could be dealt with in a term. Yet the finished Commentary is by no means exclusively absorbed with questions of textual readings.

What is new about Schenkel's discussion is that he boldly applies the technique — at least, that which involves the history of a text — to Egyptian material, in particular

to the texts of the Litany of the Sun-god. His treatment has an abstract quality which is reminiscent of the book by Maas. Some criticisms of that book, *Textkritik*, which appeared in a third edition in 1957, are made by Martin L. West in his *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique* (Stuttgart, 1973), 5, where he says that 'it is too one-sided to be satisfactory as a general introduction'. He adds that 'it emphasizes the stemmatic aspect of textual analysis, and treats contamination as a regrettable deviation about which nothing can be done, instead of as a normal state of affairs'. Schenkel (p. 24) rightly cites the criticisms of Kleinlogel.

For the Sun-litany in the New Kingdom the admirable publication of the texts by Erik Hornung and others in *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen* (Geneva, 1975) is used by Schenkel to establish the stemma, the data being presented in tabular form. He then considers the evidence of the Late Period, which is much more fragmentary, for after the Twentieth Dynasty no complete text of the Litany appears. A basic conclusion reached is that each of the three dynasties involved from the New Kingdom — the Eighteenth, the Nineteenth, and the Twentieth — possessed its own prototype of the text. Through certain periods a preference is revealed, now for recent versions, now for earlier ones: and the fact that such a choice existed points to the rich state, at the time of the late New Kingdom, of the archival store which could be drawn upon. At the same time, we are told, the stemma shows that the later textual witnesses could be equal in value to the earlier ones. Errors in the transmission of texts are inevitable in the process of copying, but here the constantly repeated recourse to earlier versions prevented a continuous deterioration of the textual tradition. In the Late Era, however, the store of copies must have declined, and a factor in this situation was the limited use which was necessarily made of the text — only in royal burials, save for instances when the text might be adopted for private use. Sometimes the late witnesses transmit parts of the text which are missing in other versions of the New-Kingdom text. Schenkel makes the plausible suggestion that the late witnesses revert in part to copies which were originally prepared for particular purposes in the New Kingdom, but which were then, for one reason or another, detained in an archive, or, since they were not needed in the monument which was being built, brought back to an archive. For special reasons the 'Great Litany', which was adorned with representations, had a wider circulation in the Late Era.

The object of the exercise has thus been successfully achieved. We are now soundly informed on the relationship between the principal extant sources of the Litany of the Sun. One must admire the zeal with which Schenkel sticks to his chosen theme, arid as it may seem. Only occasionally does he turn to discuss the variant readings themselves, as when he suggests (p. 51) that the conflicting readings *Db* and *D*, of a divine being, may point to an uncertainty on the part of the Egyptians themselves.

Swansea, Wales,
June 1980

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

* *

Bolesław GINTER-Janusz K. KOZŁOWSKI-Barbara DROBNIEWICZ, *Silexindustrien von El Târif. Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklung der prädynastischen Kulturen in Oberägypten*. Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, (1979) (36 cm., 78 pp., 26 figs., 88 pll.h.t.) = Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, 26. Prix: DM 135,-. ISBN 3 8053 03769.

Lors de fouilles entreprises par le «Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Kairo» dans la nécropole de El Târif, une importante collection d'artefacts en silex a pu être récoltée. El Târif se situe quelque peu au nord de Gournah, sur la rive gauche du Nil, en bordure du désert.

Les fouilles furent effectuées sous la direction de D. Arnold, mais les auteurs ont pu faire quelques observations complémentaires sur le terrain. La séquence stratigraphique comprend cinq couches. La couche inférieure (1), graveleuse, est interprétée comme un dépôt de pente d'origine locale. Ce dépôt contient de nombreux artefacts paléolithiques. Il est recouvert par trois (2-4) minces couches d'origine éolienne. La couche 2 contient une industrie — la série A des auteurs — qui n'est pas très fraîche. La couche supérieure (5), presque entièrement anthropique, était en grande partie composée de cendres, de charbon de bois, mais également de sable éolien. Cette couche contenait un matériel lithique frais, la série B. A l'intérieur de cette couche il y avait deux ou même trois niveaux d'occupation, reconnaissables à leur sol d'habitat en terre battue. L'ensemble des couches était couvert par des dépôts d'âge dynastique mais avait souffert de la construction des mastabas. En se référant aux données paléoclimatologiques de la Nubie et du Fayoum, les auteurs croient pouvoir situer la formation de la couche 2 dans la première moitié du 5^e millénaire et celle de la couche 5 au milieu du 4^e millénaire avant notre ère.

Comme les auteurs eux-mêmes ne sont pas responsables de la fouille, on comprend leur discrétion en ce qui concerne la méthode choisie. Le lecteur aurait pourtant aimé avoir des détails sur la façon dont les deux séries d'artefacts ont été récoltées. En tenant compte de la patine caractéristique des quelques artefacts que les auteurs ont trouvés *in situ* lors de leurs observations complémentaires sur le terrain, on soupçonne que les séries ont été constituées à posteriori. On n'apprend rien sur la céramique qui, d'après la figure 3, était présente aussi bien dans la couche 2 que dans la couche 5. On cherche en vain un plan de la couche 5 ou une référence aux sols d'habitat. En effet, comme le titre du livre l'indique, il s'agit uniquement d'une description du matériel lithique; ce qui est peut-être à regretter.

Le second chapitre donne une description des artefacts de la couche 1 attribués au paléolithique. Ceux-ci ont probablement dérivé des pentes de la montagne thébaine. Ils présentent en effet la patine brun à rouge-brun, très caractéristique des trouvailles de surface, et ils portent de nombreuses pseudo-retouches dues au transport. Il s'agit d'un petit ensemble hétérogène attestant l'utilisation à la fois du débitage Levallois et d'un débitage lamellaire. Les auteurs suggèrent différentes attributions culturelles.

Le troisième chapitre donne une description détaillée et consciencieuse du matériel de la série A, portant sur plus de 2000 artefacts. Il s'agit d'une industrie à index laminaire

faible. L'outillage est caractérisé par une nette prédominance des racloirs et grattoirs, suivis de près par lames et éclats retouchés, coches et denticulés. Perçoirs et burins sont présents mais peu nombreux. L'industrie est abondamment illustrée de bons dessins. Il est cependant regrettable que ceux-ci ne fassent pas de distinction entre retouches accidentelles et intentionnelles. D'après les auteurs, l'origine de cette industrie doit être mise en rapport avec les industries du Shamarkien récent de la Nubie, compte tenu du fait qu'en Haute Égypte l'homme préhistorique a très rapidement abandonné l'usage des lamelles à dos.

Le chapitre 4 comporte une description, tout aussi détaillée et accompagnée d'illustrations, des 3250 artefacts de la série B. Dans cet ensemble, les lames sont nombreuses et de bonne facture. L'outillage est dominé par les pièces à coches et les denticulés, suivis en ordre décroissant d'importance par les éléments de faucille, les burins — surtout sur cassure mais également sur troncature —, et même des burins dièdres, racloirs, grattoirs, éléments tronqués et perçoirs. On y trouve quelques pièces bifaciales.

Le chapitre 5 discute des différences entre la série A et B. Les auteurs en arrivent à la conclusion que la série B ne peut pas être considérée comme le produit d'une évolution locale de l'industrie de la série A. Ils essayent également de situer le matériel lithique d'El Târif dans le cadre du matériel lithique néolithique et prédynastique égyptien. C'est une entreprise fort décevante, mais qui n'engage en rien la responsabilité des auteurs. En effet, bien que les recherches sur le néolithique et le prédynastique en Égypte remontent déjà au siècle dernier, il nous faut constater une grande carence dans la publication du matériel lithique. L'outillage des sites d'habitat de ces périodes est pourtant fort riche, mais malheureusement peu spectaculaire, de sorte que les chercheurs y ont porté peu d'attention. Les auteurs croient pourtant que la série B trouve des parallèles dans le matériel lithique de Nagada II, et même de Nagada I.

Dans un dernier chapitre, on trouvera la description de quelques artefacts de la période dynastique.

Le livre de B. Ginter, J. K. Kozłowski et B. Drobniwicz représente un apport valable pour la connaissance du matériel lithique du prédynastique égyptien. L'illustration abondante (88 Pl.) et de bonne qualité en rehausse considérablement l'utilité. Il nous reste à espérer que cet ouvrage, qui donne une description exhaustive du matériel lithique des sites néolithiques et prédynastiques d'Égypte, ouvrira la voie, dans un proche avenir, à d'autres publications similaires.

Leuven, juillet 1980

PIERRE M. VERMEERSCH

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Karl KROMER, *Siedlungsfunde aus dem frühen Alten Reich in Giseh. Österreichische Ausgrabungen 1971-1975*. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978 (4to, 130 pp., 39 figg., 40 pll. h.t.). Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-Histor. Klasse, Denkschriften, 136. Band. ISBN 3 7001 0265 8. Prix: ÖS. 423.

La rareté des fouilles entreprises sur des sites d'habitation représente une lacune flagrante dans le domaine de l'archéologie égyptienne.

Les «Österreichische Ausgrabungen» dont les résultats nous sont présentés ici par J. Kromer sont certainement intéressantes, puisqu'elles concernent un site d'habitation de l'Ancien Empire, situé dans le district des pyramides de Gizeh.

Le site, qui n'est pas très aisé de localiser au moyen des cartes jointes à la publication, est situé au sud de la rampe d'accès et du temple de la vallée de Mykérinos, à l'extrémité du plateau de grès qui domine la vallée du Nil.

Néanmoins, il ne s'agit pas ici d'un site stratifié normalement. Dès les premiers sondages en 1971, il fut clair qu'on avait affaire ici à une situation assez particulière puisque les habitations ne se trouvaient pas à leur emplacement original et que les déblais provenaient d'un autre site.

Les fouilleurs, partant de quelques tranches de sondage afin de déterminer l'extension du site, ont exploré systématiquement le terrain, par carré de 10 × 10 m. Les profils de ces carrés démontrent clairement que la démolition du site original se fit en plusieurs étapes. Les matériaux les plus lourds ont été transportés d'abord, dans la phase la plus intensive, et les derniers déblais ont été déplacés ultérieurement, probablement quelques années plus tard.

Ce fait exceptionnel, consistant à démonter et à déplacer dans leur entièreté des habitations, est seulement explicable, selon l'interprétation — indiscutablement exacte — de l'auteur, par une ordonnance royale. Selon la datation des trouvailles, cette opération avait probablement pour objectif le dégagement des environs des pyramides de Gizeh, à une époque où la nécropole était en pleine extension.

En décrivant ces trouvailles, l'auteur a procédé à une sélection, étant donné qu'une grande partie du matériel et surtout de la céramique se compose de tessons non caractéristiques; les objets sont classés par catégorie.

Il est néanmoins regrettable que les outils en pierre n'aient pas été publiés selon un ordre typologique, afin de faciliter les comparaisons.

En ce qui concerne la céramique, l'auteur s'en réfère souvent à des typologies existantes, mais pourtant sans établir un parallélisme logique. Une fois de plus, l'inexistence d'un répertoire général de la céramique se fait regretter.

Bien que le chapitre technologique concernant la céramique nous aide à comprendre les méthodes de fabrication et de finition employées, il nous manque les résultats exacts des recherches qui auraient permis d'éventuelles comparaisons.

Parmi les trouvailles les plus importantes se trouvent un cylindre en bois à décor animal, datant de la première dynastie, et un petit sphinx en argile du temps de Khéphren.

En comparant les outils et la céramique avec du matériel déjà connu et daté, l'auteur peut reconstituer une habitation, depuis la première jusqu'à la quatrième dynastie. Le site a connu une période florissante pendant les règnes de Khéops, et surtout de Khéphren; une série d'empreintes de cylindres portant le nom de Khéphren en témoigne.

La fin de la période d'habitation doit être contemporaine de la fin du règne de Khéphren, vu qu'aucune empreinte de cylindre de Mykérinos n'a été trouvée.

La démolition du site original est donc aisément explicable par l'expansion vers le sud de la nécropole de Gizeh, pendant le règne de Mykérinos.

Par la comparaison statistique de la fréquence des catégories de trouvailles par rapport au carrés (10 × 10 m), l'auteur essaie prudemment d'interpréter les activités exercées dans le village original; ceci essentiellement en ce qui concerne la phase la plus récente, c'est-à-dire celle de la quatrième dynastie. Il est vraisemblable que plusieurs corps de métiers, nécessaires aux travaux dans la nécropole, y étaient établis. Comme illustration de l'importance plus grande de l'habitation sous le règne de Khéphren, on a retrouvé un nombre important d'éléments de construction et des empreintes pouvant démontrer l'existence d'un pavillon royal avec des magasins.

La question qui se pose est la suivante: la répartition des quartiers dans le village original ne serait-elle pas apparue plus clairement si on avait noté la situation exacte des trouvailles typiques, que l'on a maintenant seulement placées dans des carrés de 10 × 10 m?

L'ensemble des illustrations joint à la publication donne un aperçu assez complet des trouvailles, mais les dessins de la poterie, et surtout des outils en pierre, laissent à désirer.

Louvain, août 1980

STAN HENDRICKX

* *

Jean LECLANT, *Recherches dans la pyramide et au temple haut du pharaon Pépi I^{er} à Saqqarah*, Leiden, Netherlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1979 (4to, 23 S., XVII Tafeln, 1 Fac-similé), = Scholae Adriani de Buck Memoriae Dicatae VI. Preis: fl. 30.-. ISBN 90 6258 1463.

Jean Leclant hat seine Arbeit dem Andenken von Adrian de Buck gewidmet und den Inhalt in einem Vortrag auf Einladung des Rijksmuseums van Oudheden und des Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten vorher in Leiden bekannt gemacht. Nach dem Titel handelt es sich um die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungsarbeiten an der Pyramide und dem Totentempel von Pepi I.

Vor rund hundert Jahren hat Mariette den Eingang zur Pyramide Pepis I. freigelegt. Auf seine Einladung hin hat Brugsch die ersten Untersuchungen zu Ende gebracht und noch im Januarheft des Jahres 1881 der Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde die wissenschaftliche Welt von dem Textreichtum der Pyramide unterrichtet. Bekanntlich folgte dem die Erschließung weiterer Pyramiden mit Texten, die Maspero seit 1882 in Fortsetzung und 1894 in einem publiziert hat. Schließlich hat Sethe seine Pyramidentexte herausgegeben. Im Verlauf des letzten halben Jahrhunderts, hauptsächlich in der Folge der Arbeiten von Jequier, wurde offensichtlich, daß weitere Untersuchungen an den Pyramiden, bzw. an den Pyramidentexten Aufgabe der zukünftigen Forschung bleibt.

Die neuen Untersuchungen der Pyramiden von Süd-Saqqara und die Sammlung von Textteilen, die bisher noch nicht erschlossen waren, wurde in erster Linie die wissenschaftliche Aufgabe der französischen Ägyptologie. Die Zusammenarbeit der Mission Archéologique Française

de Saqqarah und des Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte unter der Leitung von J.-Ph. Lauer und J. Leclant entwickelte sich zu einem großzügigen Unternehmen. (In die planmäßige Arbeit der Ingenieure, Techniker, Restauratoren, Fotografen, Zeichner, weiter der Arbeitsgruppen zur Textaufnahme und zur Textzusammensetzung konnte der Rez. auf Einladung des Autors 1973 selbst Einsicht nehmen.) Die Erschließungsarbeit der Pyramide Pepis I. begann 1966. Als Ergebnis einer fünfjährigen Arbeit wurde der Weg zur Grabkammer zugänglich und konstruktiv gesichert, den seit dem Mittelalter die barbarische Verwüstung der Steinbrecher beschädigt hatte, gleichwie den Sarkophag des Pharaos. (Von den Kanopen in einem Behälter aus rotem Granit vor dem Sarkophag wurde einer in einer Vertiefung daneben gefunden, und der bildet das bisher erste bekannte Exemplar der königlichen Kanopen des Alten Reiches.) Aus einigen tausenden Steinfragmenten kamen insgesamt 3000 Inschriftenfragmente zutage. Ihre genaue Klassifizierung, die Feststellung ihres originalen Platzes auf der Wand, ihrer Ergänzung und Farben, ihres Vorkommens in den bisher bekannten Pyramidentexten, bzw. ihrer Bestimmung als neue Textteile und ihrer grammatischen Untersuchung geschah an Ort und Stelle im Arbeitslager von Saqqara. Als Beispiel für die Instandsetzungsarbeiten berichtete der Autor über die Arbeiten an der Ostwand der Grabkammer und über die Zusammensetzung der Aufschrift aus den Bruchstücken. Die einzelne Hieroglyphe ist wichtig für die Darstellung der Schreibweise der Schriftzeichen. Weitere Untersuchungen verdient die Art der Änderung aus magischen Gründen auf dem Weg des Vergleichs der bekannten Pyramidentexte, die in einigen Fällen nach den einzelnen örtlichen Zusammenstellungen von einer voneinander abweichenden Auffassung zeugen.

Die Instandsetzungsarbeiten an dem Totentempel Königs Pepi I., der sich in einem chaotischen Zustand befand, wurden 1968 begonnen. Im folgenden Jahr erreichten sie das Magazin südlich der Grabkammer, in dem sich auch die mittelalterliche Kalkbrennerei befunden hat und wo die Vertreter der fremden Völker als gefesselte Feindstatuen gefunden wurden. (Zu den nicht problemlosen Statuen vgl. RdE 21 (1969), 55ff.) Im Verlauf der folgenden Jahre erreichte man 1975 die Vorhalle, vom Heiligtum nach Osten vorwärtsdringend. Ein besonderes Kapitel beschäftigt sich mit den Hauptteilen des Tempels, der nach Borchardt und Jequier „temple intime“ genannt wird. Als herauszuhebendes architektonisches Element tritt ein Steinblockabschluß (massif de separation) auf, der das Heiligtum und den Raum mit den fünf Nischen (la salle aux cinq niches à statue) abgetrennt hat. Dieser kann parallel für die Bestimmung der bisher nicht sicher erkannten ähnlichen Architekturelemente bei einzelnen Pyramidentempeln dienen. Die Verwendung fünf gleich großer Nischen in dem Tempel Pepis I. kann auch architektonische, vielleicht sogar funktionelle Probleme aufwerfen.

Der Bericht über die zehnjährige Arbeit der Mission Archéologique Française de Saqqara an dem Grabplatz und dem Tempel Pepis I. kann hundert Jahre nach Entdeckung der ersten Pyramidentexte als Beispiel dafür dienen, wieviel noch zur Rettung großartiger archäologischer Denkmäler getan werden muß. Die hervorragende Arbeit der Mission bildet auch die Voraussetzung für die Aufgabe, die auf der Grundlage dieser Forschungen eine

neu eingeteilte, aufgrund des gefundenen Materials vollständig zu bezeichnende Ausgabe der Pyramidentexte ermöglichen wird.

Budapest, Juni 1980

VILMOS WESSEZKY

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Dieter ARNOLD, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari Band I Architektur und Deutung*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Kairo. Mainz, von Zabern 1974 (Format 27 cm × 35 cm, 98 pp. mit 39 Abb. im Text, 43 Taf. plus ungezähltes Frontispiz S. 6 und Plan in Tasche) = Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 8. Preis: 140.- DM.

Dieser Band ist der erste in einer geplanten Serie von vier, in denen der eigentliche Tempel (ohne die Gräber der Nebenfrauen, die Funde aus dem Tempel, ohne Vorhof-Grabung und Aufweg¹⁾), die Wandreliefs des Sanktuars (II²⁾), die übrigen Wandreliefs (III) und die Beigaben des Kernbaus und die Holzmodelle des Königsgrabes (IV) publiziert werden sollen.

Arnold breitet vor uns die Ergebnisse einer unter seiner Leitung erfolgten Reinigung und Neuaufnahme des Tempels, des Königsgrabes (nur partiell wegen Einsturzgefahr) und des Grabes der Hauptgemahlin *Tm* aus. Diese Arbeit war gleichzeitig notwendig und erfolgreich, sie ersetzt die heutigen wissenschaftlichen Anforderungen nicht mehr genügende Aufnahme von Naville³⁾ und kommt zu zweifellos besser abgesicherten Resultaten.

Die fünf Kapitel geben 1. eine Baubeschreibung mit Begründungen für die vorgeschlagenen Rekonstruktionen, 2. einen Überblick über die Geschichte des Tempels, 3. einen Versuch der Deutung der Anlage, 4. eine Zusammenstellung der Namen des Tempels in der schriftlichen Überlieferung, 5. einen Anhang mit einer Liste von Priestern des Tempels und posthumen Erwähnungen seines Erbauers Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre. Ein Sachindex schließt sich an.

Die Art und Weise der Diskussion der verschiedenen Rekonstruktionsmöglichkeiten des Grundrisses und der Architektur des Tempels und die zugehörige Dokumentation der Bauaufnahme verdienen grösste Anerkennung und entsprechen dem inzwischen bekannten Standard der anderen Publikationen desselben Autors bzw. der Reihe der „Archäologischen Veröffentlichungen“, auch von der Ausstattung mit und der Qualität der Photos und Pläne her. Die Aufnahmen verraten gleichzeitig grösste Akkurate der archäologischen Arbeit.

Eine Zusammenfassung der Baubeschreibung und der Bedeutung der Tempelanlage möchte ich hier nicht geben,

¹⁾ Nach einer Anmerkung von Arnold in AV 17,26⁶² (s. Anm. 5)) ist die Publikation der Winlock-Grabung im Bereich von Vorhof und Aufwegende als Publications of the MMA New York vol. 21 geplant: H. E. Winlock and D. Arnold, *The Temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahari*. Inzwischen erschienen 1979, vgl. meine Besprechung in BiOr XXXVIII, 1981, 43-46.




²⁾ Erschienen 1974 als AV 11.

³⁾ E. Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari I-III*, Egypt Exploration Fund, Memoirs 28, 30, 32, 1907, 1910, 1913.

man kann dies leicht in Arnold's Artikel „Deir el-Bahari II“ in LÄ I, 1011ff. nachlesen. Dagegen scheint es mir angebracht, einige Worte mehr über die Rekonstruktion des Kernbaus zu sagen. Das spektakulärste Ergebnis in Bezug auf das ehemalige Aussehen des Tempels ist zweifellos, dass Arnold am Kernbau keine Hinweise dafür gefunden hat, er sei von einer Pyramide bekrönt gewesen wie Naville es angenommen hatte. Er rekonstruiert daher nur einen flachen, sich um 5 m über das Dach des Ambulatoriums erhebenden quadratischen Baukörper mit geböschten Seitenwänden, Rundstab und Hohlkehle, einen — in der Deutung Arnold's — monumentalisierten „Urhügel“. Es scheint allerdings, dass er inzwischen von der klaren Ablehnung eines Pyramiden- oder anderen Aufsatzes ein klein wenig abgerückt ist, denn in seinem Beitrag zur PKG 15 (1975) heisst es bei Nr. 50, ob die letzte Stufe oben glatt abschloss oder noch einen Aufbau trug (in Form eines Obeliskens oder einer kleinen Pyramide) liesse sich nicht mit letzter Sicherheit entscheiden.

Von Naville's Argumenten für die Rekonstruktion einer Pyramide über dem Kernbau ist das einzig wesentliche dies, dass im pAbbott (III,14) die Grabanlage durch die Beamten der Untersuchungskommission des Grabräuber-skandals der 20. Dyn. als „Pyramide des Königs *Nb-hpt-R*“ bezeichnet wird. Der Konsequenz dieser eindeutigen Aussage entkommt nur, wer plausibel machen kann, dass hier „Pyramide“ (*mr*) gar nicht mehr eine Pyramide im ursprünglichen Sinn meint. Dies hat nun Mariette schon im vorigen Jahrhundert versucht, weil er nämlich die Grabanlage des Königs *Nbw-hpr-R' Jnj-jtj.f* gefunden hatte, die im pAbbott II,12 ebenfalls als „Pyramide“ bezeichnet wird — während er keine Spuren einer (Ziegel)pyramide feststellen konnte⁴). Da er aber über seine „Grabung“ ausser der Tatsache der Entdeckung einer Grabkammer im Felsen weiter nichts publizierte, kann es durchaus so sein, dass er eben die Reste einer Pyramide nicht erkannte. Arnold verweist (S. 29) zu dem Problem auf folgendes: Das Vorkommen der Bezeichnung *mr* im pAbbott sei nur mit Vorsicht zur Rekonstruktion von Bauwerken zu verwenden, da die Kommissionsmitglieder auch solche Gräber mit „Pyramide“ benannt hätten wie die des (Horus *W3h-nh*) *Jnj-jtj.f-3* und des *Nbw-hpr-R' Jnj-jtj.f*, die „sicher“ keine Pyramiden besessen hätten. Im Anschluss gibt er drei Determinative zum Namen des Mentuhotep-Tempels und eine Tempelmarke wieder, die zwischen „Pyramide“ und „Obelisk“ schwanken — sie deuteten also nur den Sinngehalt an und nicht die genaue Form des Bauwerks. Inzwischen hat Arnold auch die partielle Untersuchung der zuerst genannten Grabanlage vorgelegt⁵). Dabei hat sich ergeben, dass das Gebäude, aus dem die „Hundestele“ des Königs *Jnj-jtj.f-3* stammt, die im pAbbott II,9/11 als vor der „Pyramide“ (*mr*) seiner Grabanlage (*mr*) befindlich erwähnt wird, nicht eine Pyramide gewesen sein kann, wie man im vorigen Jahrhundert auf Grund des pAbbott und ungenügender Untersuchungsmethodik annahm, sondern eine Ziegelkapelle, eine Art „Taltempel“ am Eingang des Saff el-Kisasija (ohne Zugang zum Vorhof des Grabes). Daraus zieht er den Schluss, die Kommission des pAbbott habe

wohl auf Grund des bereits ruinenhaften Zustandes der Kapelle diese für eine Pyramide gehalten. Dass sie nicht bemerkt habe, es handele sich gar nicht um das Grab selbst, sei bezeichnend für ihre Arbeitsweise.

Mir scheint, dass man etwas anders argumentieren sollte und dass man keinen Fehler im pAbbott anzunehmen braucht, um die lästige Pyramide „loszuwerden“. In der Fussnote 29⁴⁷ (Hinweis darauf, dass Mariette bereits in Frage stellte, *mr* bedeute ausschliesslich Pyramide) liegt der richtige Ansatz. Wahrscheinlich ist es der Grabtypus, der die Bezeichnung *mr* rechtfertigte, sei es nun wirklich mit Pyramide oder nicht. Im pAbbott werden anscheinend verschiedene Grabbezeichnungen wie *mr*, *m'h't*, *jz* etc. unterschieden⁶). Ausserdem ist das Grab Amenophis I nicht *mr*, sondern *t3 3ht nhh*; die im Tal der Königinnen gelegenen Gräber heissen jeweils *st 3t* oder *p3 hr*. Im pAbbott wird mehrfach in der Beschreibung der Königsgräber eine Stele (*w3*), hieroglyphisch gewöhnlich mit  determiniert) erwähnt und mit dem gleichen hieratischen Zeichen plus dem für „Haus“ determiniert wie *mr* „Pyramide“: ⁷); im ramessidischen Hieratischen verwendet man das gleiche Zeichen schliesslich auch bei *thn* „Obelisk“⁸). Das heisst also, Pyramide, Stele und Obelisk können unter dem Blickwinkel ähnlichen Sinngehaltes gesehen werden (selbst wenn man einwenden wollte, nur der graphischen Einfachheit halber habe man das hieratische  für die drei grosso modo ähnlichen hieroglyphischen Vorbilder verwendet). Unter die Sinnkategorie „Pyramide“ fällt also nicht nur die Pyramidenform allein. Deswegen kann es sein, dass in der Ramessidenzeit auch das Wort *mr* „Pyramide“ nicht nur im „stereometrischen“, sondern auch im übertragenen Sinn verwendet wurde. Die Pyramide ist seit dem AR das Königsgrabmal „schlechthin“, so könnte man diese Bezeichnung auf andere architektonische Lösungen des königlichen Grab-„males“ übertragen haben⁹). Das Entscheidende gegenüber dem Felsgrab müsste dabei der Oberbau gewesen sein. Vielleicht sollte er an prominenter Stelle Pyramide/Pyramidion/Obelisk/Stele enthalten¹⁰). Dazu könnte dann

⁴) Winlock, JEA 10, 1924, 225/26.

⁵) pAbbott II,9; II,10; II,17.

⁶) G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* II, Nr. 369/71.

⁷) Ich möchte daraufhin weisen, dass spätestens in der Ramessidenzeit davon gesprochen werden kann, die „Lehren“ der Weisen seien ihre „Pyramiden“ (*mrw*) (pChester Beatty IV vs II,9/10) oder, dass „Grab“ (*hwt*) und „Pyramide“ (*mr*) eines Autors sich im Herzen derjenigen Menschen befänden, die seinen Namen nannten (pChester Beatty IV vs III,1/2). Schon Sesostri I liess in der Bauinschrift des von ihm in Heliopolis errichteten Atum-Tempels (pBerlin 3029, I,17) sagen, das (Tempel)haus (*hwt*; Lesung gegen Martin, *Ein Garantsymbol des Lebens*, HÄB 3, 1977, 66¹ mit Hinweis auf Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* II, Nr. 345) und der (Heilige) See seien sein (monumentalisierter) Name bzw. sein „Denkmal“ (*mnw*). Man kann sich demnach leicht vorstellen, *p3 mr* sei im pAbbott im Sinne von (Grab) „Mal“ verwendet und nur aus etymologischen Gründen mit „Pyramide“ determiniert.

¹⁰) Nach PM I², 602 scheint es in der Zeichnung Hay, MSS 29816, 177 vs/178 Anhaltspunkte dafür zu geben, das Grab des *Nbw-hpr-R'* habe doch eine (kleine?) Pyramide besessen; mindestens ein „Pyramidion“ (das aber wahrscheinlich nur der Rest eines Obeliskens ist, s.u.) besass das Grab des *Shm-R' Wp-M3't Jnj-jtj.f* (Winlock, JEA 10, 1924, 234, 234² (BM 478); zwei Obeliskens vor der Grabfassade hatte *Nbw-hpr-R' Jnj-jtj.f* (Winlock, loc. cit., 229); Stelen s.o. Anm. 7) und zur „Hundestele“ Schenkel, in Arnold, AV 17 (s.o. Anm. 5)), 52ff, Taf. 53.

auch der von Arnold für den Mentuhotep-Tempel vorgesehene „Urhügel“ passen. Die zweifache Verwendung des Wortes *mr*, die ich oben à propos der „Hundestele“ schon angedeutet habe (was Arnold implizite gleichfalls tut, aber ohne Folgerungen daraus zu ziehen¹¹)), passte zu dieser Hypothese: Man gebraucht *mr* als allgemeine Bezeichnung des jeweiligen Königsgrabes und spricht gleichzeitig von dessen *mr* als Bauteil, der für einen solchen Grabtyp charakteristisch ist: Eine Kapelle in Form einer kleinen Pyramide oder ein anderer Baukörper mit Pyramidion, Obelisk(en) oder Stele oder in Form eines „Urhügels“. Sind diese Erwägungen richtig, brauchte man der Grabräuber-Kommission des pAbbott nicht unbedingt grobe Schlamperei zu unterstellen. Vielleicht haben ihre Mitglieder den *mr* des Königs *Jnj-jtj.f-3* nur erwähnt, weil dessen Stele es ihnen erlaubte, das Grab zu identifizieren.

Im pAbbott ist auch von *mr* im Zusammenhang mit den Königsgräbern der 17. Dyn. die Rede. Von ihrem Aussehen wissen wir gar nichts mit Ausnahme dessen, dass Mariette eine Felskammer des *Nbw-hpr-R' Jnj-jtj.f* gefunden hat. Sie könnten kleine Ziegelpyramiden besessen haben wie sie aus Deir el-Medineh (aus späterer Zeit) bekannt sind. Allerdings ist das nicht aus der Existenz des „Pyramidions“ des Königs *Shm-R' Wp-M3't* abzuleiten, dessen fehlende Erwähnung Frau Gamer-Wallert in ihrer Rezension des hier zu besprechenden Buches moniert¹²). Es ist nämlich so klein (es misst nach den Angaben von Budge¹³) 91/2 in. in der Höhe und 1 ft 2 in. im Quadrat (dabei muss man noch berücksichtigen, dass nach Winlock¹⁴) Basis und Spitze fehlen und der Winkel 60° beträgt), dass es eher die Spitze eines Obeliskens gewesen sein wird oder eines solchen Monumentes wie der vierseitigen von einer Pyramide bekrönten Stele BM 561¹⁵).

Wenn meine vorstehenden Überlegungen richtig sind, wäre die Existenz einer Ziegelpyramide keine notwendige Bedingung für die Bezeichnung eines solchen Königsgrabes mit *mr*. Man dürfte dann auch nicht aus Analogiegründen für den Mentuhotep-Tempel eine Pyramide erschliessen.

Der Tempel wurde zuletzt (?) unter Siptah restauriert (S. 69 mit Anm. 208). Da Ramses IV den Beginn des Aufweges durch einen neuen Tempel blockierte¹⁶), könnte dies bereits einerseits Folge, oder aber andererseits auch erst Beginn der Auflösung des Kultbetriebes und der Zerstörung des Tempels gewesen sein. Dies gilt aber nicht notwendigerweise. Es gibt nämlich ein Indiz dafür, der Tempel möchte noch in der 21. Dyn. einigermaßen intakt gewesen sein trotz der Beeinträchtigung des Aufweges. Bogoslovsky hat 1973 einen aus Deir el-Medineh stammenden und in die 21. Dyn. datierten Sarg in Voronesh, Museum der Schönen Künste (Nr. 1, aus der Slg. O. F. von Richter) publiziert¹⁷), auf dem ein Beamter, der u.a.

¹¹) AV 17,25.

¹²) WdO 8, 1975/76, 321.

¹³) Guide... Sculpture (1909), 98.

¹⁴) JEA 10, 1924, 234.

¹⁵) Budge, *Egyptian Sculptures in the British Museum*, London 1914, Taf. 40.

¹⁶) AV 8,69; Bietak-Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des 'Anch-Hor I*, Wien 1978, 28.

¹⁷) VDI Nr. 124, 1973, 2,70ff. Siehe auch Grieshammer, GM 13, 1974, 38.

für die Arbeiten am Königsgrab verantwortlich war, nach den Friedhofsgöttern vergöttlichte Menschen anruft: „Göttliche Verklärte, die im Heiligen Land (dsr = Talkessel von Deir el-Bahari) sind, Mumifizierte (*s'hw*) von der Ruhestätte des Lebens(landes)“, die als Erbauer von berühmten Tempeln offenbar als geeignete Mittler gelten: ... „die die Mauern von *Mn-st* (Totentempel der Ahmose-Nofretere) errichtet haben, die *3h-st* (den Mentuhotep-Tempel) gegründet haben, die die Grundsteinlegung von *Whm-nh* (welcher Tempel?) vollzogen haben, die *Dsr-dsr(w)* (Tempel der Hatschepsut) erbaut haben“. Man sollte annehmen, der Bauleiter, der sich auf diese Weise an seine anonymen Vorgänger aus der Vergangenheit wandte, habe dies getan, weil er von deren Bauten noch Beachtliches mit eigenen Augen sehen konnte.

Den Versuch Arnold's, den von ihm rekonstruierten Kernbau mit „Urhügeln“ und „Hohen Sanden“ und dergleichen in Verbindung zu bringen, insbesondere dem „temple primitif“ von Medamud¹⁸), kann man mangels wirklich klarer architektonischer Parallelen skeptisch beurteilen, doch wird er letzten Endes richtig sein. Wenigstens die Form dieses „Urhügels“ kommt tatsächlich vor als Determinativ zu den Namen von gewissen Sonnenheiligtümern des AR¹⁹). Auch wenn es richtig ist, dass man von solchen Schriftzeichen nicht auf das genaue Aussehen von Bauwerken schliessen kann, so dürfte es doch bezeichnend sein, dass ein Obelisk nicht notwendigerweise auf dem Sockel stehen muss, um das geeignete Deutzeichen abgeben zu können.

Was die Bemerkungen über den Kultbetrieb im Tempel des Mentuhotep angeht, so verdient festgehalten zu werden, dass er ausser dem verstorbenen König auch dem Month-Re geweiht war und dort auch Amun-Re verehrt wurde, und zwar in einem mit der Zeit steigendem Masse. Schon auf der Stele Sesostri III aus dem Tempel wird dieser Gott vor dem König an erster Stelle genannt. Allerdings wurde der Kult nicht von eigenen Priestern versorgt, sondern von Karnak aus. Daneben kennen wir nur Priester für den Königs Kult.

Das Bab el-Hosan, nach Arnold ein aufgegebenes erstes Königsgrab (unter dem Kernbau = „Urhügel“), wurde ihm zufolge als Osirisgrab „umgewidmet“. In der Tat sprechen manche Indizien dafür, doch bleibt die auch schon von Frau Gamer-Wallert als befremdlich herausgestellte Tatsache bestehen, dass die dort „begrabene“ („getötete“) Statue keine Osiris- sondern eine Königsstatue (mit Roter (!) Krone) ist²⁰). Unter dem Stichwort „Der Hathor-Kult“ werden diejenigen Indizien vorgestellt, die die Annahme einer ursprünglichen Hathor-Kultstätte in der Mitte des Talkessels von Deir el-Bahari zwischen dem späteren Tempel des Mentuhotep und dem der Hatschepsut als wahrscheinlich erscheinen lassen.

Die einzige ernsthafte Kritik an diesem Buch oder eher ein Bedauern hängt mit der ausserhalb der Tafelzählung und ohne Kennzeichnung des Ausführenden auf S. 6 wiedergegebenen perspektivischen Rekonstruktion des Tempels (in den Bauphasen C und D) zusammen. Diese Skizze wurde eben leider perspektivisch und nicht iso-

¹⁸) AV 8,76/77.

¹⁹) Martin, *Ein Garantsymbol des Lebens*, HÄB 3, 1977, 204.

²⁰) WdO 8, 1975/76, 322.

⁴) Winlock, JEA 10, 1924, 226/33, bes. 227.

⁵) D. Arnold, *Gräber des Alten und Mittleren Reiches in el-Tarif*, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 17, Mainz 1976, 25ff.

metrisch konstruiert, sie gibt die Maßverhältnisse nicht getreu wieder. Der Kernbau erscheint nicht quadratisch, sondern rechteckig, entsprechend verzerrt sind auch die Seitenverhältnisse der Anlage insgesamt. Dies ist sehr bedauerlich, weil diese Rekonstruktion die Ergebnisse der Arbeit in irreführender Weise darstellt und weil mit einigen Jahren Verzögerung in Reiseführern und Bildbänden über Ägypten diese Zeichnung reproduziert werden wird und in dem, der nicht den Grundriss vergleicht, einen ganz falschen Eindruck von dem ursprünglichen Aussehen des Tempels erweckt²¹⁾.

Einige kleinere Anmerkungen zu Details. S. 76: *Jwnw šm'j* ist wahrscheinlich kein Name von Armant, sondern bezieht sich auf Theben, vermutlich sogar das Sonnenheiligtum von Karnak²²⁾. Zudem ist die Bezeichnung erst vom NR ab belegt, könnte also wenig über „heliopolitanische Einflüsse“ auf Month von Armant aussagen.

S. 92/3: Der Titel „Vorlesepriester“ lautet *hrj-h(3)b* und nicht **hrj-h(3)bt*²³⁾. In der Kombination mit *hrj-tp* bedeutet er nicht „Oberster Vorlesepriester“, sondern „Vorlesepriester (und) Zauberer“, wie soeben Jan Quaegebeur in einem Vortrag auf dem 21. Deutschen Orientalistentag in Berlin 1980 gezeigt hat.

S. 95, Nr. 25. Von dem *Ddj3*, der den Tempel *3h-st* restauriert hat, stammt auch das Stelenfragment BM 706, das Naville in Schacht 4 des oberen Pfeilerumgangs gefunden hat²⁴⁾. Sein Auftraggeber war vielleicht schon Sethos I²⁵⁾.

Als vermutliche Zeugnisse der posthumen Verehrung des Königs Mentuhotep — (Nebhepetre) hätte man einige Personennamen erwähnen können²⁶⁾.

Das Buch wird zweifellos eines der Standardwerke auf dem Gebiet der ägyptischen Bauforschung bleiben.

Freiburg, Mai 1980

ERHART GRAEFE

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Dieter ARNOLD, *The Temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahari from the Notes of Herbert Winlock*. New York, The Metropolitan Museum, 1979 (xv, 71 pages of text with 13 figures, 1 frontispiece, 53 plates) = Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Egyptian Expedition, Vol. 21.

Die nicht für die endgültige Publikation vorbereiteten Notizen eines Kollegen bzw. einer lange zurückliegenden Grabung herauszugeben, ist eine undankbare Sache. Doch wäre es in diesem Falle bedauerlich gewesen, den Versuch nicht zu unternehmen. Dafür gab es niemand Kompetenteren als Dieter Arnold, der fünf Jahre früher die wohl endgültige Publikation der Tempelruine vorgelegt hat (noch ohne die Winlock'schen Notizen in extenso benutzen

zu dürfen¹⁾). Der Schwerpunkt von dessen Aktivitäten lag im Bereich des Vorhofes des Tempels und dieser ist deshalb in Arnold's eigener Publikation, die gerade erwähnt wurde, ausgeklammert worden. Deswegen stellt der vorliegende Band (gleichartig in Format und Ausstattung und im selben Verlag gedruckt) eine notwendige Ergänzung dar.

Arnold wählte die Form einer Beschreibung der von Winlock durchgeführten Untersuchungen mit Publikation des dazu vorhandenen Materials an Plänen, Zeichnungen und Photos. Dazu kommt jeweils eine Zusammenfassung von Winlock's Beurteilung und ein Kommentar von Arnold²⁾. Es handelt sich also nicht etwa um die Veröffentlichung der Winlock'schen Notizbücher selbst; dazu waren sie aus verschiedenen auf S. 1 ff. erläuterten Gründen nicht geeignet. Für die endgültige Publikation fertiggestellt waren nur die Rekonstruktionszeichnungen des Tempels (Taf. 39-41). Alle weiteren Pläne mußten von Arnold teils neu aufgenommen, teils ergänzt und von der Bleistift-Aufnahme in endgültige Tusche-Reinzeichnung übertragen werden. Der Band enthält außerdem die Publikation der von der Egyptian Expedition des MMA im Tempelbereich gemachten Funde, soweit sie in die 11. Dyn. gehören (Statuen des Königs Mentuhotep, Grundsteinbeigaben, Brot-Deposite, Brotformen, Werkzeuge von Bauarbeitern, begrabene Tierkörper). Er wird beschlossen von einem allgemeinen Index.

Auch wenn die von Arnold herausgegebene Serie von Bänden über den Mentuhotep-Tempel vollständig vorliegen wird³⁾, so wird damit immer noch nicht der gesamte Komplex aufgearbeitet sein. Es werden fehlen die Gräber der königlichen Nebenfrauen im Ambulatorium und die Privatgräber im Tempelbereich sowie alle dort gemachten Funde aus späterer Zeit als der der 11. Dyn. Dieses Material verteilt sich auf die verschiedenen Expeditionen, die im Laufe der Zeit dort gearbeitet haben⁴⁾, ist heute in alle Welt zerstreut und nicht ohne großen Aufwand zusammenzubringen.

Winlock plante offenbar, die oben erwähnten Rekonstruktionszeichnungen zu publizieren, obwohl sich seine Arbeit auf den Vorhofbereich konzentriert hatte. Sie sind durch die genauere Aufnahme von Arnold überholt⁵⁾: Winlock hat z.B. ohne weiteres die Pyramide Naville's übernommen⁶⁾. Andere Unterschiede in der Interpretation werden S. 32/38 von Fall zu Fall besprochen. Gegenüber der Arnold'schen Rekonstruktion der Bauphasen des Tempels von 1974 ergeben sich am Ende einige wichtige Korrekturen (S. 45), vor allem im Zusammenhang mit der Frage nach den verschiedenen Änderungen in Form und Verlauf der Vorhof-Begrenzungsmauern. Hier erwiesen sich die von Winlock selbst publizierten Bemerkungen als nicht von seinem Material gedeckt und von Arnold widerlegbar.

¹⁾ Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari, Band 1 (Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 8), Mainz 1974.

²⁾ Mit vier Hauptpunkten: Vorhof — Rekonstruktion des Tempels — Bauphasen — Funde.

³⁾ Siehe meine Besprechung des in Anm. 1) genannten Buches in *BiOr* XXXVIII, 1981, 38-43.

⁴⁾ Aufzählung S. 314.

⁵⁾ Siehe Anm. 1).

⁶⁾ Im vorliegenden Band besprochen S. 34/35; vgl. auch meine in Anm. 3) erwähnte Besprechung.

Ich verzichte nun auf ein Resümee der archäologischen Details zugunsten einiger Bemerkungen zum Aufweg, der noch nicht abschließend beurteilt werden kann (s. S. 5). Was nämlich in der Synopsis S. 45 (stillschweigend) übergegangen wurde, ist die von Arnold in Mentuhotep I (1974), 62 in die damalige Phase B verwiesene Aufweg(auf)schüttung, die von der Errichtung der 2 x 2 Aufwegmauern und der Pflasterung der Hauptstraße getrennt war (Phase D). Im vorliegenden Band ist nur noch von letzterem in der neuen Phase D1 die Rede und in der Beschreibung S. 43 wird lediglich von der Beendigung eines weiteren großen Projektes, nämlich dem Aufweg, in der Phase D, gesprochen. Man kann sich hier auf Genaueres nicht festlegen, weil am Treffpunkt von Aufweg und Vorhof nie gegraben worden zu sein scheint (so Arnold S. 43), sodaß man die verschiedenen Umgestaltungen des Vorhofes (Niveaueerhöhungen) nicht zum Aufweg in Beziehung setzen kann. Zum Aufweg im allgemeinen findet man einige Bemerkungen S. 5/7. Meine eigene im Bereich der belgischen Konzession durchgeführte Untersuchung, die S. 5²³ erwähnt wird, erscheint in MDAIK 36, 1980⁷⁾. Dabei hat sich eine Diskrepanz zu der Rekonstruktion der Vormauern des Aufweges, wie Arnold sie vorschlägt, ergeben: Diese Vormauer ist, wie er S. 16 (vgl. Taf. 38) sagt, eine Fortsetzung der äußeren Vorhof-Begrenzungsmauer. Im Süden ist letztere voll erhalten mit 10 Lagen Ziegeln und 1,05 m Höhe bei 1,40 m Basisbreite⁸⁾. Es muß aber eine Änderung in den Dimensionen dieser Mauer gegeben haben, d.h., sie ist entlang des Aufweges wenigstens teilweise höher und breiter gewesen. Im Bereich der belgischen Konzession liegt die Basisbreite zwischen 1,48 m und 1,52 m⁹⁾ und nach einem noch bis 1,26 m hoch in situ erhaltenen Stück vor Grab Nr. 188 konnte ich die ursprüngliche Höhe mit 1,75 m bis 1,90 m rekonstruieren.

Zu der auf der Südseite des Vorhofes dreifachen Außenmauer noch eine weitere Anmerkung: S. 16, zweiter und dritter Absatz sind in der Beschreibung die gegenseitigen Distanzangaben vertauscht worden (s. S. 15, Fig. 8 und Taf. 38). Der Abstand zwischen der Ziegelmauer und der Vormauer beträgt berichtigt zwischen 2,57 m und 2,70 m¹⁰⁾. Als Distanz zwischen der größeren Ziegelmauer und der Steinmauer wird 3,55 m bis 3,75 m angegeben, aber dabei dürfte es sich um ein Versehen (Tippfehler?) handeln, denn nach dem Plan Taf. 38 ist der Abstand bedeutend größer, etwa 5,70 m¹¹⁾.

Alles in allem darf man sagen, daß Arnold sicherlich das Bestmögliche aus den Winlock'schen Notizen gemacht hat. Er hat uns eine wichtige Grabung erschlossen und

⁷⁾ Es steht dann noch die Publikation der Ergebnisse der entsprechenden Untersuchung von M. Bietak im Bereich der österreichischen Konzession aus.

⁸⁾ Diese Breite hat Arnold auch für die nördliche Vormauer im Bereich des Grabes Nr. 386 angenommen (allerdings 1,14 m Höhe rekonstruiert): *Das Grab des Jnj-jtj.f* (Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 4), Mainz 1971, 34.

⁹⁾ Die Vormauer ist auch an der Ostseite des Hofes breiter als im anschließenden Aufwegteil (Taf. 46).

¹⁰⁾ Der Abstand zwischen Vormauer und Hauptmauer des Aufweges ist größer, etwa 3,10 bis 3,20 m (Arnold, *Das Grab des Jnj-jtj.f* (s. Anm. 8)), 32; Graefe, MDAIK 36, 1980, ...).

¹¹⁾ Das kann man auch an dem Photo Taf. 7a sehen. Die Abstände schwanken in relativ großen Grenzen: vgl. Taf. 51, Section 13/14.

zum Gesamtkomplex des Mentuhotep-Tempels eine notwendige Ergänzung geliefert.

Freiburg, September 1980

ERHART GRAEFE

* *

Dieter und Dorothea ARNOLD, *Der Tempel Qasr el-Sagha*. Aufnahme unter Mitarbeit von Andreas Brodbeck. Mains am Rhein, Philipp von Zabern, 1979 (36 cm., 44 pp., 29 pls.) = Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, 27. DM. 84.-. ISBN 3 8053 0384 X.

The well-preserved, though unfinished temple at Qasr el-Sagha near Lake Qarun in the Fayum presents several problems, the most important being its date and its style. The present monograph brings a comprehensive study of this unique anepigraph monument and settles the questions it arouses.

The first part of the work is a description of the structure (pp. 9-10). The foundation (pp. 9-10) consists of three courses projecting irregularly round the walls which are built on a slightly sunk area (3-6 cm deep). No trace of foundation deposits could be found. The rectangular structure of massive walls of huge blocks is accessible through a central doorway with convex embrasure door-posts. Along the inner side of the threshold runs a channel for inserting the lower pivot of the door leaves: such transverse channels are characteristic for Middle Kingdom doorways¹⁾. A narrow corridor running from a subsidiary door in the thickness of the facade wall leads to a locking device to secure the door leaves on their inner face (fig. 7). This doorway was seemingly blocked with stones and mortar, which tends to prove, according to Arnold, that the temple was used only occasionally (p. 13). Of the seven contiguous shrines the middle one is wider (3 cubits, and 31/2 cubits deep), probably to house a triad. The two rooms at the south end are identified as a treasury (pp. 12-13) for they contain a shelf (front room) and the rear one is difficult of access (doorway 0.75 m. high, 0.49 m. wide). Only the shrines and end rooms were roofed (pp. 13-16). Arnold surmises on the ground of the incline given to the facade and back walls skyline toward the ends that ceiling blocks (ca 4 m.) were hauled there either up or down on barks set on filling (fig. 9). Arnold assumes there were four terraces: the highest one roofing the pronaos, lighted at both ends by clerestory windows (pls. 25, 28), two smaller terraces over the end rooms (3.87 m. north, 3.90 m. south in height), and a lower one over the shrines (5 cubits in height). The parapet wall at the top of the structure had a convex crosssection (fig. 11). In a chapter about the technique (pp. 16-17) Arnold remarks that the blocks (average 0.76 x 1.75 m.) were set in horizontal beds with mostly vertical joints, but running in plan slant to the face of the wall. The masonry cannot be termed megalithic, since the large plaques were really orthostats (p. 17). Only

¹⁾ O. Königsberger, *Die Konstruktion der ägyptischen Tür*. 1936 (Karnak, tombs at Aswan, Beni Hassan, Barsha, Meir, Qaw).

²¹⁾ So in Vandersleyen, *Das Alte Ägypten*, PKG 15, 1975, Abb. 51.

²²⁾ Kees, *Or* 18, 1947, 427 ff.; Stadelmann, MDAIK 25, 1969, 173 ff.

²³⁾ Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, § 145²⁴³.

²⁴⁾ Alle seine bekannten Denkmäler hat jetzt Lowle in *OrAnt* 15, 1976, 91/106 besprochen.

²⁵⁾ So Lowle passim loc. cit., 100.

²⁶⁾ Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 155, 1; II, 361; I, 282, 9; I, 383, 4.

the inner walls were smoothed, while several areas of the outer faces (sides and rear) were unfinished (pl. 3). Some blocks show traces of the pegs (30-35 cm long, 20-25 cm distant) that served to free them from the bedrock of the quarry (pl. 15b). Wooden dovetails (39-47 cm x 12-5 cm, and 8-10 cm high) occurred only at corner blocks (p. 17).

Arnold recognizes a modular system of design based for the plan on a square grid of one cubit (pp. 17-18, pl. 27a not 22a)²). The overall dimensions of the plan 15.5 x 40 cubits do not exclude the use of the 'sacred triangle' 3:4:5 in the preliminary stage of the layout.

About the environment of the temple (pp. 18-19) several groups of stacked blocks show that they were brought down over the small ends of the structure and transported to the temple at Dimai.

The essential problem of the date is dealt with in a special part (2: pp. 20-21). In the absence of any inscription the only criteria are the architectural style, and the pottery found in the vicinity. The architectural style was misinterpreted between 1924 and 1949 as belonging to the early Old Kingdom, though both the plan and the facade resemble those of the temple at Medinet Madi (Part 3: pp. 22-23). Details such as the convex embrasure of the entrance door-posts and the transverse channel for inserting the lower pivots belong to the Twelfth Dynasty — a date corroborated by a carbon-14 test that yielded 2280-1850 B.C. (p. 20). Pottery was identified by Dorothea Arnold in a detailed study (pp. 29-40) as dating from the Middle Kingdom. The date preferred is the reign of Senusert II, since the temple could be correlated to the activities of this pharaoh at the other end of the Fayum, and it explains why the temple was left unfinished, since Senusert III was no coregent of his predecessor, nor did he build in Fayum (p. 21)³).

Part 4 (pp. 24-25) is an attempt to interpret the temple with relation to a water front of Lake Qarun (at level 12-15 m.; fig. 13). The basalt quarries connected by a 700 meters long road to the water front seem to have conditioned the creation of a settlement with its necropolis and temple at Qasr el-Sagha, lending them their seasonal activity — explaining the seasonal use of the temple, probably dedicated to Sobek whose central shrine similar to that at Medinet Madi, might have contained a group statue of Sobek and the pharaoh.

Most interesting, though only preliminary, is the test excavation of an area in the contemporary settlement (45 x 60 m.) (Part 5; pp. 26-27, fig. 14), uncovering four rooms (ca 2.10 m. wide), built of brick and limestone posts. The orientation to the four cardinal points conforms to that of a typical pyramid town.

The book is abundantly illustrated with architectural plates (one misses however an elevation of the front facade) and photographs. The various problems connected to the temple are finally settled without the help of any related inscription — an exceptional case in Egyptian

²) Cf. Alexander Badawy, *Ancient Egyptian Architectural Design. A Study of the Harmonic System*. University of California Press, 1965. Pp. 88-89, where a module of 5 cubits is suggested.

³) Cf. Alexander Badawy, *A History of Egyptian Architecture*. II. University of California Press, 1966. Pp. 70-73, mentioning Amenemhat III or IV.

architecture. Hope for focusing the date on a certain reign lies in the clearing of the settlement — a project that would certainly contribute interesting data to our knowledge of preplanned urbanism (cf. pyramid towns, workmen's villages).

Los Angeles, August 1980

ALEXANDER BADAWY

* *

Edgar B. PUSCH, *Das Senet-Brettspiel im alten Ägypten*. Teil I. 1 et 2: *Das inschriftliche und archäologische Material*, Textband und Tafelband. München et Berlin, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1979 (30 cm., x + 421 p., 106 pl.) = *Münchner Ägyptologische Studien* 38, Teil I. Prix: DM 140.-. ISBN 3 422 00831 4.

Le travail d'E. B. Pusch fait partie de ces enquêtes — qui vont en se multipliant — sur un type particulier d'objets utilisés par les Égyptiens. Celles-ci présentent en apparence l'avantage fort séduisant pour le chercheur de pouvoir satisfaire ses ambitions d'exhaustivité. Elles partent de plus d'objets bien concrets, qui semblent être autant de garde-fous pour rendre l'itinéraire moins périlleux. Mais autant ce genre d'enquêtes peut se révéler décevant ou presque superflu quand l'objet considéré est lui-même peu significatif et quand la démarche de l'auteur reste trop à ras de terre, autant ces recherches peuvent être payantes et riches d'enseignements lorsqu'on a bien choisi l'objet de ses investigations et lorsqu'on a su prendre pour le traiter le recul nécessaire.

A priori, le livre de P. entre, fort heureusement, dans cette seconde catégorie. C'est que l'objet de l'enquête déjà n'est pas insignifiant, tant s'en faut. Il s'agit en effet du jeu de *senet*, ce jeu de l'oie égyptien (tenant en même temps des dames, des échecs ou du tric-trac) qui, malgré les apparences, constituait non pas une simple distraction sans conséquence, mais bien une activité aux riches implications mythiques et funéraires. Cependant, s'il a fallu employer un peu plus haut les mots «*a priori*», c'est parce que l'ouvrage de P. est pour l'instant incomplet. En effet, seul a paru jusqu'ici le catalogue proprement dit, c'est-à-dire le matériel inscrit et archéologique (auquel il faut ajouter deux articles complémentaires du même auteur, in *GM* 22, 1976, 53-57, et *SAK* 5, 1977, 199-212). La suite (commentaire, étude, perspectives, etc.) fera l'objet d'un autre volume. En fait, à l'origine il s'agit là d'une thèse de *Dissertation* présentée à Bonn sous la direction du Professeur E. Edel, laquelle a subi de profonds remaniements avant d'être confiée à l'impression (on en saura gré à l'auteur quand on songe à tous les mémoires trop vite publiés).

Ces conditions de parution un peu particulières rendent le compte rendu critique prématuré, voire impossible, en tout cas malaisé. Il faudra attendre les commentaires et l'enquête proprement dite de l'A. pour interpréter le matériel rassemblé dans cette première partie. On comprend certes sa démarche, tout en regrettant peut-être que le présent volume n'ait pas été précédé d'une introduction assez substantielle qui situerait le sujet et sa problématique. Cela étant, on doit s'en tenir ici au catalogue, et on peut immédiatement dire qu'il s'agit d'un excellent et précieux catalogue, établi avec un soin attentif. La matière réunie

est vaste et de plus elle a l'avantage d'être accompagnée d'une iconographie de très grande qualité puisque le second fascicule de ce premier volume est consacré à 106 superbes planches qui reproduisent une très grande partie des documents et qui rendront les plus grands services.

Le matériel réuni est constitué de trois catégories: les représentations de parties de *senet* qui se trouvent sur des parois de tombes ou des objets d'origine funéraire, les jeux proprement dits et leurs accessoires (pour ces sortes d'échiquiers ou de damiers, on aurait presque pu utiliser en français le terme de «*tablier*» s'il n'était par trop vieilli), et enfin les versions d'un texte funéraire qui décrit une partie de *senet* en l'associant à un itinéraire dans l'au-delà: il est inutile de dire que ce texte constitue une clé capitale et qu'on attend la traduction et les commentaires de l'A. Ces trois types de documents dictent le plan du livre: 1) catalogue des représentations de parties de *senet*, classées par ordre chronologique (p. 1-147, avec 44 documents); 2) catalogue des jeux conservés, également chronologique (p. 149-383, avec 84 documents, nombre considérable); 3) le grand texte de la partie de *senet* (p. 385-400, d'après trois sources et avec une concordance qui n'avait peut-être pas sa place dans ce premier volume). Un index muséographique utile (p. 419-421) clôt l'ouvrage. Il faudra attendre le second volume pour disposer, souhaitons-le, d'indices complets. Pour chaque document, l'A. donne une présentation complète et détaillée qui forme un tout (avec cependant des commentaires ou des explications qui sont parfois réservés pour la suite). On dispose ainsi désormais d'une riche documentation avec souvent des inédits ou des documents dont la republication était indispensable.

Certes, le jeu de *senet* est connu et étudié depuis longtemps et pour s'en tenir à une époque récente, l'article de W. Needler, in *JEA* 39, 1953, 60-75, avait déjà donné beaucoup d'informations (il comportait ainsi une liste de 26 exemplaires de jeux). Dans les dernières années, ce jeu est d'ailleurs devenu l'objet d'une attention particulière. C'est ainsi que W. M. Refat a présenté à Bruxelles, en 1972, un mémoire sur ce sujet (qui est malheureusement resté inédit, mais que E. Pusch cite et auquel il fait référence dans son inventaire). De plus, il faut absolument signaler la parution en 1978 (mais trop tard pour pouvoir être utilisé ou simplement mentionné par P.) de tout un ensemble dû à T. Kendall du Museum of Fine Arts de Boston. Sous la dénomination générale de *Passing through the Netherworld: the meaning and play of senet, an ancient Egyptian funerary game* (Belmont, Massachusetts 1978), il s'agit d'une boîte contenant une réplique du jeu, prête à être effectivement utilisée par des amateurs modernes (avec une règle détaillée sur trois pages), mais aussi d'un très important fascicule de 67 pages (avec 7 pages d'additions et corrections) qui constitue une excellente et assez complète étude sur le jeu, fondée sur une documentation solide et accompagnée d'une belle iconographie. Le jeu de *senet* connaît décidément un regain d'intérêt.

Paris, juillet 1980

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* *

Michel MALAISE, *Les scarabées de cœur dans l'Égypte ancienne* avec un appendice sur les scarabées de cœur des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles. Bruxelles, Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth (28 cm., 95 S., 9 Tafeln) = Monographie Reine Elisabeth 4.

In der vorliegenden Monographie befaßt sich der Autor ausführlich mit den Herzskarabäen, ihrem Sinn und ihre technische Beschaffenheit. In der Einleitung verweist er auf die Bedeutung des Herzens in der ägyptischen Literatur. Es ist Zentrum des Lebens, wobei in medizinischen Texten Herz und Magen verwechselt werden können, Sitz von Gefühl und Intelligenz, von Entscheidungen und des Gewissens, das die Maat ausführen muß. Es wird zum eigenen Wesen, mit dem man sich auseinandersetzen kann. Als Sitz des ganzen menschlichen Seins sei es erwählt worden, im Jenseits dem Toten das Leben zu erhalten und siegreich vorm Jenseitsgericht zu bestehen.

1. Kapitel: Frühe Texte (Pyr. und CT), die dem Toten den Besitz des Herzens garantieren sollen, führen zu Tb 30. Hiervon gibt es drei Versionen: Tb 30A und B (seitdem es im MR bzw. der 1. Zwischenzeit die Vorstellung vom Totengericht gibt) und Tb 30 (erst seit der Saitenzeit). Mit Yoyotte sucht der Autor den Ursprung des Kapitels in Hermupolis.

Ausführlich analysiert der Verfasser das Tb 30B und setzt sich mit den Übersetzungen früherer Bearbeiter auseinander.

Auf S. 21 e übersetzt er *h3tj* mit „muscle cardiaque“ (nach Yoyotte und de Meulenaere) oder mit „viscère de mon cœur“ (nach Barguet), weist aber, Zäbkar folgend darauf hin, daß *jb* und *h3tj* bald austauschbar werden. Beide Wörter haben jedoch in der Zeit des Tb 30B die Bedeutung des Herzens als Sitz des Verstandes, Gefühls und des Lebens. Deshalb sollten beide Ausdrücke mit „Herz“ übersetzt werden, die im heutigen Sprachgebrauch eben diese Eigenschaften umfassen. Die anderen Übersetzungen geben dem Wort *h3tj* einen Sinn, der nur die anatomische Seite des Herzens umfaßt und sicher vom Ägypter in der Zeit nicht so verstanden wurde.

Auf S. 22f. setzt sich der Verf. mit der Übersetzung verschiedener Autoren von *hprw* als „transformations“ im Diesseits oder Jenseits auseinander und kommt zu dem Schluß, daß der Ägypter beide Bereiche gemeint habe. Dies stimmt sicherlich im Allgemeinen. Es sei jedoch zu bedenken gegeben, daß im Tb 30B das Herz vor dem Übergang ins Jenseits gewogen und beschworen wird, also erst die Taten des Diesseits verantworten muß, bevor es überhaupt ins Jenseits kommen kann.

In der Saitenzeit verschmelzen Tb 30A und B zu Tb 30, wobei die alten Formen daneben weiterbestehen. Das Tb 30B folgt oft den Kapiteln Tb 64 und Tb 148 und wird in die Darstellung der Psychostasie eingefügt. Daneben erscheint das Tb 30B auf mythologischen Papyri der 21. Dyn. Anschließend beschreibt der Autor die Vignetten, die zu den Kapiteln vorkommen.

2. Kapitel: weitere Texte und Darstellungen, die sich auf das Herz beziehen: Die im Totenbuch zusammengefaßten Kapitel 26, 27, 29B oder Teile von ihnen oder andere Texte, die auf das Herz Bezug nehmen, kommen auf Skarabäen vor. Skarabäen mit Darstellungen von Osiris und Re-Harachte oder Osiris zwischen Isis und

Nephtys auf dem Rücken sollen den Herzkarabäen gleichgesetzt werden, da sie häufig zusammen mit dem Herztext, der auf der Unterseite des Käfers steht, vorkommen. Wie frühere Autoren weist der Verf. darauf hin, daß hier der Skarabäus mit Osiris und damit dem zu Osiris gewordenen Toten gleichgesetzt wird, der wie die Sonne allmorgentlich auferstehen will.

Von den Herzkarabäen trennt der Autor mit Recht die geflügelten und andere Skarabäen, die keinen Herztext enthalten. Hinzuzugügen sei jedoch, daß auch in diesen Skarabäen der Gedanke der allmorgentlichen Wiedergeburt des Toten, in Gleichsetzung mit der Sonne, die die Skarabäen symbolisieren, enthalten ist.

3. Kapitel: Form der Herzkarabäen: Nach den Pyramidentexten soll ein Herz aus Stein das Herz des verstorbenen Königs ersetzen. Seit der Vorstellung des Totengerichts soll ein Herz aus Stein das Tb 30B aufnehmen. Aus späterer Zeit gibt es Beispiele von Herzen, deren eine Seite die Form des Skarabäus einnimmt. Dies sind, nach Ansicht des Verf., Übergangsformen, die dazu geführt haben, daß das Herz dem Skarabäus Platz gemacht habe. So verführerisch das klingt, darf nicht vergessen werden, daß es solche „Übergangsformen“ nicht aus früher Zeit gibt. Der erste uns erhaltene Träger des Tb 30B, der Herzskarabäus des Sobekemsaf, hat bereits die Form des Käfers. Nicht auszuschließen ist, daß die Hersteller der Herz-Skarabäus-Form dem Text, durch Hinzufügen eines Herzens an den Skarabäus, gerecht werden wollten.

Einleuchtend sind jedoch zwei Erklärungen. Erstens habe man dem Talisman die Form eines Skarabäus, dem Sinnbild der Wiederbelebung, gegeben, um den Ausgang des Wägevorgangs zum Positiven zu beeinflussen. Denn ein beim Totengericht als gerecht befundenes Herz ist Garant des Weiterlebens. Zweitens wird am Anfang des Tb 30B das Herz als Organ der Verwandlungen (*hprw*) angesprochen. Somit lag es nahe, ihm die Form eines *hpr* zu geben.

4. Kapitel: die bei Herzkarabäen verwendeten Materialien: Im Vorspann zu dem Kapitel wird als Material *nmhf*, vermutlich grüner Jasper, empfohlen. Aus diesem Stein bestand u.a. der erste erhaltene Herzskarabäus. Doch andere Materialien aus grüner, schwarzer oder anderer Farbe konnten ihn ersetzen. Die grüne und schwarze Farbe, Symbol für Verjüngung, Gesundheit und Wiederauferstehung, sollten den Ausgang des Wägevorganges mitbeeinflussen. Ebenso wohnte dem Gold der Fassungen wiederbelebende Wirkung inne. Im Groben gesagt, seien die Skarabäen der 18. Dyn. naturalistisch und sorgfältig ausgeführt, was, von Ausnahmen abgesehen, später nachläßt.

5. Kapitel: die Inschriften sind eingraviert oder mit Tinte aufgeschrieben. Oft steht vor dem Beginn des Totenbuchkapitels der Name des Verstorbenen, gelegentlich seine Titel. Der Text wird mit *dd.f*, gelegentlich mit *dd mdw jn* eingeleitet. Auf einigen Exemplaren steht der Name des Besitzers erst am Ende des Textes oder wird auf dem Rücken wieder aufgenommen. Gute Herzkarabäen tragen das ganze Totenbuchkapitel, minderwertige nur den Anfang oder Auszüge, die noch verderbt sein können. Abweichungen vom ursprünglichen Text sind belegt. Es geht soweit, daß sich die Texte zwar auf das Herz beziehen, aber in keinem Zusammenhang mit dem Tb 30B stehen.

Ferner geht der Autor auf Pektoreale mit Skarabäen ein und ihre Ausdeutung als Symbol des Sonnenaufganges mit dem sich der Tote identifiziert. Mit dieser Deutung stimmt er mit der Rezensentin überein, sowie mit der Erklärung des *bmw* auf Herzkarabäen als Ba oder Herz des Re, mit dem sich der Tote ebenfalls gleichsetzt.

6. Kapitel: Belebung des Herzskarabäus durch Ölung und das Mundöffnungsritual, das ihm das Sprechen vor dem Gericht ermöglichen solle: Bei den Angaben in der Einleitung zu TB 30 und 30B, die besagen, daß der Skarabäus in das Herz des Mannes gelegt werden soll, nachdem an ihm das Mundöffnungsritual vollzogen sei, bezieht der Verfasser das Öffnen des Mundes auf den Skarabäus und nicht den Verstorbenen. Die Beispiele, die er zur Untermauerung seiner Theorie bringt, handeln alle vom Vollzug des Mundöffnungsrituals am Toten, damit sein Mund, seine Gliedmaßen, sein Herz usw. belebt werden. Hier wird das Herz als ein Körperteil von vielen des zum Leben Wiederzuerweckenden erwähnt. Die Mundöffnung wird nicht allein zum Zweck der Wiederbelebung des Herzens vollzogen. Auch die vom Autor als Vergleich zum Skarabäus herangezogenen unbelebten Gegenstände, die durch das Mundöffnungsritual zum Leben erweckt werden sollen, untermauern nicht überzeugend seine Theorie. Es handelt sich um Figuren, die den Toten oder Götter darstellen bzw. einen Tempel, dessen auf den Wänden dargestellte Riten durch das Mundöffnungsritual Wirklichkeit werden sollen, also um Menschen und Götter und deren Handlungen, nicht um Gegenstände.

Unwahrscheinlich ist auch, daß sich das Suffix *f* in *jr.n.f wpt-r* nicht auf das direkt davor genannte Subjekt, den Mann (*z*), sondern auf den weit vorne, am Anfang des Satzes stehenden Skarabäus beziehen soll.

7. Kapitel: Herzkarabäen wurden in Serien hergestellt, wobei der Name des Besitzers erst später oder überhaupt nicht eingetragen wurde. Beispiele von Frauen beginnen häufig mit *dd.f* statt *dd.s*. Viele enthalten Schreibfehler, andere wurden usurpiert.

Seit der 17. Dyn. belegt, wurden Herzkarabäen in der 18. Dyn. üblich. In der Amarnazeit trugen sie die Opferformel *hpt dj nj.swt*, anschließend wieder Herzkapitel. Nach der 26. Dyn. werden sie selten. Sie wurden überwiegend von Mitgliedern höherer Klassen getragen. Auch auf Mumien heiliger Tiere wurden sie gefunden.

Im Anhang werden 12 Herzkarabäen des Museums von Brüssel aufgeführt. Nach Angabe von Material, Maßen und Herkunft wird der Skarabäus genau beschrieben. Es wird kurz der Inhalt der Inschrift (z.B. Tb 30B) mit seinen Abweichungen von der üblichen Form in Umschrift, Fehlschreibungen und dem Namen des Besitzers in Hieroglyphen angegeben.

Ein Abkürzungsverzeichnis, hauptsächlich der üblichen Zeitschriften, ein Addendum, eine Bibliographie und ein Abbildungsverzeichnis leiten zum Tafelteil über.

Die Abbildungen bringen Beispiele des Herzskarabäus im Totenbuch und verschiedene Formen von Skarabäen.

Interessant ist die Zusammenstellung einiger Beispiele aus Publikationen, die die Position der auf Mumien gefundenen Skarabäen zeigen. Die fehlende Nummerierung der Tafeln ist dem Autor beim Korrekturlesen leider entgangen.

Es ist der Verdienst des Autors, sich mit der reichhaltigen

Literatur zu den Herzkarabäen gründlich auseinander-gesetzt und die bestehenden Meinungen zur Übersetzung des Tb 30B und zum Sinn des Herzskarabäen kritisch gegeneinander abgewogen zu haben.

Heidelberg, Mai 1980

ERIKA FEUCHT

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CATALOGUE. *The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art*. Cairo, American Research Center in Egypt, 1979 (29 cm., xvi-220 pp., 169 figg., XX planches dont XVI en couleurs). \$ 20.—, £ 13.75. ISBN 0 913696 30 7.

Depuis 1975, Louxor a un musée; ce musée a maintenant un catalogue qui devrait correspondre à la présentation actuelle des collections. La majeure partie des 156 pièces ou ensembles décrits et figurés dans ce livre concerne l'Égypte pharaonique; la rédaction de ces notices-là est due à J.-F. Romano, tandis que Kl. Parlasca traitait des objets gréco-romains (11 numéros) et J.M. Rogers des vases et supports de lampe d'époque musulmane (les 12 derniers n°s). Une préface, due à B.V. Bothmer qui fut assurément l'âme de toute l'entreprise — choix, présentation dans le musée et catalogue — nous informe sur la genèse du musée, sa construction, son installation, sur le catalogue et sa conception; aussi sur les aléas passés et présents de l'ensemble. Après quelques utilités (listes des planches, abréviations, bibliographie, chronologie), vient une brève introduction (par Romano?) sur l'histoire de Louxor jusqu'à la conquête musulmane.

Le catalogue comporte un système de numérotation original: au lieu que la série soit continue, il s'agit d'une progression arithmétique de raison 3: 1, 4, 7, etc. C'est que ce premier catalogue devra être remplacé quand on changera l'exposition: „Un musée doit être une entité vivante, en perpétuel changement, dont les buts et les richesses s'accroissent, écartant les objets dont l'intérêt s'émousse avec le temps», écrit Bothmer dans la Préface. Grâce à cette numérotation espacée, on pourra changer deux fois complètement la collection sans bouleverser les numéros d'ordre que les pièces auront reçus dans ce premier catalogue. En fait, je pense que le musée de Louxor n'a pas de «réserves» aussi riches, mais il a cet avantage unique au monde de pouvoir puiser, non seulement dans les réserves du Musée du Caire, mais aussi dans tous les magasins — et Dieu sait s'il y en a — où se sont entassées et s'entassent encore les découvertes de la région thébaine; et il peut compter que tout ce qui sortira du sol thébain dans les années à venir pourra un jour ou l'autre passer dans ses salles. Ce premier choix qui nous est offert est riche en effet de trouvailles récentes: plus du tiers est sorti de terre depuis 1950 et il s'agit souvent de pièces exceptionnelles, comme la tête colossale d'Aménophis III, ou sa statue d'albâtre avec le dieu Sobek, ou de nombreuses talatates; on notera spécialement la «productivité» du Centre Franco-Égyptien de Karnak, ou des fouilles du dromos de Louxor. Un quart des objets ou bien sont inédits, ou n'ont jamais été figurés, et même pour les autres pièces, on dispose ici de photos excellentes à tous points de vue; pour la ronde-bosse, surtout pour les têtes de roi, il y a des vues variées et

des détails judicieusement choisis: du Sésostri III (n° 40), 4 photos noir et blanc et la photo couleur de la couverture; on reconnaît là les préoccupations fondamentales de «l'école de Brooklyn», aussi dans le fait que de nombreuses mensurations de détail sont ajoutées à la traditionnelle hauteur; notamment la hauteur du visage et la dimension des cassures. La fiche technique de chaque objet se complète par une bibliographie sélective.

Le texte même des notices se lit agréablement. Romano l'a conçu comme un guide à lire sur place par les touristes — les notices sont assez brèves; il donne d'utiles indications sur ce qui peut dans les monuments mêmes qu'on peut voir à Thèbes illustrer ou compléter l'information donnée par les objets (par exemple, n° 101 en bas). Il s'agit d'un texte de vulgarisation, souvent anecdotique, où le visiteur non spécialisé ne se heurtera pas à du jargon égyptologique. Notons que les notices de Parlasca et de Rogers sont plus techniques et austères, moins adaptées au visiteur. Des explications très claires donnent le sens de certaines notions propres à l'archéologie égyptienne, par exemple sur les scribes (n° 34), sur la cachette de Karnak (n° 183), les cinq noms des rois (n° 242), les statues d'ancêtre (ou laraires) (n° 230), etc... Néanmoins, pour le spécialiste, Romano a eu l'heureuse idée de rassembler, quand l'occasion s'en présentait, les pièces parallèles ou complémentaires (cf. par exemple n° 40 *in fine*); beaucoup d'indices ou de critères chronologiques peuvent être glanés deci-delà.

Tout cela est résolument positif. Tout au plus émettrais-je quelques réticences dans certains domaines qui touchent au style, à l'esthétique, à l'iconographie royale. Voici là-dessus et sur d'autres choses quelques remarques notées au fil de la plume:

n° 28: il n'est pas vraiment fondé de parler de diverses «écoles» sous Sésostri I^{er}; j'ai montré jadis que la pente du menton était un bon critère pour identifier cette tête à Sésostri I^{er} (BSFE 73, 1975, p. 9); il n'est pas évident que la tête MMA 66.99.4 représente ce roi, et non Amenemhat I^{er} comme l'avait suggéré Aldred que je continue à suivre ici.

n° 40: je ne vois pas de raison de répéter encore cette idée non fondée que le visage de Sésostri III «reflects the awesome responsibilities of kingship».

n° 46: il ne s'agit sûrement pas d'Aménophis I^{er}, mais plutôt de Sésostri I^{er}, tout comme les parallèles cités.

n° 79: c'est au registre supérieur que Iy-hebnef a des sandales.

n° 91: cette stèle est du temps d'Aménophis I^{er}; la description du visage royal donnée par Romano correspond précisément aux traits de ce roi connus par les reliefs contemporains de son règne et le khepresh ici a des caractères qui ne se trouvent que chez Aménophis I^{er}, comme le bandeau frontal mince; la stèle est d'ailleurs d'un style tout à fait différent de Caire CG 34170 citée comme parallèle.

n° 98: on retrouve ici et en plusieurs autres endroits (nos 126, 203) l'idée très discutable que les traits d'un roi au début d'un règne sont issus de ceux de son prédécesseur à la fin du sien.

n° 101: ligne 10 de la notice, lire «girls» au lieu de «gods». n° 120: il est intéressant de noter que l'assemblage de quatre symboles dans les mains de ce colosse osiriaque n'est connu, par ailleurs, que sous Hatchepsout.

n° 147: Perepelkin, *The Golden Coffin*, dit quelque part que les princesses n'apparaissent jamais que derrière leur mère; donc si ce n'était pas ici le roi suivi d'une reine, ce serait Néfertiti et une de ses filles. La façon dont le gonion de la mâchoire coupe à angle droit la ligne du cou serait favorable à cette dernière identification.

n° 153 et 171: on ne peut déterminer si ces deux têtes d'Aménophis IV sont bien parmi celles qui sont mentionnées en Porter and Moss, II, 254; il eut été utile de préciser la référence. Aux n° 204 et 233, se manifeste, dans le vocabulaire, une nette antipathie pour le «rameside»; idem, n° 260, pour la «décadence» de la 3^e Période Intermédiaire.

n° 242, ligne 5: lire «free-standing» au lieu de «frieze-standing».

n° 245: le manuscrit a été amputé par l'imprimeur des dimensions des pièces.

Ces détails montrent l'intérêt de ces notices, qui, loin de s'effacer dans la neutralité, invitent au contraire à la réflexion et au dialogue.

Nous disions au début que ce catalogue devait correspondre à la présentation actuelle des collections; il n'y correspond malheureusement pas. Je tiens aussi de bonne source que certaines pièces qui avaient été choisies — comme un pyramidion — sont restées au Caire; d'autres pièces circulent encore dans des expositions internationales, et il ne semble pas que le célèbre bouchon de canope de la reine Touya (n° 215) ait jusqu'à présent fait son entrée dans le musée. En outre, ce catalogue si bien conçu pour être lu sur place n'est pas disponible au musée même où une version abrégée est en vente (Guide-book), dans laquelle, par exemple, la préface a été supprimée, ainsi que tout l'apparat scientifique du livre et les conseils aux touristes.

Néanmoins, malgré ces quelques déceptions pour les auteurs, le musée existe et le catalogue qui en est le visage «idéalisé» est dès à présent un précieux ouvrage de référence. Une première série d'œuvres prestigieuses sont sorties des oubliettes que sont parfois les magasins archéologiques. A quand un musée de la région memphite où l'on pourrait voir les têtes de Snéfrou trouvées à Dahshour? Une telle tâche ne déplairait sans doute pas à la même équipe, qu'il faut remercier ici sans réserves.

Bruxelles, juillet 1980

CL. VANDERSLEYEN

* *

Steffen WENIG, *Africa in Antiquity — The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan*, I *The Essays*, II *The Catalogue*. Brooklyn, The Brooklyn Museum, 1978 (I pp. 143, figs. 99, II pp. 366, figs. 84 and 331). I ISBN 0-87273-065-4, II ISBN 0-87273-066-2).

These two sumptuous volumes were produced in connection with the exhibition of ancient Nubian and Sudanese art which was first held in Brooklyn from September to December 1978 and then travelled to Seattle, New Orleans and the Hague. The first volume consists of nine chapters containing contributions from ten different authors, all of them distinguished scholars. The second volume entirely

by Dr. Wenig contains five chapters arranged chronologically and covering the history of the art of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan from neolithic times to the coming of Islam in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D., these chapters are then followed by a detailed catalogue of the 295 objects in the exhibition, each object being illustrated and described with a bibliography.

The essays of volume I give a useful overview of the ancient cultures of Nubia and the Sudan at different stages in their history and can serve as an introduction for those with little previous knowledge, and provide the necessary background for a proper understanding of the exhibition. There is some unevenness of quality in the chapters but the information given is, in the main, accurate. Trigger's chapter on the problem of 'race' and colour in the Nile valley is particularly good and gives a modern scientific opinion on this touchy subject — his clear statement of the nature of the ancient population and his criticisms of earlier views have not always been followed by the other contributors.

Ahmed al Hakem's chapter is the first attempt to provide a history of archaeological research in Nubia and concentrates mainly on the Sudan though an account of activities in Egyptian Nubia to survey and salvage monuments affected by dam building activities at Aswan is also given. The reviewer rather doubts the identification of F. L. Griffith in figure 20 and wonders if it is not of some visiting Sudan Government official as the dress rather suggests. Leclant gives Nubia in Pharaonic times a conventional but useful treatment but on p. 68 seems to confuse the geography — the track from Korosko leads not to Tumbus at the Third Cataract, which lies downstream from Dongola, but to Abu Hamed at the upstream end of the Fourth Cataract and it is at Kurgus near to it that the Egyptians arrived. Prieze's stimulating chapter on Napatan times states some facts with more certainty than the evidence can sustain. His translation of Meroitic words, though highly likely, can hardly be described as 'certain' and the identification of the name Ubashe in the Nastasen stela with the Bega word for fox, 'bashe' is rather a long shot. The suggestion that spelt (*tritium spelta*) was one of the Napatan grain crops (p. 82) seems improbable, and one would like to know the evidence for the presence of elephant at al Debba in Napatan times (p. 83). In a work of this general kind perhaps references to evidence are not appropriate but some indication would have been useful. The curious description of the *shaduf*, for which there is no direct evidence from Napatan times, as an 'oversized ladle' is perhaps an aberration of translation.

The volume shows some evidence of hasty editing and proof-reading in a number of places. Many of these mistakes are minor, but it is misleading for those who cannot tell for themselves, that the captions of figs. 12 and 14 have been reversed, and the last of the unnumbered maps, that on p. 138, though the page itself bears no number, shows the site of Kurgus on the wrong side of the river.

Volume II, being the work of one author, is more consistent in its treatment and in five chapters gives an excellent survey of the art represented in the exhibition. Dr. Wenig has long been one of the foremost scholars of Napatan and Meroitic art and it is the two chapters

(nos. 2 and 3) which form the main part of his general introduction to the subject, other periods are rather summarily dealt with but the treatment of the art of the Kingdom of Kush is full of detailed information and the author makes an interesting and successful attempt to show the main lines of development during that period, to suggest stylistic criteria for dating many of the pieces and an interesting division in to five separate groups is proposed. Unlike Volume I Wenig's chapters are fully referenced. A few small points can be commented on — on p. 21 it is not the backbone of the catfish (*Synodontis schall*) that is used for making patterns on Early Khartoum pottery, but the spine i.e. the spiky projections on either side of the head. The word spine has perhaps misled the translator. Early Khartoum is a better term to use than the rather misleading Khartoum Mesolithic; p. 60 can it really be shown that the reliefs on the so-called 'Sun Temple' at Meroe are Napatan in date?; and although the suggestion that Musawwarat al Sofra was a pilgrimage centre is a plausible one there is no way in which this should be stated with as much certainty as it is on p. 75ff.

These five chapters are followed by the catalogue of the exhibition. Each object is illustrated, in some cases with colour photographs as well as in black and white and is described in some detail together with information on present location and original provenance and a bibliography. The factual section is followed by critical commentary, further information, and a comparative discussion. This is very well done and will be essential and useful to all students of the ancient art of the Sudan. The discussions give the fullest and most competent survey of the art that is available in English.

University of Calgary
Canada, June 1980

P. L. SHINNIE

* *

Fritz HINTZE, *Beiträge zur meroitischen Grammatik*, mit Kommentaren von M. Bierwisch, N. B. Millet, K.-H. Prieze, R. Růžicka, W. Schenkel, B. G. Trigger, Abdelgadir M. Abdalla. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1979 (17 × 24 cm; 214 p.) = *Meroitica* 3. Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Bereich Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie. Preis: 38 M. Lizenznummer 202.100/114/79.

Wie auch *Meroitica* 2 ist der vorliegende Band eine diskutierte Publikation, d.h. der Verfasser hatte seine Arbeit (S. 15-92) an eine Anzahl von Kollegen mit der Bitte um kritische Stellungnahmen verschickt. Von sprachwissenschaftlicher Seite waren dieser Bitte Bierwisch und Růžicka, von meroitistischer Seite Millet, Prieze, Schenkel und Trigger nachgekommen, während Abdalla keinen Diskussionsbeitrag, sondern einen weiteren Beitrag seiner Analyse meroitischer Personennamen lieferte. In einem Schlußkapitel nimmt Hintze dann Stellung zu den Kommentaren (S. 181-201). Durch diese Art der diskutierten Publikation soll „das für das gewählte Thema zur Verfügung stehende Material umfassend genutzt und das unterschiedliche Herangehen an das Problem deutlich ge-

macht werden; dabei werden die verschiedenen Interpretationen zur Geltung gebracht und so der zum Zeitpunkt der Publikation erreichte Stand der Forschung herausgearbeitet. Zugleich erleichtert sie den angrenzenden Fachgebieten die Orientierung über den Stand und die Ergebnisse der meroitistischen Forschung" (S. 13).

Das Heranziehen der Sprachwissenschaftler zeigt bereits, daß der Verfasser versucht, mit von der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft entwickelten Theorien und Methoden an die meroitische Sprache heranzugehen, wenn auch die „Beiträge“ nicht so sehr als eine abstrakte Übung in Strukturanalyse gedacht waren, sondern in letzter Linie einer besseren Einsicht in die meroitische Sprache, primär in einige Bereiche ihrer Grammatik dienen sollten...“ (S. 183). Das Ergebnis ist auf den ersten Blick bestechend: nach dem Einleitungskapitel, in dem vor allem die Methodenfrage behandelt wird, werden im 2. Kapitel die Grundlagen für eine Systematisierung der in den Deskriptionssätzen vorliegenden syntagmatischen Strukturen erarbeitet, und im 3. Kapitel werden die bei der syntagmatischen Analyse festgestellten Morpheme auf ihre grammatische Funktion hin untersucht. Im 4. Kapitel werden die vielfältigen Präfixe und Suffixe der Benediktionsverben auf einige wenige reduziert und dann die grammatische Funktion der verbleibenden Affixe untersucht. Das Ergebnis ist, wie gesagt, auf den ersten Blick bestechend- und das hat auf die Kommentatoren wohl ebenso gewirkt, denn keiner von ihnen hat die aufgestellten Regeln am meroitischen Textmaterial selbst nachgeprüft. Diese undankbare Aufgabe bleibt der Rezensentin überlassen.

Grundsätzlich ist die Frage zu stellen, ob die meroitischen Totentexte ausreichen, um Regeln für eine Grammatik aufzustellen: ausgewählt waren 15 Sätze, deren Bedeutung von vornherein vorlag, d.h. es handelt sich um Aussagen über den Toten. Diese können nun in zwei verschiedenen Weisen gemacht werden: 1. der Tote nennt seinen Titel: *N₁-lo(wi)*. Der Titel kann nun erweitert werden durch Angaben, bei wem oder an welchem Ort er sein Amt ausübte. Dabei wird *N₂* („Objekt“) immer dann durch ein *-li* determiniert, wenn es sich nicht um einen Eigennamen handelt. Lediglich „König“ und „Kandake“ machen bei dieser Konstruktion eine Ausnahme. So heißt es zwar *pelmoš ato-li-s-lo(wi)* „General des Wassers war dieser“, aber *ant Mnp-s-lo(wi)* „Priester des (oder „bei“) Amanapa war dieser“ bzw. *pqr qori-s-lo(wi)* „Wesir des („beim“) König war dieser“. Während des *-s-*, das die Zugehörigkeit ausdrückt, bei den Eigennamen keine Vokaländerung hervorruft (*Mni*: *Mni-s*, *Mnp_{te}*: *Mnp_{te}-s*), wechselt bei *qore*: *qori-s* der Vokal. Hintze findet dafür die Erklärung, daß die Endung *-li* sei, die den Vokal */i/* verliert, wenn das vorhergehende Nomen vokalisiert endet, ihn aber behält, wenn das Nomen konsonantisch endet. So muß er *qore* „König“ als */qor/* interpretieren. Ein Blick über die Totentexte hinaus zeigt aber, daß es nicht nur *qore* gibt, sondern auch *qor*, d.h. gemäß den Regeln, die für die phonematische Interpretation aufgestellt wurden (S. 15), */qora/* (so in REM 0046, 0521, 0628, 1026 A, 1038, 1041 A), Inschrift 0412 C hat sogar *qoro* */quru/* (vgl. dazu auch den bereits in der Tañyidamani-Stele vorkommenden Titel *ms-qoro-s*). Mir erscheint die Erklärung näherliegend, daß sich bei der Konstruktion *qore* + *-s* > *qoris*, d.h. */qura/* + *-sa/*, das auslautende *-a/* des Nomens vokalharmonisch dem vorangehenden */u/* angleicht und zu */i/* wird.

In keinem der bisher publizierten Texte haben wir einen Nachweis dafür, daß N_1 einer Pluralität von N_2 angehörte, d.h. eine Konstruktion $*N_1 + N_2\text{-leb-s-lo(wi)}$ ist nicht belegt. Mir ist es deshalb unverständlich, wie Hintze zu der Phrase *ant-mk-leb-s* „der Priester der Götter“ (S. 187) kommt, die nicht einmal durch ein Sternchen als nicht belegt gekennzeichnet ist. S. 195 stellt er, gleichfalls ohne Sternchen, die Form *lebs* auf, die er höchstens mit REM 0217: *qoresmleb:s: mte-lowi* belegen könnte; aber Prieses Deutung als „der für Königsgemahlinnen *mte* ist“ hat der Verfasser selbst als fragwürdig und ganz unpassend erklärt (1977: 25). Grundsätzlich darf bei der Behandlung der mit *-smle* zusammengesetzten Lexeme die Tañyidamani-Stele mit ihren Belegen für *hrphsmolol*, *ñtesmlolw* nicht übersehen werden. Offensichtlich war es so, daß ein Meroite nicht gleichzeitig mehreren Personen oder Göttern unterstellt war, zumindest konnte es nicht im Satztyp I oder nach Hintzes Terminologie im Kernsatz SD(1) ausgedrückt werden.

Im Satztyp II haben wir zwar wieder eine Aussage über den Toten, aber die Konstruktion ist nicht wie bei $N_1 + \text{Erweiterungen} + \text{lo(wi)}$ progressiv, sondern regressiv. Der Tote gibt nicht an, welche Titel er selbst trägt, sondern in welchem verwandtschaftlichen oder für uns noch nicht erkennbaren Verhältnis er zu einem anderen Titelträger steht: $N_2\text{-li} + N_1\text{-lo(wi)}$. Alle Erweiterungen, die wir beim ersten Satztyp für N_1 hatten, sind hier bei N_2 anzutreffen, d.h. wir haben die Satzkonstruktion: $N_2 + \text{Erweiterungen} + \text{li} + N_1\text{-lo(wi)}$. Auch hier muß N_2 determiniert werden durch *-li*. In seiner Publikation war Hintze zu dem Ergebnis gekommen, es könne sich bei *-li* um ein Morphem mit möglicherweise drei verschiedenen Funktionen handeln. Dieses Problem war in den Kommentaren ausführlich diskutiert worden, und Hintze faßt zusammen: „Auf jeden Fall zeigt die gesamte Diskussion recht deutlich, daß die Frage der semantischen Determinierung hier besser aus dem Spiel bleiben sollte; diese wird im Meroitischen offensichtlich nicht ausgedrückt, jedenfalls nicht durch *-li*. Mit anderen Worten: *ant* bedeutet 'Priester, der Priester, ein Priester' und *ant-li* hat dieselben Bedeutungen; wann *ant* und wann *ant-li* steht, ist eine Frage der meroitischen Syntax, nicht eine Frage der Semantik“ (S. 198). Mir erscheint die Erklärung des *-li* als Determination durchaus naheliegend, sofern man darunter nicht den bestimmten Artikel versteht, sondern ein Morphem zur Abgrenzung (oder auch Hervorhebung) des einen Nomens gegenüber dem anderen: *ant-li wi-lowi* „eines Priesters Bruder war dieser (und nicht der eines Generals)“. Das erklärt auch, warum es in Verbindung mit einem Personennamen (P) heißt: $N_2 + P$ (ohne *-li*), aber $P + N_2\text{-li}$.

Werden in einer Inschrift mehrere Tote verewigt, dann haben wir statt des singularen $N_1\text{-lo(wi)}$ ein plurales $N_1\text{-leb-k-wi}$. Beim Satztyp II, bei dem die Beziehung N_1 zu N_2 wohl genetisch ausgedrückt ist, kann ein singularer N_1 zu einer Pluralität von N_2 in Beziehung stehen, und auch mehrere N_1 können zu mehreren N_2 in einem verwandtschaftlichen oder sonstigen Verhältnis gestanden haben. Wir haben dann für den Singular: $N_2\text{-leb} + N_1\text{-lo(wi)}$, für den Plural $N_2\text{-leb} + N_1\text{-leb-k-wi}$. Während es sich bei N_2 um Amtsbezeichnungen handelt, sind N_1 „Verhältnisausdrücke“, von denen wir nur die echten Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen übersetzen können. Dabei fällt

auf, daß 3 der 4 bekannten Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen Frauen gehören, was nicht sehr verwunderlich ist, denn Satztyp II bringt ja gerade zum Ausdruck, in welcher Beziehung der oder die Tote zu einem Titelträger stand. Frauen, die selbst keine Ämter zu haben scheinen, müssen ihren Stand in der Gesellschaft dadurch bekunden, daß sie sich durch ihre (männlichen) Verwandten auszeichnen. So ist eine Frau Ehefrau (*sm*), Mutter (*šte*) von Söhnen, nicht von Töchtern, Schwester (*kdis*, *kdite*) von Brüdern, nicht von Schwestern. Ein Mann ist lediglich ein Bruder (*wi*) von Brüdern, nicht von Schwestern. Problematisch bleibt weiterhin der am häufigsten gebrauchte Ausdruck *yetmde*, dessen Übersetzung „als-Schwesterkind-Anerkannter“ (S. 58) beibehalten wird, ungeachtet des von Hintze selbst dann angeführten Beispiels, daß zwei leibliche Brüder in diesem Verhältnis zueinander standen. In einer anderen Inschrift (0289) steht eine Frau in einem *yetmde*-Verhältnis zu einem Mann, zu dem ihr Sohn im selben Verhältnis steht (0221). Statt weiter an *yetmde* = Verhältnis Mutterbruder-Schwesterkind und einer damit verbundenen streng mutterrechtlich aufgebauten Familienorganisation festzuhalten, sollte Hintze seine eigenen Worte beachten, die er gerade im Hinblick auf *yetmde* äußert: „Wir sehen hier wieder, wie weit wir noch von einem klaren Verständnis selbst eines beschränkten Teils der meroitischen Sprache entfernt sind“ (S. 60).

12 der von Hintze angeführten 15 Beispiele gehören seinem Kernsatz $S_{D(2)}$ an. Zwischen N_1 und dem satzschließenden *-lowi* können „Infixe“ treten, die gerade bei etwas komplizierten Sätzen das Verhältnis $N_2 - N_1$ verdeutlichen. Es handelt sich um die Possessivpronomina der 3. Person, wobei *-s*, *-ges*, *aqes* das Possessivverhältnis der 3. p. sg. ausdrücken, *-bes*, *-qebes*, *aqebes*, *aqobes* das der 3. p. pl. In seinem „Parameter der Suffixe“ (S. 53) gibt der Verfasser in seiner Matrix 2 neben den belegten Bildungen $V\text{-(qe)-s-lo-wi}$ und $V\text{-(qe)-b-es-lo-wi}$ (V entspricht dabei meinem N_1) die nur nach Analogie gebildeten Formen $V\text{-(qe)-s-leb-k-wi}$ (bei N_2 im Singular) und $V\text{-(qe)-b-es-leb-k-wi}$ (bei N_2 im Plural) an. Nun ist es von vornherein mißlich, bei einer unserem Verständnis so wenig erschlossenen Sprache wie es das Meroitische immer noch ist, „Sätze“ nach Analogie zu bilden — ebenso mißlich ist aber auch die Feststellung: „Dabei wird man die singulären Fälle, wo für eine Struktur nur ein einziger Beleg vorliegt, doch mit etwas Mißtrauen hinsichtlich der Korrektheit des Textes betrachten müssen. In solchen Fällen können wir Fehler des meroitischen Schreibers oder des Steinmetzen nicht mit Sicherheit ausschließen“ (S. 43f.). Es gibt eine erstaunlich große Anzahl von Satzmustern, die nur mit einem meroitischen Beispielsatz zu belegen sind. Die Meroiten beherrschten im Gegensatz zu uns ihre Sprache. „Fehler“ sind wohl eher unserer Unkenntnis zuzuschreiben als der Schlampigkeit des meroitischen Schreibers. Aber zurück zu den nach Analogie gebildeten Formen: daß für $V\text{-(qe)-s-leb-k-wi}$ kein Beispiel vorhanden ist, mag daran liegen, daß auch die Belege ohne „Infix“ selten sind, daß sich mehrere Subjekte als in einem bestimmten Verhältnis zu nur einem „Objekt“ stehend bezeichnen. Ein solcher Satz ist zudem so wenig unübersichtlich, daß sich die Betonung des Possessivverhältnisses erübrigt. Bei der Analogiebildung $V\text{-(qe)-b-es-leb-k-wi}$ kommt die Frage dazu, ob die Meroiten zwei plurale „Infixe“ oder Suffixe zwischen

Nomen und pluraler Kopula *-k-wi* zusammenfügen konnten (oder wollten). Wir haben nämlich ein Beispiel, das nicht deswegen fehlerhaft ist, weil es nur einmal vorhanden ist, in dem *bes* eindeutig als Partikel behandelt und ausgeklammert ist: *ššimete: pelmetreyos: Mnptme: bes: Šboye yetmde-leb-k-wi* (0131). Die beiden genannten Titel beziehen sich wohl auf den ersten Personennamen, so daß wir als Satzmuster erhalten: $N_2 + N_{21} + P + bes + P + N_1\text{-leb-k-wi}$.

Es gibt zwei Beispiele dafür, daß nach N_1 auch die Relation 3 bezeichnet wird, die wir sonst nur in den Benediktionsformeln belegt haben: werden die Götter von mehreren Toten um eine bestimmte Gabe gebeten, dann tritt zwischen Verbalstamm und Suffix ein *-bhe*. Inschrift 0521 hat den Satz: *ahrrb: Tktoreteli ahrrb: Amodteli tereki: tk-bhe-lo*. Hintze hält diesen wie den nachfolgenden für einen Verbalsatz (S. 56). Die Bedeutung von *tereki* ist unbekannt, *tk* kommt in der Tañyidamani-Stele mehrfach als Verb vor, doch gibt es auch ein Nominalsuffix *-tk* (vgl. *kdi-tk*, *br-tk*, *as-tk*, *mreke-tk* in 1088). Eine eindeutige Entscheidung, ob es sich hier um einen Verbalsatz oder wie bei allen anderen Belegen um einen Nominalsatz handelt, läßt sich also nicht treffen.

Das zweite Beispiel stammt von Arminna-West, d.h. es handelt sich um einen der Texte, die Trigger 1970 zusammen mit Heyler herausgegeben hat. Es ist daher völlig unverständlich, daß er nicht bemerkte, daß der Satz S. 47 falsch zitiert ist. Es handelt sich nicht um einen Toten, sondern um zwei (vgl. Trigger-Heyler 1970: 31, Text 3a). Der Satz lautet: *mlekye mrde pesto-li-s-li mrde pelmoš-li-s-li: kelw: hrphe-bhe-li yetmde-leb-k-wi* (REM 1066 A). Wieder sind Pluralsuffix und „infix“ getrennt, Hintzes Analogiebildung $V\text{-b-he-leb-k-wi}$ (S. 53) existiert nicht. Auf die Toten bezogen sind die Konstruktionen *hrphe-bhe-li yetmde-leb-k-wi*, und zwar in der gleichen Weise, wie wir es bei den Filiationsangaben haben, wenn es heißt: *tedhe-li tedhe-leb-k-wi* (0229) oder *tedhe-li tedhe-li tedhe-leb-k-wi* (0260). Wir haben also die Form $N_1\text{-li} + N_1\text{-leb-k-wi}$ (zu dem Problem vgl. Hofmann 1981: 167f.). Nun kommt aber ein weiteres Problem dazu: *hrphe* bzw. *hrphñ* sind Titel, die, wenn sie dem Toten gehören, notgedrungen den Satztyp I verlangen, *yetmde* dagegen ist ein „Verhältnisausdruck“, das den Satztyp II erfordert. Im vorliegenden Beleg sind beide Satztypen verwendet: die beiden Toten stehen in einem *yetmde*-Verhältnis zu (je einem?) *mlekye* und *mrde* des Vizekönigs und einem *mrde* des Generals (also zu zwei Personen). Gleichzeitig aber sind sie Befehlshaber (o.ä.), wobei nicht zu entscheiden ist, ob die beiden Toten bei den beiden *mrde-leb* „angestellt“ waren, oder ob diese für die *hrphe-leb* arbeiteten. Aus den bisherigen Texten gewinnt man nicht den Eindruck, daß das Zugehörigkeitsverhältnis eines Höhergestellten zu Niedriggestellten ausgedrückt wird. Man fragt sich natürlich, warum die Meroiten einen solchen Satz (er ist allerdings bisher nur einmal belegt) nicht so aufschlüsselten, daß bei der Konstruktion mit *hrphe* der Satztyp I, bei der mit *yetmde* der Satztyp II verwendet wurde. Aber dem scheint eine weitere Schwierigkeit im Weg gestanden zu haben: offensichtlich war die Betonung, daß es sich um einen *mrde* beim Vizekönig und einen *mrde* beim General handelte, das Wesentliche. Die Konstruktion „ein Befehlshaber (o.ä.) bei einem *mrde* beim Vizekönig“ (wenn wir den ersten Titel der Einfachheit

halber weglassen) hätte aber aussehen müssen: $N_1 + N_2 + N_3\text{-li-s-li-s-leb-k-wi}$ — ein solches Satzgefüge ist bisher aber noch nicht belegt.

Es gibt kein einziges eindeutiges Beispiel dafür, daß die Deskriptionsätze der Totentexte echte Verbalsätze enthalten — es scheinen ausnahmslos einfache Nominalsätze zu sein, die eine Aussage über den Toten darstellen. Nicht dazu gehören die sogenannten Stelentexte, die Hintze auch bewußt ausklammert (S. 42). Regeln, die von nur 15 „schönen“ Sätzen abgeleitet sind, erscheinen von vornherein zu einseitig, als daß sie für eine ganze Sprache hinreichen.

Zur Struktur der Benediktionsverben seien nur einige wenige Bemerkungen gemacht: die vielen unterschiedlichen Präfixe und Suffixe werden von Hintze reduziert, indem selten belegte Präfixe nicht berücksichtigt bzw. „auch einfach als Schreibfehler“ angesehen werden (S. 69), ein Wort übrigens, das auffallend häufig vorkommt. Schließlich bleiben als Präfixe noch *Ø*- und *p*- vor konsonantisch anlautenden und *y*- und *pš*- vor vokalischem anlautenden Verben übrig. Daß die Vokale zu den Präfixen und nicht zu den Verben gehören, die somit alle konsonantisch anlauten, wird gar nicht erwogen. Bildungen wie *E-tre-tey* (9978), *Ye-tre-mli* (0314), *e-tre-bhte* (1003), *i-tre-k*, *yo-tre-mlo-wide-to* (1044), *y-tre-sni* bzw. *y-twd-sni* (0409) und *i-twd-to* (1044) sprechen eindeutig gegen Hintzes Annahme. Als eigentliche Form des */p/-*Präfixes wird *pš*- (ohne Berücksichtigung der mit den Vokalen */i/* und */u/* gebildeten Varianten) angesetzt, dessen morphophonematische Interpretation im Gegensatz zu den nun doch allgemein akzeptierten Regeln (vgl. 15: „Das Zeichen *š* ist als */sa/* zu interpretieren“) */pas/-* sein soll (S. 71). Das */s/* soll sich dem unmittelbar folgenden Konsonanten (bei den Verben mit konsonantischem Anlaut) assimilieren und im Schriftbild verschwinden. Wo das nicht der Fall ist wie bei dem Verb *hol*, das mit *p*- und *pš*- vorkommt, wird mit einer „etymologischen“ Schreibung gerechnet. Es wird überhaupt merkwürdig oft damit argumentiert, daß die Schreiber einmal so geschrieben, wie sie sprachen, zum anderen aber mehr „morphologisch“ und das auf ein und denselben Friedhof. Sieht man sich die Texte hinsichtlich der zeitlichen Aufeinanderfolge genauer an, dann stellt man fest, daß sich während der 500 Jahre, in denen Meroitisch geschrieben wurde, die Tendenz durchsetzte, von einer frühen Silbenstruktur VKV zu KV oder KVKV zu gelangen. Dabei erhalten nicht nur die Verben ein konsonantisch anlautendes „Präfix“ *y*-, sondern auch gewisse Nomina, die sonst eher dazu neigen, den Anlautvokal abzustößeln. Die Schreiber haben demnach so geschrieben, wie auch gesprochen wurde.

Aufgrund der Annahme von Assimilationen können die Suffixe auf drei reduziert werden, nämlich *-Ø*, wobei */a/* eine grammatische Endung sein soll, *-kete* und *-to*. Kombiniert mit den Präfixen *Ø*- (bzw. *y*- bei „vokalischem anlautenden“ Verben) und *pš*- ergibt sich ein Verbalschema, dessen grammatische Funktion erklärt werden kann:

	Imperativ	Optativ
2. sg.	Ø - V - a	pas - V - a
2. pl.	Ø - V - ket	pas - V - ket
3. pl.	...	pas - V - to

Das Ergebnis ist so bestechend, daß es keiner der Kommentatoren bezweifelte, hingegen Bierwisch es als

ein Beispiel aus dem Bereich der Semantik hervorhebt „wo begründete Annahmen mehr leisten als die reine Plausibilität einer Interpretation“ (S. 110). Ich selbst ließ mich gleichfalls auf den ersten Blick bestechen und hielt es für mindestens „wahrscheinlich“ (1980). Ein „zweiter Blick“ enthüllte dann allerdings, daß das aufgestellte Schema nicht haltbar ist: es setzt nämlich voraus, daß es eine Form Ø - V - to nicht gibt, worauf ja auch Hintze mehrfach hinweist (S. 76, 77). Eine solche Form kommt aber nicht nur in einem Totentext vor: *y-th-to* (0089), sondern ist geradezu typisch für die Verbalbildungen in den sogenannten berichtenden Texten. Hintze selbst stellte sie 1960: 161 und 1977: 35 zusammen. An eine Interpretation als *s + lo* wird er für den Tañyidamani-Text nun doch wohl nicht gedacht haben (so aber unverständlicherweise Millet 1973: 311f.).

Hintze kann zu einer Deutung der zweiten Person im Singular als Spender der erbetenen Gaben nur kommen, wenn er von der bisherigen Annahme absieht, daß die Spender die in dem Invokationsteil genannten Götter sind, denn sonst müßte es sich immer um einen Plural handeln: „Es scheint mir jetzt aber wahrscheinlicher, daß es sich um eine Aufforderung zum Totenopfer an die Nachkommen, bzw. an die Grabbesucher und Leser der Inschrift handelt“ (S. 75). Damit ist die Kontrollmöglichkeit nicht mehr vorhanden. Aber warum werden dann überhaupt Isis und Osiris, manchmal noch ein „großer Gott“ angerufen, gelegentlich auch am Ende des Textes, unmittelbar auf die Benediktionsformeln?

Die Assimilierungsannahmen zur Beseitigung eines eigenen Suffixes *-te* (S. 64ff.) sind überzeugend; trotzdem muß ein eigenes Suffix *-te* weiterhin angenommen werden. Der Verfasser machte selbst darauf aufmerksam, daß sich für das Verb *-pl(e)te* keine morphophonematische Erklärungsmöglichkeit für das Fehlen des *-ke-* finden läßt. Seine Frage: „Sollte hier das *-te* vielleicht kein Suffix sein, sondern zum Verbstamm gehören (*-plete*)?“, muß verneint werden: in 0075 und 1044 haben wir *i-ple-to*, in 0075 dazu noch *i-ple-tes*. Ein nicht durch Assimilation erklärbares Suffix *-te* haben wir auch in dem neunmal wiederholten Verbalkomplex *yinnide-te* in 1001. Die sogenannten Bauinschriften beginnen mit *are-kete*, *dm-kte*, *dm-te*, *dm-s* (Hofmann 1981: 251ff.), wobei auch hier die Möglichkeit einer Assimilation nicht gegeben ist.

Das sind die hauptsächlichsten Einwände vonseiten der Rezensentin. Daß sie nicht von den Kommentatoren vorgebracht wurden, darf erstaunen. Eines ist hoffentlich klar geworden: noch so schöne Theorien und Hypothesen ersetzen nicht die mühselige und zeitraubende Kleinarbeit, die die jeweils gewonnenen, meist nur ganz kleinen Ergebnisse immer wieder am meroitischen Sprachmaterial überprüft und die aufgestellten Hypothesen immer wieder hinterfragt. Das meroitische Sprachmaterial aber besteht nicht nur aus durchschaubaren Deskriptionssätzen der Totentexte, sondern in viel höherem Maße aus den langen, berichtenden Texten und den Ostraka. Solange „Ergebnisse“, die aus den Totentexten gewonnen wurden, sich beim Vergleich mit diesen anderen Textarten nicht verifizieren lassen, ist ihre Brauchbarkeit nicht einzusehen.

Trotz aller Kritik, die mir notwendig erschien, sind Hintzes „Beiträge zur meroitischen Grammatik“ allein schon deshalb wertvoll, weil sie zur Diskussion auffordern.

Es ist zu hoffen, daß durch das vorliegende Werk die Erforschung der meroitischen Sprache neu angeregt wird.

Südstadt, Juli 1980

INGE HOFMANN

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Friedrich W. HINKEL, with the co-operation of Anthony J. MILLS and an Introduction by Anthony J. ARKELL, *The Archaeological Map of the Sudan*, II, *The Area of the South Libyan Desert*. Berlin, Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie, Akademie-Verlag, 1979 (29 x 21 cm., 160 pp., 28 figs. in text, 26 maps). Price 78,— M. Bestell-Nr. 753 288 0 (3067/2).

This is the first fascicle to be issued of an ambitious series that aims to document every known archaeological site in the Democratic Republic of the Sudan as well as the provenience of every artifact from the Sudan and neighbouring regions that has been accessioned in the collections of the Sudan National Museum. It is proposed that these data will be presented in nine fascicles (numbered II to X), each covering a different area of the Sudan. These fascicles eventually will be prefaced by a *General Guide* (fascicle I) containing introductory and background information, as well as a catalogue of sites and artifacts that cannot be assigned to a particular region of the Sudan. While this Guide will appear after the area fascicles have been published, a provisional introduction was issued in 1977. It is titled *The Archaeological Map of the Sudan — A Guide to its Use and Explanation of its Principles*. The section of that publication explaining the organization of the series should be studied by anyone prior to using the present fascicle. It is also intended that

a series of supplementary fascicles will index data from the whole of the Sudan according to various topographical features, types of sites, and cultural characteristics. A distribution map will also be produced for each known culture of the ancient Sudan.

This collection will assemble in one place and make available to scholars and other interested people the following information concerning each archaeological site in the Sudan: location, brief description, published references-including references to illustrations, and references to unpublished material contained in archives and collections, especially those of the Sudan Antiquities Service. Manuscripts and diaries of travellers and reports of provincial government officials, as well as formal archaeological reports, files, and dossiers have been consulted in preparing these fascicles. The data published in them are seen as a basis of establishing a Documentation Centre for the Sudan Antiquities Service. It is hoped that they will encourage scholars to undertake new research in the field of Sudanese archaeology by revealing lacunae in our knowledge as well as promising areas for further study. It is also intended that these fascicles will create an interest in local history in various parts of the Sudan by presenting all of the archaeological data currently available for each part of the country. In North America, such a detailed catalogue of sites would assist amateur archaeologists and commercial collectors to pillage such sites illegally. One hopes that similar conditions do not prevail in the Sudan.

The present volume surveys the archaeology of the extreme northwestern part of the Sudan, namely, the region north of latitude 16° N. and west of longitude 30° E. This is the area of the South Libyan Desert, stretching as far south as the *gizu* grazing lands. It is an isolated, unpeopled, and largely unexplored region for which a list of only 215 archaeological sites, presumed to date prior to 1821 unless stated otherwise, has been compiled, as compared with many times that number for the adjacent parts of the Nile Valley. For these reasons, the area seemed an auspicious one to begin with, since it did not require a vast amount of information to be processed. The plan is to survey the various areas of the Sudan, moving from west to east and north to south.

The mapping system used in this series was first employed by Professor William Y. Adams for the Nubian salvage campaign and was later extended to the whole of the Sudan by the Sudan Antiquities Service. The basic element is a series of "Unit Maps", each covering 1° of latitude and 1° 30' of longitude. Sixteen Unit Maps (designated A to P) are contained within each block of the International Map of the World at a scale of 1:1,000,000. Each Unit Map in turn is divided into twenty-four 15' squares, numbered 1 to 24, and each of these into twenty-five 3' squares, labelled A to Y. Within each of the latter, archaeological sites are numbered according to the order in which they were found or are described. This hierarchy of labelled units provides an unambiguous designation for each site and also locates it within a unit of about 28.7 km². If the location of a site is not known that precisely, it can be related to a larger unit of the system.

Fascicle II is of particular interest because it establishes the format that will be followed in the other eight area fascicles. An eloquent Introduction by A. J. Arkell, the

first Commissioner for Archaeology of the Sudan, affirms his longstanding interest in the prehistory of the South Libyan Desert. This must be one of that venerable archaeologist's last writings. The fascicle begins with an alphabetical listing-by-name of all the sites that are registered in it, together with their official designation and a brief characterization of each.

This is followed by a description of the physical geography of the area covered in this fascicle, a history of the exploration and archaeological reconnaissance of the region from 1698 to 1971, lists of abbreviations and signs used in the text and on maps, and a glossary of Arabic and native terms. After this, comes a characterization of the archaeology and culture-history of the area, a list of selected sites in regions adjoining the Sudan, a catalogue of objects and sites of the South Libyan Desert that could not be assigned to the territory of specific Unit Maps, a catalogue of sites from outside the Sudan border from which there are Sudan National Museum accessions, and indices of located sites, of unlocated sites within the Sudan border, of objects in the Sudan National Museum collections, and of sites outside the Sudan referred to in the text. Finally, there is a comprehensive bibliography.

This is followed by a section providing separate treatment of each of the 26 areas that correspond with a single Unit Map. Each area is supplied with a general description of its physical geography, an account of its archaeological reconnaissance, and a catalogue listing and describing all of the sites associated with it. The latter vary considerably in length. Each site is described as to location, variant names, archaeological finds, and relevant published and unpublished literature. The coverage of each Unit Map concludes with indices listing the sites and objects associated with it. This section is supplied with 24 detached Unit Maps, reproduced in black-and-white, on which exploration routes are marked and each site is located in relationship to major physiographic features, such as hills, wadis, and dune fields. These maps are of a convenient size for use in the field. Two other maps, on a smaller scale, summarize the site distributions for the whole area.

This fascicle provides a reliable and definitive guide to the sites and artifacts, as well as the published and unpublished documents, relating to the South Libyan Desert. It covers not only all of the well-known sites but also many others that even experts in Sudanese archaeology are unlikely to have encountered in their perusal of the literature. Few sites, however, have been carefully excavated or even described from this part of the Sudan. The relatively small number of sites that Hinkel's exhaustive research has been able to assemble reflects the dearth of archaeological research in this area. Moreover, many of these sites are wells and cairns of uncertain age, not all of which necessarily date prior to 1821.

Few artifacts of Lower Palaeolithic age have been observed in this area. Late Acheulean artifacts are recorded from the Selima Oasis and a site to the west of it. Middle Palaeolithic finds are common in many parts of the Libyan Desert, many occurring around the margins of now dried-up lakes. Rock pictures of Mesolithic type are outnumbered by ones that are generally labelled Neolithic. Scenes of men, their cattle, other animals, and domestic life are recorded from the Unweinat in the north to the Jebel Tageru in the south. Painted pictures are limited

to the more northerly sites, while representations of elephants seem to be restricted to the south. Numerous sites that have yielded sherds and stone tools, as well as a few graves, have also been assigned to the Neolithic period. Nevertheless, vague and incomplete records and descriptions of sites and findings, very often by amateur archaeologists, render an informed evaluation and classification of this material difficult. Several different cultures appear to be conflated in the literature, which only further careful research can disentangle. A number of sites, especially from the Burg et Tuyur and the vicinity of the Wadi Howar, are said to show strong connections with the C-Group or, perhaps one should say more generally, with the C-Horizon. Had it been possible to illustrate some of this material some of these problems might have been resolved.

Scarcely any material in this area is later than the end of the so-called "Neolithic subpluvial", which is dated c. 5000-2500 B.C. In the south, some Meroitic pottery was found west of Jebel Tageru. The Nubian Christian culture is represented in the same region by a pilgrim bottle, an iron cross, an Old Nubian inscription, and a few other finds. A ruined building, constructed of undressed stone, in the Selima Oasis has been tentatively identified as the remains of a small monastic colony of Egyptians c. A.D. 600-800, that probably received its external supplies directly from Aswan. Medieval times are represented by finds along the Darb el-Arba'in, brief inscriptions and rock drawings, and a few structural remains.

Hinkel is well-known for salvaging some of the major monuments of Sudanese Nubia, building the Sudan National Museum at Khartoum, and his architectural studies at Meroe and the old port of Suakin. The Archaeological Map of the Sudan is another manifestation of his capacity for sustained, systematic research. The present volume provides archaeologists with the first exhaustive coverage of archaeological materials concerning the South Libyan Desert. This permits them to assess what is known about the prehistory of this poorly-known area and to ponder its research requirements. Hinkel has not attempted to do more than summarize his sources in reporting the archaeological data, although he designates as uncertain conclusions that seem to him to be so. The result is that there is no clarification of the terminological and chronological ambiguities that beset the presentation of data from this area. Neolithic and C-Group material remains largely indistinguishable and its special characteristics unspecified. Some of these problems might have been clarified had a volume illustrating artifacts been published as a supplement to this fascicle. This was a project that evidently was considered but ruled out as requiring more resources than are currently available. As it stands, the fascicle is an indispensable guide for archaeologists seeking to resolve these problems either by the study of museum collections or by new field work. Some of the information provided seems excessive, particularly the listing of wells and cairns, most of which are un-dated and some of which may not be old. Yet even this information may be of value in the future for interpreting the archaeological record. I disagree with Hinkel's acceptance of Arkell's suggestion that the Darb el-Arba'in was probably already in use during the Old Kingdom. Harknuf's accounts suggest that he travelled

closer to the Nile River in his journeys to and from the Kerma region (Iam).

In conclusion, this fascicle is a model of meticulous research organization, exhaustive collection of data, and careful editing. Information is presented clearly and made accessible from many points of view by means of catalogues and indices. Hinkel is to be congratulated for his painstaking work and the Akademie-Verlag for publishing it. We look forward to the remaining fascicles not only as a valuable research tool, which will transform the study of Sudanese archaeology, but also to see how Hinkel's system will be applied to areas of the Sudan that are better-known archaeologically. The series will provide a model for other African countries concerned with the recording and analysis of their archaeological heritage.

McGill University
Montreal, Canada, July 1980

BRUCE G. TRIGGER

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G. HÖBL, *Beziehungen der Ägyptischen Kultur zu Altitalien*. I-II. Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1979 (26 cm., 394 pp.; 287 pp., 182 tavv.) = *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire Romain*, Tome 62. ISBN 90 04 5487 1.

Lo studio di G. Höbl prende l'avvio dall'esame dei reperti egiziani ed egittizzanti della Campania, per poi allargare il discorso agli altri oggetti provenienti dalla Valle del Nilo, ovvero ispirati all'arte egizia, rinvenuti nell'Italia continentale al disotto degli Appennini, con l'esclusione delle isole all'infuori di Ischia. La Sicilia e la Sardegna non sono comprese in quanto, secondo l'opinione dell'Autore, con cui concordiamo, sono troppo vicine al mondo fenicio-punico e dovrebbero essere trattate in un lavoro relativo ai legami tra quest'ultimo e l'Egitto.

L'opera è divisa in due volumi, dei quali il primo è dedicato allo studio delle diverse categorie di oggetti ed il secondo al catalogo ed alle illustrazioni. Il primo volume presenta una Sezione Introduttiva, una Prima ed una Seconda Parte e la Conclusione; la Sezione Introduttiva comprende una premessa, la bibliografia, l'introduzione ed un capitolo sul problema dei *Trš*, uno dei «Popoli del Mare» noti dalle iscrizioni ramessidi che alcuni vorrebbero identificare come gli antenati degli Etruschi. La Prima Parte è strutturata in sei capitoli nei quali, dopo una ricapitolazione sulla produzione della *faïence* secondo la tecnica egiziana, sono esaurientemente trattati tutti i manufatti egizi ed egittizzanti rinvenuti sul suolo italiano continentale, e cioè nell'ordine: i recipienti in *faïence*; gli amuleti figurati, gli scarabei e gli scaraboidi; gli alabastra in pietra; i prodotti in vetro; gli oggetti non compresi nelle precedenti suddivisioni. In ognuno dei capitoli l'Autore, oltre naturalmente a proporre le datazioni, tenta di definire quali pezzi siano da considerarsi veramente egiziani e quali egittizzanti, da dove essi provengano (con particolare riguardo per il materiale egittizzante, la cui origine costituisce un problema assai complesso) e che tipo di significato essi potessero rivestire agli occhi della popolazioni italiane che ne fecero uso. Così, nel caso dei

recipienti in *faïence* egli sostiene che le cosiddette «fiasche del Nuovo Anno», la «fiasca ad otre» della Tomba Regolini Galassi e i vasetti a forma di porcospino sono di sicura importazione egiziana, come pure il celebre «vaso di Bocchoris», mentre gli «aryballoi globulari», i vasetti antropomorfi e la pisside di Cerveteri appaiono di provenienza rodia. Per quanto riguarda gli amuleti figurati, Höbl giunge a stabilire che gran parte di essi proviene dall'Egitto e precisamente dalla zona di Menfi, ed un gruppo meno numeroso da Rodi, isola che ricopriva, secondo le parole dello stesso Autore, «eine besondere Rolle» come tramite tra la Valle del Nilo e l'Italia, mentre nel caso degli scarabei egli distingue quattro principali gruppi: uno composto di pezzi in *faïence* assai simili al materiale di Perachora, eseguito, secondo la sua opinione, in una manifattura del Delta che lavorava in «stile naucratita» già prima della fondazione di Naucrati; un secondo di pezzi sia in steatite sia in *faïence* anch'esso proveniente dall'Egitto e databile all'epoca libica; un terzo non-egiziano, di origine vicino-orientale e cipriota; un quarto di origine naucratita.

Quanto al significato degli amuleti egiziani ed egittizzanti in Italia, l'Autore sottolinea l'assenza di esemplari dalle implicazioni funerarie come gli scarabei del cuore ed i pettorali a forma di naòs, per cui è da supporre che le popolazioni indigene impiegassero i piccoli oggetti apotropaci egizi come portafortuna nella vita di ogni giorno, recependone genericamente il valore protettivo, senza ovviamente arrivare alla comprensione di ogni singolo pezzo; l'unico elemento, secondo il giudizio di Höbl, che poteva forse avere un valore sacrale autonomo anche in Italia era lo scarabeo.

Nel capitolo dedicato agli alabastra in pietra, dopo una breve ma esauriente storia del tipo, sono elencati tutti i siti di ritrovamento in Egitto e altrove, e si conclude in favore della prevalente origine egiziana di questi oggetti; anche in questo caso, un ruolo importante fu ricoperto da Rodi, come centro di smistamento e di imitazione. La parte successiva, che comprende l'esame dei manufatti in vetro, tratta della presenza di vasetti vitrei in Italia, Egitto e Mesopotamia, di perle di vetro in Italia, Egitto e territori greci e di pendenti figurati e fibule ornate con pasta vitrea; vi si affronta poi il problema dell'origine della produzione vitrea greca nel I millennio e dei suoi legami con l'Egitto, per concludere che tale produzione dipende in generale da quella mesopotamica, benché per la decorazione essa si riporti spesso a motivi egiziani dal Nuovo Regno al X sec. a.C. Il capitolo sesto, conclusivo della Parte Prima, riguarda, come già si è detto, i pezzi non compresi nei capitoli precedenti, e precisamente le rare ushabti, una statuetta bronzea osiriana da Pyrgi, un canopo di Psammetico I da Tarquinia, una coppa in pietra del generale saitico *Bšk.n.rm.f* da Coppa Nevigata ed alcuni oggetti minori egittizzanti, come le uova di struzzo decorate e le perle in *faïence*.

La Parte Seconda del primo volume verte sui motivi egiziani che adornano taluni reperti sicuramente non-egiziani rinvenuti in Italia, ed è suddivisa in tre capitoli, dedicati rispettivamente alle coppe metalliche di origine fenicia, agli avori etruschi e ad alcuni temi iconografici ben noti, ossia il grifone, la sfinge, il fior di loto ed i motivi solari.

Nella Conclusione, il cui significato è riassunto nel titolo *Die Kulturelle Gabe Ägyptens an Italien*, l'Autore sintetizza i risultati della propria ricerca, definendo ancora una volta le varie fasi temporali in cui i prodotti egiziani raggiunsero i territori italiani, i loro punti di ritrovamento, il loro significato ai fini cronologici, le vie presumibilmente seguite. Egli sottolinea il ruolo fondamentale dei commercianti greci e fenici nella diffusione delle *Aegyptiaca* e si mostra, invece, dubbioso sulla possibilità di contatti commerciali diretti tra l'Egitto e l'Italia: in altre parole, egli ritiene una realtà l'esistenza di navi fenicie e greche che trasportavano i prodotti dall'uno all'altro paese, mentre considera incerta la possibilità di navi etrusche che si rifornissero direttamente in Egitto. È nuovamente confermata la posizione rilevante di Rodi e di taluni centri greci (Samo e Chio) come punti di smistamento del materiale e, nel caso di Rodi, anche come sede di botteghe di imitazione. Un altro punto di diffusione doveva essere Cartagine, dati i suoi molto probabili contatti diretti con l'Egitto, mentre, per quanto riguarda i prodotti egittizzanti provenienti dalle coste asiatiche, si deve pensare che i centri diffusori fossero gli insediamenti greci di Al Mina, Tarso e Tell Sukas. Höbl ritiene che i luoghi italiani dove le merci egizie ed egittizzanti venivano scaricate fossero in particolare Pithecusa ed alcune località marine meridionali come Torre Galli presso Locri, Amendolara, Francavilla Marittima, Taranto; in Etruria Caere, Tarquinia e Vetulonia. Da ultimo, per spiegare la diffusione di taluni motivi iconografici, egli considera anche la possibilità dell'esistenza di artigiani provenienti dall'Egitto e dai territori orientali che prestavano la propria opera in paesi stranieri, e si sofferma brevemente su determinate realizzazioni artistiche effettuate in zona etrusca, la cui genesi è verosimilmente da ricercarsi in Egitto, come gli «obelischi» di Barbarano Romano e le «false porte».

Il secondo volume comprende il catalogo, esemplare per rigore di metodo, ampiezza di bibliografia e ricchezza di illustrazioni; in esso sono incluse sei carte, una generale dell'Italia, tre dell'Italia centrale e due dell'Italia meridionale, ognuna dedicata a determinati tipi di oggetti, dei quali è documentata la presenza nei diversi siti archeologici.

Da quanto sino ad ora si è detto, risulta evidente l'importanza dell'opera, che costituisce non solo un preciso ed esauriente manuale per lo studio delle *Aegyptiaca* dell'Italia continentale, ma un modello di serietà e di riflessione, cui si dovrebbe ispirare chiunque intraprenda questo tipo di ricerca; dispiace infatti constatare che ultimamente troppo spesso ci si è trovati di fronte alla pubblicazione di materiali di musei e di collezioni italiane ove l'illustrazione dei singoli pezzi offre solo il pretesto ad elucubrazioni su insignificanti differenze formali, nell'assenza di confronti efficaci e di una solida base comparatistica e bibliografica.

Nella generale validità dell'opera, non vi sono da effettuare che poche osservazioni: a p. 109 appare errata la grafia del nome della dea Mut, poiché in luogo dell'avvoltoio con il flagello sul dorso vi è il segno *ḏsr*, ossia il *Phoenix* *roseus*, G28 della *Egyptian Grammar* di A.H. Gardiner. A p. 116 appare alquanto semplicistica la ragione addotta per spiegare il perché della rappresenta-

zione di talune divinità egizie in aspetto di nani deformi, ossia l'abilità e l'intelligenza di questi ultimi. In realtà, la figura del nano in diverse culture è legata alla lavorazione rituale dei metalli ed al mestiere di fabbro, ed anche in Egitto i nani si ricollegano a Ptah, in quanto dio creatore sotto la forma di artigiano ed esperto in metallurgia. Quindi, gli amuleti che riproducono nani raffigurano prima di tutto una manifestazione di questa divinità, ed in seguito, grazie a processi sincretistici caratteristici soprattutto dell'epoca tarda, passeranno a rappresentare altri esseri divini. Anche l'ipotesi espressa dall'Autore alle pp. 230-231 non ci trova d'accordo: qui egli ritiene infatti, basandosi per l'epoca antica su credenze riportate da Plinio riguardo ai Romani e per quella moderna su notizie di P. Cintas relative alle regioni nord-africane, che lo scarabeo possa aver avuto presso i popoli italici un valore sacrale autonomo. Se si considerano però le religioni del bacino mediterraneo preclassico e classico, si constata che solo in Egitto questo coleottero fu ritenuto un'entità divina, e che ciò avvenne sia per alcune sue singolari abitudini, sia a motivo della vicinanza fonetica tra il suo nome *hpr* ed il verbo *hpr*, «divenire», fatto che nella mentalità egiziana metteva immediatamente in rapporto l'animale con il sole, il quale «diviene», ossia si trasforma continuamente. La sacralità dello scarabeo è dunque frutto di una speculazione del tutto egiziana, e perciò è verosimile che esso sia stato recepito dalle popolazioni italiche nello stesso modo in cui vennero accolti gli amuleti che raffiguravano le varie divinità della valle del Nilo. Da ultimo, una nota che riguarda l'ipotesi espressa a p. 388, sulla possibile derivazione egiziana della tecnica della granulazione, tanto frequente nell'oreficeria etrusca: la granulazione è di origine vicino-orientale (le sue prime attestazioni si trovano nei gioielli delle tombe reali di Ur) e sembra sia stata adottata all'epoca del Medio Regno in Egitto, dove peraltro i gioielli granulati godettero di una fortuna inferiore a quella degli ornamenti ravrivati a smalto, tecnica invece tipicamente egiziana. Sembra quindi più verosimile che la granulazione sia giunta agli Etruschi dal Vicino Oriente (si pensi ai gioielli fenici), invece che dall'Egitto.

Queste brevi osservazioni non vogliono togliere alcun merito al volume di G. Hölbl, che, come già si è detto, costituisce una precisa messa a punto ed un'ampia ricapitolazione degli studi precedenti, unita a varietà di nuove ipotesi, e che certo sarà un valido strumento di lavoro ed un ottimo modello per chi si accingerà ad illustrare i legami dell'Egitto con altre zone del bacino mediterraneo.

Roma, agosto 1980

GABRIELLA SCANDONE MATTHIAE

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KORTE AANKONDIGING

Jean LECLANT (Hrsg.), *Ägypten, Band II. Das Grossreich*. München, Verlag C.H. Beck, 1980 (8vo., 360 S., 428 Abb.) = *Universum der Kunst*, Bd. 27. Preis:

Zwischen der 18. und der 22. Dynastie, als Ägypten machtbewusst ein Grossreich gebildet hatte, erleben wir

die Entwicklung einer hochbegabten Künstlergeneration, welche diese Zeit zu einer besonders grossartigen in der Weltgeschichte machte. Die Hauptstadt Theben wird zur Schatzkammer der Kunst des Neuen Reiches mit ihrem Höhepunkt in der 18. Dynastie. Vier grosse Gestalten brachte diese Epoche hervor: Thutmosis III., den siegreichen Eroberer, Amenophis IV., den fanatischen Religionsstifter, Tutanchamun, dessen Grab unverseht auf uns gekommen ist, und Ramses II., der seine Bauten ins Masslose gesteigert hat. Die von diesen Herrschern geschaffene Reichskunst wird in dem vorliegenden Bande behandelt, der erfreulich rasch auf den ersten Teil dieser Reihe gefolgt ist (*BiOr* 37 [1980], S. 334). Es ist den Verfassern gelungen, nicht nur die künstlerischen Formen genau zu beschreiben, sondern auch den Geist zu verdeutlichen, aus dem heraus sie entstanden sind. Die beigegebenen Bilder sind sowohl nach Aufnahme wie nach Reproduktionstechnik von hervorragender Güte, sodass sich die Qualität des Druckes nicht von der der französischen Originalausgabe unterscheidet.

GRIEKS-ROMEINS EGYPT

Joachim HENGSTL (Ed.), *Griechische Papyri aus Ägypten als Zeugnisse des öffentlichen und privaten Lebens*. Griechisch-Deutsch. München, Heimeran Verlag, 1978 (18 cm., 438 p.) = *Tusculum-Bücherei*. Preis: DM 68.-. ISBN 3 7765 2181 3.

Ce recueil réunit 161 papyrus répartis en sept sections:

- I - Irrigation
- II - Administration
- III - Justice
- IV - Religion et croyances
- V - Mariage, famille, vie privée
- VI - Economie et travail
- VII - Armée

Le choix des textes nous paraît être très judicieux, car ils illustrent clairement les aspects essentiels de la vie en Égypte, que ce soient des documents célèbres, dignes de figurer dans toute anthologie ou d'autres moins connus. Commencer par les papyrus relatifs à l'irrigation était une manière habile de familiariser d'emblée le lecteur avec ce qui est la plus grande originalité du pays et commande les autres secteurs de l'activité. Un seul regret, peut-être: que l'auteur n'ait pas ajouté à son recueil quelques papyrus latins qui auraient enrichi avec profit en particulier la section VII, «l'Armée» et montré l'intérêt du volet «latin» de la documentation.

Un tel recueil vient à propos, après les *Select Papyri* de Grenfell et Hunt, datant de 1932 et 1934. Le projet de J. Hengstl, indiqué dans le titre même «témoignages de la vie publique et privée», rappelle les «Private Affairs» et les «Public Documents» des tomes I et II des *Select Papyri* («Non-Literary Papyri»). Mais, outre le fait que le rajoinissement de cet ouvrage déjà ancien s'imposait, la conception de H. est différente. En effet son volume ne contient que 161 textes, alors que les 2 tomes des *Select Papyri* en comportent 434. C'est que chaque papyrus, après que le texte grec ait été donné et traduit, est suivi d'un commentaire substantiel et d'indications bibliographiques; le commentaire apporte les éléments nécessaires à la com-

préhension du texte et indique son intérêt et ses particularités et la bibliographie donne, sur toutes les questions importantes, les mises au point utiles. Par exemple, à propos du n° 142, contrat de vente d'un champ (Pathyris, 99 av. J.C.) (= *P. Lips.* 2), H. renvoie à des études sur la vente, sur l'agoranome, sur la datation par les prêtres éponymes, sur les Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, sur l'ἑγγύη, sur la clause ἀγώγιμος, sur les signalements personnels.

Les textes sont présentés de manière agréable et claire, tantôt sur une, tantôt sur deux colonnes selon la longueur des lignes. Dans les comptes n°s 80 et 81, aux colonnes très étroites, la traduction figure sur la même ligne, à droite du texte grec, ce qui économise la place en permettant au lecteur de voir immédiatement la traduction du grec. Le n° 86 met en regard le texte original, très fautif, et le texte corrigé, ce qui facilite la lecture et la compréhension, en évitant de recourir pour chaque mot ou presque, à un appareil-critique. Une disposition aérée, l'emploi de différents caractères, le format maniable ajoutent à l'agrément du recueil. Nous avons relevé très peu de fautes matérielles (p. 32, ptolomaischen au lieu de ptole-, p. 79, ὁ < κτῶ au lieu de ὁ κτῶ).

Chaque papyrus est précédé d'un titre assez explicite qui définit le type du document et résume son contenu. Le texte retenu tient compte des lectures et des corrections de la *Berichtigungsliste* lorsque celles-ci s'imposent. La référence à l'édition du papyrus est alors suivie de la mention de la *BL*, par exemple le n° 151: «*P. Ryl.* IV 578 (mit *BL* III und IV)». Les traductions nous paraissent, dans l'ensemble, exactes.

Cependant dans le n° 108, 1.5 μόνις est mal rendu par «endlich», et 1.7, ἐν τῷ αἰθρίῳ doit être traduit non pas par «im Atrium», mais par «im Lichthof», «dans la cour éclairante»; cette interprétation avait pourtant déjà été donnée par Wilcken dans l'édition princeps, *P. Brem.* 15, à laquelle renvoie la bibliographie.

En quelques pages d'introduction, H. résume les connaissances indispensables pour qui veut aborder la papyrologie; il traite successivement des supports de l'écriture, des grandes étapes historiques, de la langue et de son évolution, des fautes orthographiques et grammaticales, de l'écriture, des signes diacritiques utilisés par les éditeurs de papyrus. Puis viennent des «aperçus» sur la chronologie, la métrologie, la monnaie et les nombres. Enfin une liste d'ouvrages généraux sur la papyrologie et une liste d'abréviations. En appendice H. a joint une concordance, une liste des sigles utilisés pour désigner les éditions de papyrus et d'ostraca, deux cartes, une de l'Égypte et une du Fayoum, et des photographies qui représentent différents supports de l'écriture dans l'Antiquité.

En bref, un recueil qui nous paraît être une excellente introduction à la papyrologie pour les non-spécialistes et où les spécialistes retrouveront commodément tel ou tel texte dont ils ne possèdent pas l'édition. J'avoue, pour ma part, avoir pris beaucoup de plaisir à relire nombre de lettres privées de la section V, qui révèlent des sentiments personnels souvent émouvants. H. met donc à notre disposition des textes importants, étayés par un commentaire solide et une bibliographie utile. Il resterait à souhaiter que chaque pays ait, dans sa propre langue, un équivalent de l'ouvrage de notre collègue allemand.

Rouen, juin 1980

G. HUSSON

CHRISTELIJK EGYPT

Gérard VIAUD, *Les Pèlerinages Coptes en Égypte d'après les notes du Qommos Jacob Muysier*. Le Caire, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale de Caire, 1979 (27 cm., 120 pages, 10 plates and 4 maps).

Who would have guessed that twenty-five years after the death of Qummos Jacob Muysier in 1956, his notes on the Coptic *mawâlid* would serve as the basis for such a remarkable topological, historical and sociological study on the collective behaviour of the Egyptian Christians. Our deep and sincere thanks go to Gérard Viaud, who presented us with a formidable descriptive and analytical account of the Coptic *mûlid*. The book appeared as volume XV in the series of the «Bibliothèque d'Études Coptes», and is divided into four major chapters, reflecting the interests and the original arrangements of Qummos Muysier's anticipated presentation.

Chapter I is a brief historical introduction which deals with the Christian pilgrimage in general and the Coptic pilgrimage in Egypt in particular. Citing extensively the remarks of the Upper Egyptian church-father and theologian Shenûdah, the reader is being introduced to the practices and mal-practices of the 5th century Copts at the time of their feasts, and one cannot help recognizing certain behaviour patterns which have survived over the centuries to the present day.

The second chapter lists and describes twenty-three ancient pilgrimage sites in Lower and Upper Egypt, which are clearly marked on map I. Some of these pilgrimage sites have been recently revived like Abû Minâ at Mariût. In other cases the cult-object has changed. Thus, for example, the *mûlid* in honour of the Archangel Gabriel at Naqlûn in the Fayyûm Oasis has survived under the name of Anbâ Ishâq. In the case of the 49 Martyrs of the Desert of Scetis, who are entombed in the Church of the 49 Martyrs in the Dair Abû Maqâr, the emphasis of the pilgrimage has changed altogether from the veneration of the 5th century saints to a pilgrimage to the Monastery of St. Macarius on account of the «charismatic climate» which prevails since the recent spiritual monastic renaissance in this monastery. In view of the claims of the invention of the relics of St. John the Baptist and the 9th century B.C. Prophet Elisha by the monks of the Monastery of St. Macarius in November 1978, it is noteworthy to point out, that apart from the well-known cult-centre of St. John the Baptist in Alexandria, which existed until the 10th century, not a single St. John the Baptist cult or *mûlid* is mentioned either in the notes of Qummos Muysier or in the additional references provided by Gérard Viaud.

The third chapter dealing with sixty-two pilgrimage sites provides as extensive and complete a listing of Coptic *mawâlid* as one can expect. The locations of the sites mentioned in the text are shown on the maps II, III and IV. Particularly praiseworthy is the precise topographical identification of the towns and villages. The author has introduced each entry with an historical description of the church and her *mûlid*. Wherever possible, observations with respect to special practices from the pens of Western travellers are added. A representative bibliography concludes the descriptive accounts in all sixty-two instances.

The fourth chapter is predominantly a sociological description of seven aspects of the Coptic pilgrimage. Introducing the discussion with the various lengths of the *mawâlid* and the significance of the special days of the feasts, the author lists the following essential characteristics which are always part of the celebration: The special prayers, baptisms, vows, offerings, the presence of the poor, the healing of the sick and the exorcising of the demons. For some reason unknown to me, the author has omitted the visitation of the tombs of the ancestors, the intense lamentations and the generous offerings which are distributed on behalf of the dead to the poor. Indeed, the combination of profound sorrow on the one hand and ecstatic joy on the other hand has always impressed me as a typical characteristic of the Coptic *mûlid*. A brief paragraph on the secular by-products of the *mûlid* with its diverse amusements, booths, shows, storytellers, gala-gala men, casinos, etc. concludes this interesting study.

Being personally interested in this aspect of Coptic popular religion, I may be permitted to offer some suggestions for further investigations and research. Often I have wondered about the motivation which leads certain families to travel long distances to attend a particular *mûlid* while ignoring another feast nearby. There is no doubt that conservative family practices and customs determine the attendance of certain *mawâlid*. At the same time, individual and collective needs, emanating from such trivial experiences as the expectation for the discovery of a lost or mislaid key to such major family problems associated with engagement, matrimony, bareness and the threat of divorce have motivated people to turn to certain saints and/or holy places. Secondly, the rôle of the attending clergymen has not been sufficiently discussed. Are their rôles merely cult-sustaining or cult-creating? Wherever well-known thaumaturgoi attract large numbers of pilgrims, like the late Pope and Patriarch Cyril VI, neither special times nor special places appear to be important. Finally, I should like to suggest an inquiry into the significance of non-theological factors in the emergence of new *mawâlid* which are mentioned by Gérard Viaud.

Again, I want to thank both author and publisher for presenting us with a fine documentary on the Coptic *mûlid*, which constitutes a valuable addition to our knowledge of the popular religious practices of the Egyptian Christians.

Stolberg, May 1980

OTTO MEINARDUS

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ASSYRIOLOGIE

- C. SAPORETTI, *Gli Eponimi Medio-assiri*. Malibu, Undena Publications, 1979 (VIII + 189 pp.) = Bibliotheca Mesopotamica, Vol. 9. ISBN 0 89003 037 5.

This study of the Middle Assyrian eponyms is a most welcome addition to the shelves of Assyriologists and

Near Eastern historians both because it is a detailed investigation of early Assyrian chronology, the backbone of the chronology of the ancient Near East, and because it deals with a difficult era of history, the Middle Assyrian period. The book is divided into two major sections, the first (Capitolo I) being a review of the sources and previous research (Fonti e Studi), the second (Capitolo II) being a thorough analysis of the chronology of the eponyms from the fifteenth to the twelfth centuries B.C. (Gli Eponimi e I Documenti). The latter section is in fact most of the book and deals with every reign from that of Ashurnerari II (1424-1418 B.C.) to Tiglathpileser I (1114-1076 B.C.). The author attempts with considerable success to place the known eponyms in their proper chronological position, a task which is exceedingly difficult because of the lack of a complete canon of Middle Assyrian eponyms. The ancient lists that have been recovered, apart from some fragments of the Middle Assyrian period, have only to do with Neo-Assyrian times. Any attempt to prepare a list of eponyms without a contemporary canon is, inevitably, very hypothetical but the author has laid down and followed sound methodology. I do not think any further significant advance can be made on this subject until either a list is discovered or another large archive of dated texts.

The method followed by Saporetti consists of placing the eponyms in one of three chronological categories: eponyms that cannot be placed more precisely than "Middle Assyrian" (Parte V: Testi ed eponimi di datazione sconosciuta, pp. 165f.) (a very small number); those that can be given *termini post quem non aut ante quem non* in terms of reigns; and those that can be assigned to a specific reign. Quite a number can be allocated to particular reigns, thanks especially to the dating by eponym of a number of royal inscriptions. Within sections on specific reigns the author first lists the eponyms in alphabetical order and then, whenever possible, he proposes a list of the same eponyms in chronological order. When he does attempt such a chronological scheme it is with considerable caution and clear documentation and reasoning.

One of the principles upon which Saporetti's chronological method rests is the assumption that the king held the office of eponym for his first regnal year, the year after he actually succeeded to the throne ("the accession year"). This is, I believe, a reasonably safe assumption for the Middle Assyrian period but the author's statement (p. 19) that this was the custom in the Neo-Assyrian period must be qualified. It was so in that period until the ninth century, but during the ninth and eighth centuries kings held the office of *limu* in their second regnal year¹. The reason for moving royal tenure of office from the first regnal year is unknown but may have had its origin in a specific case when an accession occurred very late in the year (the last few days of Adar for example) after the eponym for the following year had already been proclaimed. In order to avoid confusion by rescinding the original proclamation, they might have decided to wait until the second year for the king to become a *limu*.

¹ Cf. Poebel, JNES 2 (1943), pp. 76-78; Tadmor, JCS 12 (1958), p. 28, n. 53; Grayson, BiOr 33 (1976), p. 140, n. 48.

In subsequent history the custom would be maintained to preclude any further problems.

The author has been assiduous in seeking out relevant source material not only in published works but also in unpublished manuscripts (e.g. by Freydank and Röllig) and his book contains many collations either by himself or colleagues (e.g., Postgate). A few minor additions from a manuscript by V. Donbaz and myself, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions on Clay Cones from Ashur now in Istanbul*, can be added:

p. 56. Collation of Ass 10385 (A 3520), the one exemplar of Ebeling, IAK XVIII, 1, on which the eponym name is preserved leaves some uncertainty as to the reading of the final element: ¹ISKUR-ú-ma(?) -i. Cf. the photograph in Andrae, FWA pl. XCIII. The sign previously read MA has, in fact, four horizontal wedges, not three as in the MA sign in line 8 of the same exemplar. A reading ŠU is also doubtful since the horizontals are out of proportion in comparison with the other ŠU signs in this exemplar.

p. 88. Aššur-dammeq: To the variants attested on various exemplars of the text edited by Weidner, IAK p. 130:26, add: Aššur-dam-me-eq.

p. 152. Aššur-kēna-šallim: The eponym is preserved only on Ass 6719 (A 3449). There are two duplicates, not one: Ass 18474 (A 3611) and Ass 16474 (A 3588); but the date is missing from each.

Beyond these minor points there is little one can add to this fine study. The problem of the status of Bēr-nādin-aḫḫē (pp. 30f.) evoked by the inclusion of the royal title *uklu* after his name has been reconsidered by Saporetti who suggests that in KAJ 8 the name of the father, Ashurnērārī, was mistakenly omitted before the title and that the title was his, not Bēr-nādin-aḫḫē's. This is not a satisfactory solution, however, for that kind of scribal error is typical of literary texts but not of everyday documents. In any case the genealogy of a witness does not normally extend back to a great grandfather.

The book contains historical insights which go beyond the strictly chronological sphere, one of the more interesting being Saporetti's conclusion that there was a *cursum honorum* in the Assyrian bureaucracy (p. 22). His conclusion that a successful official moved up a bureaucratic ladder is based on cases where an eponym is given more than one title and these titles are clearly listed in order of descending importance. The author might have added that this was also evidence of pluralism, a practice known in Neo-Assyrian times.

While it may be true that in the eponym stelae a strict distinction can be observed between A (= *aplū* "first born son, heir") and DUMU (= *māru* "(any) son, offspring"), the latter being *un cadetto*, the issue is far from clear in other text types, such as royal inscriptions, a matter which I plan to pursue in the near future. This problem is of course crucial for the chronological arrangement of some of the eponyms.

The printed format of the volume is done very well and the publishers are to be commended. The copy given me for review, however, has an uneven impression so that some pages are lighter than others (e.g., compare p. 97 to p. 96) and the footnote numbers at the bottom of the page are sometimes almost illegible (e.g., pp. 148f.) On

p. 4, last line read "Aššur-uballit" and in p. 29, n. 1, first line, read "AfO 24,141".

The author is to be congratulated on undertaking an extremely difficult task, one which many have considered doing but never done, and performing it with expertise and sound procedure. This book is a *sine qua non* for every Assyriologist and serious student of the ancient history of the Fertile Crescent.

Toronto, June 1980

A. KIRK GRAYSON

[Addendum:]

p. 152 Dr. Grant Frame has drawn to my attention the omission of the eponym Aššur-šuma-ašbat which dates to the reign of Aššur-rēša-iši I. See Andrae, Stelenreihen no. 52. This reference has been omitted by Saporetti both in Gli Eponimi Medio-assiri and in his Onomastica Medio-assira. In the stele Rēš-Aššur is given as the father of Aššur-šuma-ašbat which means that he cannot be placed as early as the reign of Shalmaneser I as proposed by Saporetti on p. 64.]

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HETHITOLOGIE

A. KAMMENHUBER, *Materialien zu einem hethitischen Thesaurus*, Lieferung 7/8 und 9. Heidelberg. Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1978 und 1979.

Im Jahre 1973 hat A. Kammenhuber mit der Herausgabe der „Materialien“ begonnen. Schon nach den ersten Lieferungen ließ sich absehen, daß es sich um das größte Vorhaben handeln würde, das bisher in der Hethitologie in Angriff genommen worden ist. Die Verf. gehört zu den profiliertesten Gelehrten des Fachgebietes und ist nach Ausweis ihrer wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten wie kaum ein anderer geeignet, dieses große Unternehmen nach dem mutigen Beginn auch zu einem guten Ende zu führen.

Lieferung 7 enthält den Schluß der Abhandlung zu eku-/aku- „trinken/tränken“ (S. 315-371) von A. Archi und A. Kammenhuber, wobei herauszustellen ist, daß der Artikel weit über eine übliche Belegstellensammlung hinausführt. Der Benutzer erfährt eine Fülle kulturhistorischer Einzelheiten, verbunden mit chronologischen Hinweisen, z.B. über die benützten Gefäße, in welcher Periode sie gebraucht worden sind, bei welcher Gelegenheit usw. Lieferung 8 bietet (S. 1-141) den 1. Teil des Abschnitts Nr. 6 zu da-, der in Lieferung 9 fortgeführt wird (S. 142-239). Dieser Abschnitt, der von M. Ciantelli bearbeitet worden ist, erscheint mehr sprachwissenschaftlich orientiert.

Rez. möchte der Herausgeberin und ihren Mitarbeitern — wohl im Namen aller Fachkollegen — Dank und Bewunderung aussprechen und hiermit der Hoffnung auf eine zügige Weiterführung des Werkes Ausdruck geben.

Berlin, September 1980

L. JAKOB-ROST

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HETHITICA III. Louvain, Éditions Peeters, 1979 (24 cm., 165 p.) = Bibliothèque des cahiers de l'Institut de linguistique de Louvain, 15. ISBN 2 8017 0129 7.

Der vorliegende Band Hethitica III enthält vier Studien, die sich mit kulturgeschichtlichen und sprachwissenschaftlichen Problemen befassen. In dem ersten Beitrag („La titulature royale hittite au II^e millénaire avant J.-C.“, S. 3-108) aus der Feder Hatice Gonnets untersucht die Verf. Titel und Epitheta von König und Königin im überlieferten hethitischen Schrifttum. Die benutzten Texte umfassen keilschriftliche Dokumente aus Kültepe und Alışar, Boğazköy und Ras Shamra vom 18. bis zum 12. Jh., ferner hieroglyphen-hethitische Denkmäler wie Siegelbeschriften und Bilinguen aus Boğazköy, Tarsus und Ras Shamra aus der Zeit vom 16. bis zum 12. Jh. v. u. Z. Ebenfalls in Betracht gezogen wurde die Inschrift Ramses' II. am Amon-Tempel in Karnak (S. 9).

Die Untersuchung bestätigt, daß nur wenige Titel und ebenso wenige Epitheta für das hethitische Herrscherpaar in Anwendung gekommen sind. S. 9 sind vier Titel vermerkt, nämlich 1. König, 2. Großkönig, 3. Meine Majestät, 4. Tabarna, mit den Epitheta 1. Geliebter des Gottes oder Mann bzw. Priester des Gottes X, 2. Herr der Länder, König des Alls, 3. Held, 4. Mann der Stadt X. Die Titel 1, 2 und 4 treffen in der entsprechenden Form auch für die Königin zu, ebenso die Beinamen 1 und 4. Zu diesen erwähnten Titeln kommen wenige zeitlich und räumlich begrenzte Formen der Anrede, wie *rubā'um*, *rabi similti*, GAL *MEŠEDI* und *tuhukanti*. Die Verf. bemerkt (S. 10), daß bis auf Tabarna und Tawannanna alle anderen Titel und Epitheta als Sumerogramme oder in Akkadisch geschrieben worden sind. Knappe Ausführungen zur Chronologie (S. 11ff.) beleuchten einige der interessantesten Punkte der hethitischen Geschichte.

Kap. II. enthält Bemerkungen zu den einzelnen Titeln der Könige (S. 14-22), gefolgt von Erläuterungen zu den Epitheta (S. 23-26). Titel und Beinamen der Königin werden jetzt gesondert besprochen (S. 26-30).

Das beste Ergebnis dieser fleißigen Sammlerarbeit ist die Liste der Titulaturen (S. 31-83), in der — von den Königen von Kuššar angefangen — alle Herrscher und Königinnen in chronologischer Abfolge mit ihren Namen und Titeln angeführt werden. Eine Liste der ausgezogenen Texte (S. 84-91), Anmerkungen (S. 92-102) und ein Index der Personennamen, der Titel und Epitheta in alphabetischer Reihenfolge (S. 103-106) beschließen den dankenswerten Beitrag.

Der 2. Aufsatz („Considérations sur la femme dans la société hittite“) von René Lebrun (S. 109-125) faßt den Stand der Forschung in zwei Abschnitten zusammen, die 1. die Frauen der oberen Gesellschaftsklassen und 2. die Frau in den verbleibenden Klassen, als Freie oder „Sklavin“ (S. 110) behandeln. Die privilegierte Stellung der Königin in weiten Bereichen Kleinasien und Nordsyriens während der 1. Hälfte des 2. Jts. v. u. Z. zeigt matriarchalische Züge (S. 110ff.); hier werden vom Verf. die Texte aus Tell Mardik (Ebla) und eine entsprechende Ausdeutung der Amazonen-Sage zum Vergleich herangezogen. Während des hethitischen Reiches hat die Königin in allen Fragen der Familie, der Innenpolitik, der Religion, ja sogar in der Außenpolitik (S. 113f.) zweifellos eine ebenso bevorzugte Stellung innegehabt. Das erscheint in

Bezug auf den übrigen Alten Orient umso erstaunlicher, als nach Ausweis der erhaltenen Nachrichten über die hethitischen Königinnen die Mehrzahl von ihnen fremdländischer Herkunft gewesen ist (S. 114).

Zu den oberen Gesellschaftsklassen zählt Verf. des weiteren Priesterinnen und andere im Kult beschäftigte Frauen (S. 114f.), deren Heimat anscheinend in den meisten Fällen in den südlich von Anatolien gelegenen Gegenden zu suchen ist. Während zwischen den im Kult tätigen Frauen des hethitischen Reiches und Mesopotamiens eine Anzahl Parallelen bestehen, ist die Behandlung im Gesetz unterschiedlich. So hat das hethitische Gesetz keine Paragraphen zur Stellung und den Pflichten der Priesterinnen.

Im Leben der Frauen allgemein spielt die Heirat eine große Rolle, wobei es den Anschein hat, daß ein junges Paar selbständig eine diesbezügliche Entscheidung treffen konnte (S. 116). Auch im hethitischen Gesetz hat die Frau weitgehenden Schutz erfahren, so daß man vielleicht von einer Art Gleichberechtigung sprechen kann (S. 116). Die insgesamt privilegierte Stellung der hethitischen Frau hat sich noch während der ersten Jahrhunderte des 1. Jts. v. u. Z. in den hethitischen Nachfolgestaaten Nordsyriens erhalten (S. 118).

In seinen Bemerkungen zum lykischen und kleinasiatisch-griechischen Onomastikon (S. 127-137) untersucht R. Lebrun die Entsprechungen gewisser Namen und Begriffe in beiden Sprachen, ein Unternehmen, das sich anhand der fortgeschrittenen Kenntnis des Luwischen, des Lykischen und des Hurritischen mit einiger Sicherheit durchführen läßt (S. 127). Dabei werden die Namen auch interpretiert, die Ausführungen durch Anmerkungen (S. 135-137) untermauert.

Auf den Seiten 139-164 erfolgt eine Neubearbeitung der „Rituels d'Ammihatna, Tulbi et Mati contre une impureté“ (R. Lebrun). Von diesen Ritualen gegen Unreinheit im Tempel liegen bisher drei Duplikate vor. Anhand der Bearbeitung läßt sich feststellen, daß der Text nahezu vollständig wiedergewonnen ist. Das Schriftstück ist in einem provinziellen Hethitisch abgefaßt, wie es z. B. für Kizzuwatna typisch ist (S. 162). So fallen eine Reihe von luwischen und hurritischen Spezialausdrücken auf, die z.T. in dem sehr knappen Kommentar besprochen werden. Hier ist S. 158ff. auf die merkwürdige Zeilenzählung hinzuweisen. S. 159 Unstimmigkeit in der Zitierweise des gleichen Autors; es muß, sub 1.10, heißen G. Wilhelm, nicht W. Gernot. Die Abhandlung wird durch allgemeinere Bemerkungen zur Einordnung, zur Sprache und Graphik des Textes und zum Schreiber der Tafel beschlossen.

Berlin, August 1980

LIANE JAKOB-ROST

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Gary BECKMAN, *Hittite birth rituals: an introduction*. Malibu, Undena Publications, 1978 (28 cm., II + 21 pp.) = Sources and Monographs, Sources from the Ancient Near East, Vol. 1, fasc. 4.

Das vorliegende Heft enthält auf knappen 20 Seiten (einschließlich des Vorwortes, des Inhaltsverzeichnisses und

der Einleitung) die Übersetzungen einer Gruppe von hethitischen Ritualen, die sich mit der magischen Beeinflussung von Schwangerschaft und Geburt befassen.

Die kleine Monographie ist aus einer Dissertation gleichen Titels entstanden, wendet sich aber an einen größeren Interessentenkreis. Aus diesem Grunde sind nur sieben besser erhaltene Texte der Gruppe ausgewählt und anstelle des üblichen philologischen Kommentars meist nur solche Bemerkungen angeschlossen worden, die mit sachlichen Erklärungen dem Fernerstehenden zum besseren Verständnis der schwierigen Materie dienen können (S. 8-21). Die Hinweise auf die zeitliche Einordnung der Rituale und ihre Herkunft aus den einzelnen Bevölkerungsgruppen des hethitischen Reiches zeigen, daß es sich mit den bisher erkannten, mehr als 20 Kompositionen wohl um eine Art Kompendium handelt, das dem Ausführenden bei Bedarf möglichst viele Informationen bieten konnte (S. 4). Dabei spielt es offenbar keine Rolle, daß innerhalb dieser Ritualgruppe ganz gegensätzliche Praktiken aufgezeichnet sind, zumal auch kaum angenommen werden kann, daß alle Ritualhandlungen in einem Einzelfalle ausgeübt worden sind (S. 4). Außerdem wäre es wohl verfehlt — wie der Verf. zu Recht annimmt (S. 4) — aus diesen Riten auf eine in der hethitischen Bevölkerung allgemein geübte Praxis zu schließen, nicht zuletzt auch wegen der Fülle der beizubringenden Opfergaben, deren kostspielige Bereitstellung vielleicht nur in den Kreisen der königlichen Familie möglich war (S. 4).

Die Texte werden gegliedert in Rituale während der Schwangerschaft, während der Geburt und nach der Geburt (S. 5f.). Inhaltlich handelt es sich hierbei fast ausschließlich um religiös-magische Riten, z.B. um monatliche Feste für die Muttergottheiten während der Schwangerschaft, um Orakel, um Reinigungsriten für Mutter und Kind usw. Über die medizinische Seite und die rein praktischen Handreichungen während der Geburt ist den Texten nur wenig zu entnehmen. Dies bringt die hethitischen Geburtsrituale in Gegensatz zu den entsprechenden Texten aus Mesopotamien, wie überhaupt die Medizin bei den Hethitern, und insbesondere die Gynäkologie, keinen hohen Stand erreicht zu haben scheint (S. 6, 7).

Weite Leserkreise, vor allem die Mediziner, werden dem Verf. Dank wissen, daß er seine Forschungsergebnisse mit dem vorliegenden Büchlein auch über die Fachwelt hinaus zugänglich gemacht hat.

Berlin, September 1980

L. JAKOB-ROST

* *

Michael BACK, *Die sassanidischen Staatsinschriften, Studien zur Orthographie und Phonologie des Mittelpersischen der Inschriften zusammen mit einem etymologischen Index des mittelpersischen Wortgutes und einem Textcorpus der behandelten Inschriften*. Téhéran-Liège, Bibliothèque Pahlavi, diffusion mondiale E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1978 (25 cm., 520 pp.) = Acta Iranica 18, troisième série, Vol. VIII. Price: Dfl. 80,-. ISBN 9004 03902 3 / 9004 05761 7.

A detailed examination of the Sasanian Inscriptions has long been one of the desiderata of Middle Iranian studies.

In the present work, the author offers the stimulating and at times unexpected results of such a study. The book is divided into three main sections: 1) studies in the orthography and phonology of Inscriptional Pahlavi (MPI), 2) an etymological index, and 3) a Corpus of all the available material, except Paikuli and Miškinšahr, with translation. An Introduction, an index of ideograms and copious notes are added to the text.

While the etymological chapter and the notes contain much that is of interest, the central and most important part of the work is the research on orthography and phonology. On the basis of a painstaking analysis of 'correct', i.e. historical, spellings and of such deviations as are found e.g. in words for which no traditional spelling existed, combined with a study of the Greek transcription of Iranian names in ŠKZ and with etymological considerations, the author seeks to determine the rules which govern MPI orthography, and to reconstruct the phonological systems, both of the early phase of the language which is reflected in the archaic spellings, here called 'late Old Persian' (IOP), and of the contemporary Middle Persian of the third century A.C. This is done competently and with care, and the results are both valuable and valid.

The most innovative feature of the book, however, is the author's thesis that a Rhythmic Law — comparable to its Sogdian counterpart — was operative in late Old Persian, whose workings can be traced in MPI. This hypothesis is based on his interpretation of final ^oy as *mater lectionis* for a murmured vowel /ə/, the IOP relic of Old Persian case-endings. To explain the (hitherto baffling) behaviour of this ^oy, he postulates a series of phonological developments, chiefly due to the increasing intensity of the stress-accent, which resulted, in the IOP stage, in the disappearance of ^oy = /ə/ at the end of words if the preceding vowel was long, whereas it remained in most other cases.

Such a theory is evidently of some importance for the study of the history of Western Middle Iranian, and it may well provoke debate. All that can be said here is that Back's hypothesis accounts for the presence or absence of ^oy in what appears to be a significant majority of cases, although the number of exceptions is not inconsiderable. As it is entirely based, however, on speculative deductions from a very limited range of data, it must remain a hypothesis only; as such it is valuable and, for the most part, plausible.

In some places, the tone of the book is rather lowered by the author's acceptance of questionable theories. Such a statement as: "Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach betraf die Akzentverschiebung nur das Mp. als Staatssprache, das sich ja auch in einer Reihe weiterer Punkte, wie das MpT zeigt, vom eigentlichen Mp. der Provinz Fars unterschied. So ist auch heute noch z.B. im Dialekt von Šīrāz ein vom Teheraner Persisch abweichender Akzent die Regel" (p. 44), with a reference to a paragraph in Jensen's *Neupersische Grammatik* — leaves one entirely in the dark. Apart from the question why, if such a marked antithesis between State language and local dialect existed, the *Sāhbuhragān*, for instance, should have been written in the latter, it seems unlikely that a shift of accent which according to the author's own theory took place before MP orthography became fixed, i.e. in IOP, could have marked a dialectal difference which — if the word 'Staats-

sprache' has its usual meaning here — must presumably have developed after 224 A.C. Jensen's remarks on the accent of modern Širāzi are plainly insufficient as a basis for such a contention.

Another notion which crops up a number of times in the book is the author's belief in the existence, in the 3rd century A.C., of a cursive script that was apparently (cf. p. 141) identical with Pahlavi Book-script (BP) as we know it. As the cursive script of the 3rd cent. Dura Europos inscriptions differs materially from BP, and as the Psalter alphabet suggests a gradual development from the former to the latter, this seems unlikely. The interesting explanation of the puzzling endings of foreign geographical names as deriving from Syriac /-ayyā/ (pp. 137-141) is therefore slightly marred by the unconvincing attempt to show what the endings must have looked like in a Book-script archetype.

Curiously, on p. 148, an argument is based on the alleged identity of BP (*sic*) *g* and *z*; in the table (p. 10), on the other hand, BP *z* is represented as identical with *w*, *n*, *;*, *r*. The normal, distinctive form of BP *z* is completely ignored.

The remark on p. 171: "Wenn es aber eine so alte zoroastrische Schreibtradition gab, dann ist es ganz natürlich, dass auch das Awesta-Corpus in einer mit ANDREAS zu sprechen Vulgata-Form in spap. Zeit ... auf eine Weise schriftlich fixiert war, wie wir es an den sassanidischen Inschriften ... kennenlernten", is scarcely illuminating. For one thing, there seems to be nothing 'natural' about the assumption that, since an ancient tradition existed for writing the local language, there must have been a similar tradition for writing down sacred texts in an alien tongue, which had presumably been handed down orally for centuries. The real issue in the debate about the 'Arsacid text', moreover, is not so much whether such a text could have existed, but rather, if, and how far it influenced the fixation of Avestan in the later 'Avestan' alphabet.

A few minor points remain: an independent form *gwnktr-y* "auf besondere Weise" (p. 217), as opposed to *KN-gwnktr-y* "even more so", is not attested and seems improbable. The reference to Av. *gaonō.tama-* "the hairiest", seems irrelevant in this respect.

In KKZ 03: *W cygwn YD'YTN-'y 'YK krt-y yzd'n W LNH ŠPYR 'wgwn 'BYDWN* "und wie du weisst, dass eine Kulthandlung für die Götter und für Uns am besten ist, so führe sie durch!" (p. 391), the translation "Kulthandlung" (= *krtk-y*) for *krt-y* "action", seems forced and unnecessary (cf. KKZ 14: *MN LY krt-y* "auf mein Tun hin" (p. 432)).

The conjectural reading **āstārand* "sinful", for *'st2ndy* in KKZ 19 (*pš 21H 'st2ndy 12b'n*; p. 488 with n. 353), from *āstār* "sin" with *and*, which is poorly attested as a productive suffix, is so unconvincing as to formation, orthography and meaning in this context, that a *non liquet* would have been more appropriate.

These are, however, merely minor flaws in a monumental work which, as a whole, makes an important contribution to the study of the Sasanian Inscriptions and of Middle Persian generally.

Utrecht, July 1980

G. KREYENBROEK

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KORTE AANKONDIGING

BAGHDADER MITTEILUNGEN, Band 11. 1980; Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Baghdad. Berlin, Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1980 (26 cm., 119 Seiten, 15 Tafeln; Karte). DM 58.—. ISBN 3 7861 1265 7.

In diesem Ernst Heinrich gewidmeten Band erscheinen die folgenden Beiträge: W. Schirmer, „Landschaftsgeschichte um den Tell Imlihiye/Hamrin, Iraq" (S. 9-32), gibt eine geologische Beschreibung eines Tells und seiner Umgebung, tief in der Aue des unteren Narin. J. Börker-Klähn, „Die Stellung Mesilims und der mit ihm verbundene Stilbegriff" (S. 33-43) datiert aufgrund kunstgeschichtlicher Betrachtungen die Keule des Mesilim ganz am Ende der nach ihm benannten Kulturphase, also in relativer Nähe zu Urnanše. H. Kühne, „Zur Rekonstruktion der Feldzüge Adad-nirāri II., Tukultu-Ninurta II. und Aššurnasirpal II. im Hābūr-Gebiet" (S. 44-70) folgt den itinerarartigen Feldzugsberichten dreier assyrischer Könige und kann dank moderner archäologischer Geländebegehungen am Unteren Hābūr viele Orte identifizieren. J.E. Reade, Space, scale, and significance in Assyrian art" (S. 71-74) zeigt, dass „narrative clarity" erstes Anliegen der Künstler war. Die hierdurch diktierten Konventionen wurden erst in den Skulpturen Sanheribs durchbrochen. J.E. Reade, „The architectural context of Assyrian sculpture" (S. 75-87) beschreibt die Korrelation zwischen bestimmten Palasträumen und deren Dekorationen. R.M. Boehmer, „Zur Zerstörung der Zikkurat von Borsippa" (S. 88-89): die Zikkurat ist von Xerxes I. mit Hilfe von Öl verbrannt worden. E. von Weiher, „Ein Fragment der 5. Tafel des Gilgameš-Epos aus Uruk" (S. 90-105) publiziert einige Zeilen einer nichtkanonischen Fassung der schlecht erhaltenen 5. Tafel (der Kampf mit Humbaba). E. von Weiher, „Gilgameš und Enkidu. Die Idee einer Freundschaft" (S. 106-119) sieht in der psychologischen Entwicklung der beiden Helden die zwei nach Harmonie strebenden Seiten des Menschen: Geist und Natur.

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GODSDIENST VAN KANAÄN

Robert DU MESNIL DU BUISSON, *Nouvelles études sur les dieux et les mythes de Canaan*. Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1973 (Un volume in 8° de 274 pages avec 133 figures et 19 planches) = *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain* t. 33.

Ce volume fait suite aux *Études sur les dieux phéniciens hérités par l'Empire Romain*. L'auteur précise d'emblée ce qu'il entend par Canaan. Il s'agit pour lui de la même réalité que la Phénicie, c'est à dire que les conceptions religieuses qui sont étudiées ici sont celles d'un groupe ethnique dont la zone de peuplement comprend la Palestine, le Liban et la zone côtière du Nord-Ouest de la Syrie. Cet ouvrage comprend huit chapitres: I. Les chemins de l'Occident et la descente vers le monde inférieur. II. Origine et évolution du Panthéon de Tyr. III. Les livres de Thot et l'enseignement de la philosophie hermétique dans le temple de Tyr aux époques hellénistique

et romaine. IV. Origine orientale des Dioscures Shāhar et Shalim. V. Les ivoires du palais royal de Ras Shamra, du Musée de Damas. VI. Le mythe de la planète Vénus dans les bronzes du Luristan. VII. Le grand serpent Bali, dieu Šid, devenu le père des Sardes. VIII. Note sur un sceau de Shaushshatar roi du Mitanni, vers 1450 avant J.C. Comme l'auteur nous en avertit lui-même, ce livre comprend des études écrites isolément au hasard de ses recherches qui l'ont conduit parfois là où il ne pensait pas aller. C'est dire que nous n'avons pas à faire à un livre organisé mais à un recueil d'articles.

Le premier chapitre concerne la géographie mythique du monde inférieur. Ces conceptions sont nées de l'observation de l'homme. Puisque les astres s'enfoncent à l'Occident dans l'horizon, on a imaginé qu'il existait au-dessous de la terre des pays situés à l'antipode de celui qu'il habite. Les Égyptiens y ont situé le monde des morts. Les Mésopotamiens y ont fait vivre les personnages divins et les héros à l'exclusion de la foule des morts qui habitaient dans la Terre. Les Cananéens, quant à eux, ont une solution voisine de celle des Mésopotamiens. Ils font vivre les humains y compris les rois dans le Shéol mais certains morts privilégiés, les Rephaïm et les Elonym, étaient établis dans le monde inférieur. Quand la déesse Shapash passe au-dessous de la terre, les Rephaïm et les Elonym sont sous sa dépendance. C'est en s'enfonçant dans la mer que, d'après les Phéniciens, on a accès au monde inférieur puisque les étoiles, Shapash déesse solaire et Ashtart en qualité d'étoile du soir disparaissent dans la mer. R. du Mesnil du Buisson reconnaît cependant qu'aucun texte ugaritique ne décrit Ashtart s'enfonçant dans la mer et il recourt au vase de Kafajé du British Museum où la déesse est représentée entre deux monstres marins qu'elle semble bien écarter sur son passage. Mais cette identification est-elle sûre? On lira avec intérêt les autres chapitres de cet ouvrage. Mais je suis bien obligé de dire qu'il y a dans les recherches de M. du Mesnil du Buisson une grande part de reconstructions et d'hypothèses souvent discutables. En voici un exemple. On sait que le trône d'Astarté trouvé à Hirbet et-Tayibeh porte une inscription phénicienne qui constitue une dédicace à Astarté. Il faut la comprendre ainsi: «A ma Dame Astarté qui est à l'intérieur du sanctuaire (*bgw hqdš*) qui m'appartient à moi Abdoubast, fils de Bodba'al». Or, R. du Mesnil du Buisson traduit cette dédicace: A ma grande, à Ashtart qui (est) à l'intérieur de ce sacrum = le trône-bétyle... Pourtant on ne peut le suivre quand il donne à *hqdš* non pas le sens de sanctuaire, à l'intérieur duquel était placé le trône, mais celui de trône-bétyle, de *sacrum*. A la suite de cette interprétation, on est dans le domaine de la pure hypothèse quand l'auteur écrit du trône: «c'est donc exactement un bétyle et cela explique les deux betyles accessoires du dossier: la déesse y est présente avec deux autres dieux, ses hôtes. La veleur magique du *sacrum* se trouvait ainsi triplée».

Toulouse, décembre 1979

M. DELCOR

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OUDE TESTAMENT

H. JAGERSMA, *Geschiedenis van Israël in het oudtestamentische tijdvak*. Kampen, Uitgeversmaatschappij J.H. Kok, 1979 (25 cm., 328 S. und 20 Tafeln. Geb. H. Fl. 49.90. ISBN 90 242 3351 8.

Wenn der Satz zutrifft, dass jede Generation ihre eigene Geschichte Israels neu schreiben sollte, so muss man wohl feststellen, dass unserem Geschlecht die Ehre gebührt, ihrer viele produziert zu haben. Vielleicht besitzen wir den früheren Generationen gegenüber einen ganz besonderen Sinn für Geschichte, oder vielleicht, wahrscheinlicher, sind uns die Begriffe Geschichte an sich und besonders der einer Geschichte Israels problematischer geworden, als dies bei den früheren Generationen der Fall war.

Das Bewusstsein einer solchen Fragestellung tritt beim Verfasser besonders auf den Ss. 15-22, welche von den Quellen reden, hervor: er kennt die neuerdings aufgeworfene Problematik der Pentateuchquellen (Spätdatierung, vielleicht ihre Nicht-Existenz, wenigstens nach den traditionell gewordenen Äusserungen der Dokumentarhypothese) und möchte deswegen die Einzelüberlieferungen des Pentateuchs als selbständige Einheiten betrachten. Für die weiteren Quellen: das Dtr. H. und das chronistische, folgt er den seit M. Noth üblich gewordenen Hypothesen. Auch die Prophetenschriften bilden hie und da wichtige Quellenmaterialien. Meine Frage lautet hier (womit ich auch das, was ich früher geschrieben habe einer gründlichen Revision unterziehen möchte), ob es nicht Zeit ist, wie dies für die Theologie des Alten Testaments 1971 von S. Herrmann vorgeschlagen wurde (*Fs. G. von Rad*, 155ff.), auch für die Geschichte Israels die notwendigen Folgen aus der Tatsache zu ziehen, dass der grösste Teil der biblischen Geschichtsquellen vom Dtr. überarbeitet oder herausgegeben wurden: dies wird ja für die "früheren Propheten" ohne Weiteres angenommen, sollte aber auch für den „Tetrateuch" in Betracht gezogen werden, was bis jetzt nicht geschehen ist, weil der Tatbestand viel weniger durchsichtig war. Doch Texte wie die Neudeutungen der Beziehungen Gott-Abraham (*Gen.* 15) und der Sinaiüberlieferung (*Ex.* 19-24) als *b'rit* sollten doch zeigen, dass auch hier, und zwar an Schlüsselstellen, dergleichen geschehen ist.

Die solide und fleissige Arbeit folgt der für die Geschichte Israels üblichen Bahn. Sie trägt der neueren Literatur völlig Rechnung, ist klar und vernünftig aufgebaut. Es fehlen Auseinandersetzungen mit extravagantesten Hypothesen, und der Verfasser bringt selbst keine solchen vor, was eher wohltuend wirkt. Ich vermisse nur eine gründliche Auseinandersetzung mit den seit 1962 von G.E. Mendenhall vorgetragenen Thesen über eine durch eine Bauernrevolte zustandegekommene „Landnahme" Israels (vgl. S. 93): die seinerzeit ungenügend formulierte Hypothese sollte einmal kritisch nachgeprüft werden. In einigen Fällen kann ich mich der Meinung des Verfassers nicht anschliessen: auf S. 136 behauptet er, Saul könne nicht nur zwei Jahre regiert haben; indessen sollte man sich, glaube ich, mit M. Noth doch wohl fragen, ob diese Zahl, die übrigens zu dem oft behaupteten, episodenhaften Charakter von Sauls Königtum gut passen würde, nicht auf getreuer Überlieferung beruht: es wäre dann

die „Geschichte von Davids Aufstieg“ gewesen, welche die Episode romanhaft ausgebaut hätte. Die zweijährige Chronologie des Reiches Sauls kann ja nicht auf einem Textfehler beruhen, gehört sie doch zum Schema der 480 Jahre von I Reg 6,1 vgl. W. Richter, *Die Bearbeitung des „Retterbuches“ in der deuteronomistischen Epoche*, Bonn 1964, 132-141: 134. Auf S. 204f. vermisste ich die wichtige Studie von M. Liverani, *VT* 24 (1974), 428 ff. worin, meiner Ansicht nach, bewiesen wird, dass Jô'ās von Juda ein durch einen Staatsstreich auf den Thron gesetzter Usurpator war, dass also die dynastische Linie des Davidhauses mindestens einmal unterbrochen wurde.

Das Buch hört seinem Titel getreu vor der Makkabäerzeit auf, bringt aber Bilder aus Qumrân und dem Zeitalter des Herodes. Es wäre wohl nützlich gewesen, eine solche Arbeit, wie es meistens geschieht, mit den Jahren 70 bzw. 134 n.C. aufhören zu lassen: denn einerseits entsteht hier das ohne Tempel, zum grössten Teil in der Verbannung lebende Israel, andererseits kommt der neutestamentliche Kanon zur Vollendung. Diese Periode ist also von grösster Bedeutung und kann nicht einfach, wegen eines mit dem Kanon zusammenhängenden Grundes, übersprungen werden, es sei denn, dass der Verfasser, oder sonst jemand, einen weiteren Band über das intertestamentarische Judentum fertigstellen.

Università di Roma, Juli 1980.

J. A. SOGGIN

* *

Hermann VORLÄNDER, *Die Entstehungszeit des jehowistischen Geschichtswerkes*. Frankfurt/Main-Bern-Las Vegas, Peter Lang, 1978 (21 cm., 413 S.) = Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe 23, Theologie; Band 109. Richtpreis sFr. 56.-. ISBN 3 261 02521 2.

Die Positionen der Pentateuchforschung sind in der letzten Generation wieder in Bewegung geraten, was nicht besagen soll, daß sie jemals gänzlich zur Ruhe gekommen wären. Der Autor des vorliegenden Werkes zweifelt, wie der Titel schon erkennen läßt, nicht an der Existenz eines Elohisten und eines Jahwisten (Reihenfolge nach S. 332, zu 3.2.4.) und ebensowenig an der Kompilation beider Quellen zum jehowistischen Geschichtswerk, sondern er setzt sich kritisch mit der Datierung auseinander. Nun hat über diese Frage in der Forschung nie Einhelligkeit geherrscht, weil der Stoff dies einfach nicht zuläßt, zumal auch Ausmaß und Abgrenzung der Quellen unterschiedlich beurteilt wurden. Dennoch hat man weitestgehend, wenn man schon einen Jahwisten und einen Elohisten zugestand, diese doch in die frühe bis mittlere Königszeit Alt-Israels verlegt. Die Offenheit der Pentateuch-Quellen für verschiedene zeitliche Ansetzungen läßt auch den vom Verfasser beschrittenen Weg der Datierung in die exilisch-nachexilische Zeit zu. Nur wird man hier fragen müssen, wie diese Ansetzung begründet wird.

Vorländer geht kritisch auf die Datierung in das 10. bis 9. Jahrhundert v.Chr. ein. Methodisch geht er so vor, daß er die Auswirkungen von J und E auf die Schriftpropheten des 8. und 7. Jahrhunderts sucht. Ein Weg, der als solcher nicht überraschend neu ist. Dabei aber

legt er recht strenge Maßstäbe an. Er postuliert wörtliche Abhängigkeiten der Prophetentexte, um die Bekanntschaft mit J und E nachweisen zu können. Da diese nicht vorhanden sind, scheidet für Vorländer eine vorexilische Entstehungszeit beider Quellen aus. Dagegen haben erst die exilischen Propheten Themen der Urgeschichte und der Väterliteratur aufgegriffen. Reine Anklänge an Pentateuchtexte in der vorexilischen Literatur lassen höchstens die Vermutung zu, daß der im Pentateuch verarbeitete Traditionsstoff damals bekannt gewesen ist. Allen aus zeitgeschichtlichen Beobachtungen Alt-Israels hergeleiteten Motiven für eine Frühdatierung begegnet Vorländer mit Skepsis, erklärt sie für nicht stringent und hält demgegenüber eine Datierung in die exilische Zeit für überzeugender. Er gelangt zu dem Ergebnis, daß ähnlich wie die Brüder Grimm das volkstümliche Märchengut im 19. Jahrhundert gesammelt und vor dem Aussterben bewahrt haben, sich die exilischen und nachexilischen Autoren des lange überlieferten Stoffes angenommen haben, um ihn vor dem Vergessenwerden zu schützen. Anstoß dazu waren einerseits die neu erwachenden Hoffnungen auf eine Wiedergewinnung des Landes der Väter, das jetzt unter dem Gesichtswinkel der Erwartungen gesehen wurde. Impuls dazu gab andererseits die völlig neuartige Berührung mit der babylonischen Geschichtsschreibung.

Soweit das Bild, das sich für den Verfasser ergibt! Er ist sich darüber im Klaren, daß er mit seinen Vorstellungen Widerspruch hervorrufen wird (Vorwort, S. 5), wenngleich er sich der Richtigkeit seiner Ergebnisse völlig sicher ist. Dennoch wird man wohl seine Darlegungen mit dem gleichen kritischen Maß messen dürfen, das er an andere Auffassungen angelegt hat. Zunächst einmal muß offen bleiben, ob man so verfahren darf, daß man auf der einen Seite den Nachweis für die Existenz der Quellen J und E in der wörtlichen Übereinstimmung postulieren, die exilisch-nachexilische Entstehung dieser Quellen jedoch nur für möglich halten kann, d.h. den vorgegebenen Nachweisen die Stringenz abspricht, ohne eigene Behauptungen mit zwingender Schärfe beweisen zu können. Das Schweigen der vorexilischen Quellen über J und E ist kein ausreichendes Argument. Zitiert Haggai Sacharja und umgekehrt, und doch haben sie zur gleichen Zeit am gleichen Werk miteinander gearbeitet? Läßt Ezechiel irgend eine Bekanntschaft mit Jeremia erkennen, und doch war er sein Zeitgenosse? Erwähnt Jesaja Amos und Hosea? Selbst die Beziehungen zwischen Jeremia und Hosea können nur vom rein Inhaltlichen her aufgewiesen werden. Die Datierung von Esra und Nehemia wird ja dadurch so erschwert, daß sie beide bei ähnlichen Intentionen nicht aufeinander Bezug nehmen. Gewiß ist dem Autor bewußt, daß er ausgiebig mit dem argumentum e silentio arbeitet. Er verweist darauf, daß auch J. Wellhausen mit dieser Methode die späte Entstehungszeit der Priesterschrift nachgewiesen hat — allerdings nicht nur damit! (S. 278).

Nun wäre bei der Spätdatierung von J und E zu vermuten gewesen, daß diese ihrerseits prophetisches Gut aufgenommen hätten. Oder haben diese Quellen die Propheten doch nicht gekannt? Dies erklärt Vorländer damit: „Volkstümliche Erzählungen stammen aus einem anderen Milieu als die Prophetie. Beide Milieus können nebeneinander existieren und je ihre eigenen Überlieferungen tradiert und niedergeschrieben haben“ (S. 317). Die Grundhaltung der Pentateuchquellen ist eben „unprophetisch“

(S. 316). Warum kann dies nun nicht auch umgekehrt geltend gemacht werden? Vorländer sichert sich damit ab: „Zwar ist J in einigen Teilen unprophetisch, doch muß er nicht unbedingt vorprophetisch sein“ (S. 325). Aber kann er es zumindest nicht doch auch, oder —?

Nach all diesen Negativargumenten über die Frühdatierung von J und E versucht Vorländer in seiner Beweisführung einige positive Argumente für seine Spätdatierung beizubringen. Die mythologischen Elemente der Pentateuchquellen entstammen zumeist Mesopotamien (S. 337). Die Möglichkeit der Vermittlung dieses Stoffes durch die Kanaanäer scheidet schon dadurch aus, daß im ganzen syrisch-palästinischen Raum Geschichtsschreibung im eigentlichen Sinn offensichtlich unbekannt war (S. 345). Ganz abgesehen davon, daß diese Behauptung sich nur auf die schriftliche Fixierung bezieht aber auch so unbeweisbar ist, wird vom Verfasser die sumerische Literatur bemüht, die nur in Mesopotamien in die israelitische Gedankenwelt eingedrungen sein kann. Die Fluterzählung (Gen. 6-8) ist nur über das Gilgamesch-Epos und das Atramhasis-Epos in Mesopotamien von den Israeliten übernommen worden (S. 338). Sehr vorsichtig wird allerdings darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß der Turmbau-erzählung „möglicherweise mesopotamische Zikurrats als Vorbilder“ gedient haben (ebd.). Die Aussetzung des Mosekinds stimmt mit der Geburtslegende Sargons I von Akkade überein. Und diese ist den Israeliten erst im Exil bekannt geworden. „Offensichtlich lernten die Israeliten die mesopotamische Mythologie erst bei ihrem unfreiwilligen Aufenthalt im Zweistromland während des Exils kennen“ (S. 342). Der Autor beruft sich in diesem Zusammenhang auf die Feststellung von H. M. Dion (CBQ 29, 198 ff.), „daß die Formel ‚fürchte dich nicht‘ (vgl. Gen 15,1; 21,17; 26,23 f.; 28,13; 46,1 ff.) in Mesopotamien im 2. Jahrtausend nicht belegt ist, sondern sich erst bei Asarhaddon und Assurbanipal in der Mitte des 1. Jahrtausends häufig findet“ (S. 344). Die Feststellung, daß Israel erst durch die babylonische Kunst der Geschichtsschreibung zur Darlegung der eigenen Überlieferung motiviert worden sei, zwingt nun den Verfasser zu der Schlußfolgerung, daß neben Psalmen auch die übrigen Geschichtswerke, so das Dtr., in die exilische oder nachexilische Zeit zu verlegen sind. (S. 346). Wenn dies der Fall ist, dann nimmt es Wunder, daß die Autoren dieser Zeit über die Vorgänge nach dem Fall von Jerusalem nichts berichten. Ist dies nun auch wieder ein argumentum e silentio, so dürfte es im Sinne der Beweisführung von Vorländer hier mit Recht angewendet werden. Oder wie ist das Schweigen anderweitig zu erklären?

Ganz und gar nicht sind in die Beweisführung stilkritische Beobachtungen einbezogen worden. Es müßte doch interessieren, warum die Autoren der nachexilischen Zeit sich gerade eines Stils bedienen, der der nachexilischen Zeit so nicht eigen war. Die seltenen Aramäismen dürften hier wenig verfangen und ließen sich zudem auch noch anders erklären. Dies ist umso auffälliger, als der Autor die Meinung vertritt: „Mit der Zerstörung Jerusalems waren auch die Archive weitgehend verloren gegangen. Die Deportation der oberen Schichten bedrohte die Weiterexistenz von Volk und Kultur. Deshalb bestand durch das Exil die Notwendigkeit, die noch im Gedächtnis verbliebene Überlieferung zu sammeln und niederzuschreiben, denn Tafeln konnten unmöglich mit nach Mesopotamien

genommen werden“ (S. 348). Hat es nun doch im Tempel ein Archiv gegeben und darunter womöglich geschichtliche Aufzeichnungen? Waren diese nun auf Tafeln geschrieben, und in welcher Sprache? Man wüßte dies alles so gern, aber man weiß es eben nicht. Und so muß die These von Vorländer, „daß die Verschriftung der altisraelitischen Überlieferung auf breiter Basis erst in und nach dem Exil erfolgte“ (S. 349), doch frei und verhältnismäßig einsam im Raume stehen bleiben.

Es ist dankenswert, daß der Autor alte und eingeschliffene Vorstellungen noch einmal kritisch hinterfragt hat. Er macht damit klar, wie wenig von dem, was wir als Grundlage unserer Argumentation ansehen, so gesichert ist, daß wir uns über deren Tragfähigkeit keine Gedanken zu machen brauchen. Darin liegt das Verdienst der Untersuchung. Wenn dann aber die Gegenargumentation in gleicher Weise so kräftig mit dem argumentum e silentio arbeitet und der Vermutung weiten Raum gibt, dann dürfte sie wenig geeignet sein, alte, wenn auch nicht über jeden Zweifel erhabene, Positionen zu erschüttern oder gar zu ersetzen.

Halle, den 15. Mai 1980

GERHARD WALLIS

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Albert PIETERSMA, *Two Manuscripts of the Greek Psalter in the Chester Beatty Library Dublin*. Rome, Biblical Institute Press, 1978 (24 cm., VIII + 79 pp.) = *Analecta Biblica* 77.

Psalmi cum Odis ist von Alfred Rahlfs besorgt als erster Teil der Göttinger Septuaginta im Jahre 1931 erschienen. Seitdem ist reichlich neues Material gesammelt worden, das auch in der zweiten Auflage (1967) nicht berücksichtigt werden konnte. Eine völlig neubearbeitete Ausgabe der Psalmen wird noch nötig sein. Das bedeutet, dass alle Forschungen, die zu dieser künftigen Ausgabe beitragen, von grosser Bedeutung sind. Einen solchen Beitrag haben wir in der Arbeit von Pietersma.

Pietersma hat zwei wichtige Psalmenfragmente, nämlich P. Chester Beatty XIII und XIV, nach den Sigeln des Septuaginta-Unternehmens in Göttingen 2149 und 2150, beide aus dem IV. Jahrhundert n. Chr., gründlich untersucht. 2149 ist ein ziemlich umfangreiches Fragment mit dem grössten Teil des Textes der Psalmen 72-88, 2150 dagegen ist ein kurzes Fragment (Ps 31:8-11; 26:1-6, 8-14; 2:1-8).

Nach einer gründlichen Beschreibung der Fragmente gibt der Verf. den Text mit Anmerkungen wieder. Besonders interessant sind die darauf folgenden textkritischen Überlegungen. An mehreren Stellen schlägt der Verf. aufgrund des behandelten Textes eine andere Lesart vor, als Rahlfs sie in seiner Ausgabe gewählt hat. Die Erörterungen sind sachlich und gesund und zeugen von Gewandtheit in den Problemen der Textkritik. Es ist nur natürlich, dass es oft nicht möglich ist, zu sicheren Resultaten zu kommen; die Schlüsse sind vom Verf. deshalb oft mit gesunder Zurückhaltung ausgedrückt.

Einen Fall, nämlich die Lesarten οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν αὐτῇ/αὐτὴν in Ps 74:4 (S. 45) möchte ich noch näher

behandeln. Der Verf. konstatiert, dass in den Psalmen im allgemeinen $\gamma\delta b$ mit κατοικεῖν ἐν, $\gamma\delta b$ + Akk. (bzw. genetivisches Suffix nach dem Partizip) mit κατοικεῖν + Akk. wiedergegeben wird, nur in 9:12, 67:17, 83:5 steht κατοικεῖν ἐν für $\gamma\delta b$ + Akk. Diese herangezogenen Ausnahmen sind aber nicht dem behandelten Fall gleichwertig, denn κατοικεῖν + Akk. kommt im Griechischen zunächst nur dann vor, wenn das Subjekt pluralisch (bzw. ein Kollektivwort) und das Objekt ein Land, eine Stadt oder dergleichen ist. In Fällen wie 9:12 (Jahwe wohnt in Sion), 67:17 (Gott wohnt auf dem Berge), 83:5 (einer, der im Tempel wohnt) wäre es nicht möglich, κατοικεῖν + Akk. zu gebrauchen, im behandelten Fall ist aber der Ausdruck οἱ κατοικοῦντες αὐτήν (sc. τὴν γῆν) geläufig. Aufgrund dieser Auseinandersetzung hätte der Verf. m.E. die Möglichkeit gehabt, mit grösserem Nachdruck die Lesart αὐτήν zu verteidigen, als er es jetzt zu tun gewagt hat.

Der Vergleich des Textes von 2149 mit den verschiedenen Textgruppen zeigt, dass dieses Fragment die meisten und wichtigsten gemeinsamen Lesarten mit dem B-Text hat, dass es aber auch viel gemeinsames Material mit der L-Gruppe hat. In der textkritischen Behandlung des Textes der Psalmen kommt der Verf. zu folgendem Resultat: „It must be emphasized... that L deserves more serious attention for the reconstruction of the Old Greek text than Rahlfs, due to his presuppositions, was to give it — though it is striking to find on how many occasions he did in fact adopt an L reading as original“.

Dem Verfasser gebührt Dank für die mit Sorgfalt und gesunder Kritik durchgeführte Arbeit.

Helsinki, April 1980

ILMARI SOISALON-SOININEN

* *

M. H. GOSHEN-GOTTSTEIN, *Syriac Manuscripts in the Harvard College Library, a Catalogue*. Missoula, Scholars Press, 1979 (133 pp. + 9 pp. General Index and 6 Plates). = Harvard Semitic Studies No. 23. Price: \$ 15.00. ISBN 0 89130 1895.

The book contains an Introduction, and a description of the collections from the Harvard Semitic Museum and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, to which is added a short description of the Syriac collections in the libraries of the Harvard Divinity School and the Union Theological Seminary, New York.

In his Introduction, pp. 7-31, the author reports on his connections with the collections of the Syriac Mss in Harvard during 1960-1977 which led to the coming into being of this Catalogue. The Mss have been transferred in various lots to Harvard's Rare Books Library, the Houghton Library, where a definitive numbering has been given to them: Syr Mss 1-179. Based on what he experienced by chance in 1970 — see p. 110, note 1 — Professor Gottstein does not exclude the possibility of more Mss coming to light.

The Introduction reports in a more or less anecdotal way all sorts of worthwhile information about the collection. The author was a visitor to Harvard for some time, not officially employed for the task and it is understandable that his description of the Mss is short, indeed all

too short. This is something the user of his Catalogue will regret all the more when he sees how exceptionally well-up the author is in the literature concerning Syriac Mss. He has an independent attitude to various problems, often diverging from others, an attitude which can be found in the Introduction and in the description of the Mss, pp. 37-133, given sometimes with a short argumentation of his case.

As far as the difficult question of the dating of Mss without an authentic colophon with clear information is concerned, Gottstein attaches little value to paleographic analysis, pp. 24ff. What we know about the nature of Syriac Mss is hardly the result of scientific study, in his opinion. It was acquired as a matter of intuition and impression. Yet based on his experience — “I have looked at so many thousands of Syriac Manuscripts...” he ventured to propose some dates, but calls them “very subjective suggestions”. The truth probably lies somewhere between these two extremes!

Beside what is registered as important, it is the opinion of this reviewer that an indication should be given that studies about the place where the manuscripts were written, paleography, and a comparison, together with the study of the material on which and with which was written, maintain their significance for dating and for the history of transmission of the text in the various Syriac Churches.

The fact that a *Concordance of present shelfmarks and previous listing*, made by the present Curator of Manuscripts at Houghton, Mr R. G. Dennis, has been included in the book, pp. 32-36, will be very welcome to everyone who intends making use of the Houghton Collection. (Read 8377 instead of 8777 on p. 36, col. 4.) The complexity of the numbering may be illustrated by the fact that this Concordance could have added a sixth column. In the *List of Old Testament Peshitta Manuscripts*, preliminary issue, Leiden 1961, pp. 7 and 54, and in one of the supplements to this *List*, Peshitta Institute Communication VII, *Vetus Testamentum* XVIII (1968), p. 129, a small number of Harvard Mss occur, designated with the numbering system valid in 1961 and 1968. In 1975 the message that a new numbering system had been fixed reached us. Ms Syr 118 — the number of the Rendell Harris Collection, acquired by Harvard Semitic Museum in 1905 — received the number HSM 905.8.113 = Harvard Semitic Museum; 905 = 1905; 8 = the Rendell Harris Collection; 113 = an arbitrary number. Since then the Leiden Edition has used these designations in its description of the relevant Mss. From now on, of course, the newest and we trust definitive numbering will be used. The Leiden *siglum* system, happily, is not harmed by such reorganisations. Houghton Library Syr Ms 121 is in the edition 13c1 = 13th century; c = a Beth Mawtebbe volume; 1 = the first Beth Mawtebbe volume of the 13th century used in preparing the edition.

The description of the Mss in the *Catalogue* may be rather short, but in several cases informative details on writing and on history of the acquisition, as well as records of earlier listing enlarge the value of the book. The author uses as abbreviation for the Harris Collection SMH, risking confusing with HSM, Harvard Semitic Museum. The typesetting A B C F M, for the abbreviation of American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, B M, British Museum (now British Library), and AOS Rn B 47

B, for Beinecke Rare Book Library, New Haven, formerly American Oriental Society Library, are odd.

In two cases the reviewer could compare the description in the *Catalogue* with those published by the Peshitta Institute, Leiden: Syr 121, p. 86f, and Syr 128, p. 89. Professor Gottstein rightly criticizes the false spelling Beth Mawtabbe in the *List of Old Testament Peshitta Manuscripts*. He confines his description to the folio number of the beginning of the Books and the observations: incomplete, partly damaged, and leaves missing. He could have taken over a more detailed description from the *List*. Ad syr 128 he does not mention the description in *V.T.* XVIII (1968), p. 129. The recording of the fragments should be Ex 9:25-10:7; 10:24-12:40; 13:13-14:8.

It may be of interest to state that Syr 173, p. 108f of the *Catalogue*, is a fragment belonging to Syr Ms 39 of the Monastery of St Catherine, Sinai, a Melkite lectionary, 12th-13th cent., 231 fols. The Harvard fragment is the direct continuation and contains, next to rubrics, 1 Reg viii 23 b-30.; the beginning of Prov. iii 19, ix 1, Is. lxiii 15; Dan. ix 15-19.; and Joel ii 12. In the Leiden edition of the Peshitta the designation of the lectionary is 1318.

The author himself recognizes unfulfilled wishes, see in particular the 3rd paragraph of the Introduction, pp. 11ff. Nevertheless his fellow students of Syriac Mss will be thankful for the well produced *Catalogue*. It remains to mention that the book is distributed by Scholars Press, P.O.B. 5207, Missoula, Montana 59806, U.S.A.

January 12th, 1980

P. A. H. DE BOER

Post scriptum

Syr 137 (pp. 93f) is now more fully described in *V.T.* XXXI,3 (1981) p. 358.

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QUMRAN-JUDAICA

W. C. van UNNIK (Hrsg.), *La littérature juive entre Tenach et Mishna. Quelques Problèmes*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1974 (8vo, 163 S.) = *Recherches bibliques*, IX. Preis: f 48.- (Leinen).

In dem interessanten Band sind Vorträge zusammengefaßt, die 1969 bei den „Journées Bibliques“ in Louvain gehalten wurden. Entsprechend dem Generalthema dieser „Biblischen Tage“ — „La littérature et la théologie intertestamentaire“ — befassen sich die Autoren vorwiegend mit dem apokryphen und pseudepigraphischen Schrifttum. Folgende Beiträge sind in dem Band enthalten:

M. Black: The fragments of the Aramaic Enoch from Qumran, pp. 15-28.

P.-M. Bogaert: Le nom de Baruch dans la littérature pseudépigraphique: l'apocalypse syriaque et le livre deutérocanonique, pp. 56-72.

C. Burchard: Joseph et Aséneth: Questions actuelles, pp. 77-100.

B. Dehandschutter: Le rêve dans l'Apocryphe de la Genèse, pp. 48-55.

M. Delcor: Le milieu d'origine et le développement de l'apocalyptique juive, pp. 101-117.

J. W. Doeve: Le domaine du temple de Jérusalem, pp. 118-163.

M. Philonenko: Joseph et Aséneth: Questions actuelles, pp. 73-76.

K. H. Rengstorff: Herkunft und Sinn der Patriarchen-Reden in den Testamenten der zwölf Patriarchen, pp. 29-47.

W. C. van Unnik: Quelques problèmes. Leçon d'ouverture, pp. 1-14.

Da es nicht möglich ist, über den Inhalt aller Vorträge zu referieren, seien der — in der obigen alphabetischen Reihenfolge — erste und letzte Vortrag herausgegriffen.

M. Black gibt einen allgemeinen Überblick über die zahlreichen in Höhle 4 gefundenen Fragmente des aramäischen Henoch-Textes. (Vgl. die genaue Aufstellung der Kapitel und Verse auf pp. 17-18, die M. Milik beisteuerte.) Er bespricht sodann das Problem der ursprünglichen Sprache(n), Hebräisch oder/und Aramäisch, an ausgewählten Beispielen. (Diese Beispiele weisen auf Aramäisch als ursprüngliche Sprache.) Ein weiterer Teil des Vortrages ist dem Vergleich des griechischen und äthiopischen Textes gewidmet, die im Lichte der aramäischen Fragmente neu gesehen werden müssen. Illustriert wird die gegenseitige Abhängigkeit durch die Gegenüberstellung der englischen Übersetzung ausgewählter Verse des 1. Henochbuches nach dem aramäischen und dem äthiopischen Text. — Ein kurzer letzter Abschnitt weist noch einmal auf die Bedeutung der Funde für die aramäische Sprachgeschichte hin: „These fragments are examples of classical Aramaic poetry from the pre-70 period of which we possess practically nothing in the original... We have to do, in these fragments of I Henoch, with a literary discovery of inestimable value...“ (p. 28).

W. C. van Unnik umreißt in seinem Eröffnungsvortrag Probleme der Terminologie, zeigt die Forschungsrichtungen und -schwerpunkte auf, die durch die Funde von Qumran neu bestimmt wurden und weist auf noch offene Probleme hin. Jeder Leser wird van Unnik zustimmen, wenn er (p. 11) fordert: „Comme *primum necessarium* il y a la publication de bonnes éditions“.

Die Vorträge sind informativ und kenntnisreich. Schade ist nur, daß der Band erst 5 Jahre nachher erscheinen konnte, und dass die Autoren wohl nicht die Gelegenheit hatten, neuere Literatur einzuarbeiten. Denn erfreulicherweise ist die Forschung auch hier weitergegangen und einige der von van Unnik geforderten Arbeiten sind bereits erschienen — um nur ein Beispiel herauszugreifen: Das Problem der Überlieferung des Jesus Sirach-Textes und das Verhältnis der Versionen zueinander ist überzeugend behandelt in H. P. Rügers Habilitationsschrift *Text und Textform im hebräischen Sirach. Untersuchungen zur Textgeschichte und Textkritik der hebräischen Sirachfragmente aus der Kairoer Geniza*. Berlin 1970 (BZAW 112). — Der Text liegt außerdem vor in einer neuen Ausgabe in: *The Book of Ben Sira. Text, Concordance and an Analysis of the Vocabulary*, Jerusalem 1973. (Erarbeitet von der Staff des Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language.) Weiterhin ist hinzuweisen auf eine zweite Konkordanz dieses Buches, nämlich D. Barthélemy und O. Rickenbacher: *Konkordanz zum hebräischen Sirach. Mit syrisch-hebräischem Index*. Göttingen 1973. (Vgl. dazu meine Besprechung in *Die Welt des Orients* 8/1 [1975] 137-139.)

Schliesslich erschien jetzt auch die langerwartete Ausgabe des arabischen Jesus Sirach-Textes: *The Wisdom of Jesus Ben Sirach*. (Sinai ar. 155. IXth/Xth cent.) Edited with an Arabic-Greek word index by Richard M. Frank. Louvain 1974 (CSCO Vol. 357, *Scriptores Arabici Tomus* 30) und *The Wisdom of Jesus Ben Sirach*... Translated by R. M. Frank. Louvain 1974 (CSCO Vol. 358), *Script. Arab. Tomus* 31).

Marburg/Lahn

R. DEGEN

* *

LE TARGUM DE JOB DE LA GROTTÉ XI DE QUMRÂN édité et traduit par J. P. M. van der PLOEG, O.P. et A. S. Van der WOUDE avec la collaboration de B. JONGELING. Leiden, E.J. Brill 1971 (VIII, 131 S. 4°). Preis: Leinen Hfl. 120.—.

Wenn ich die *editio princeps* des Hiob-Targums hier verspätet anzeige, so kann ich mich kurzfassen. Inzwischen hat sich nicht nur die Ausgabe bestens bewährt, so dass der grosse Arbeitsaufwand, den die Herausgeber in die Erschliessung der vielen Fragmente investiert haben, sinnvoll war — inzwischen gibt es auch eine kaum noch übersehende Flut an Sekundärliteratur zu diesem Targum — ohne dass die jeweiligen Autoren immer etwas Neues dazu zu sagen hätten! Auf Versehen der Herausgeber ist also genügend hingewiesen, Ergänzungen sind diskutiert und auch einige grammatische Abrisse des Aramäischen dieses Targums existieren bereits. (Von diesen sind besonders erwähnenswert Takamitsu Muraoka „The Aramaic of the Old Targum of Job from Qumran Cave XI“, *Journal of Jewish Studies* 25 (1974) 425-443 und vor allem das aus einem Rezensionssaufsatz entstandene Buch von Michael Sokoloff *The Targum to Job from Qumran Cave XI* (Ramat-Gan 1974), das neben der Grammatik auch den vollständigen Text, eine englische Übersetzung und Glossare enthält).

Die wirklichen Fehler im Text der Edition sind erfreulicherweise sehr selten. Mir fiel nur Col. VI Z. 3 auf, wo es יִנְעַל oder יִנְעַל heissen muss, also jedenfalls ohne das י, das die Editoren sehen wollen. (In den Anmerkungen sind die Druckfehler häufiger.) Oft gewinnt man allerdings beim Vergleich des Textes mit den Abbildungen den Eindruck, dass die Editoren mehr sahen als tatsächlich noch dasteht — einfach, weil sie es zu sehen wünschten.

Nicht mit Schweigen übergangen werden, kann der eigentümliche Gebrauch der Sprachbezeichnungen „aramäisch“ und „syrisch“, der in dem Band zu Tage tritt. Vgl. etwa S. 83 „La racine נסא se retrouve ici pour la première fois en araméen; en syriaque gs“, oder S. 85 „La racine מהא se trouve ici pour la première fois en araméen“. (Hier hätte dann wenigstens folgen sollen: „en syriaque mh“, denn ein Blick in C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, 21928, Sp. 376a erweist, dass die Wurzel im Syrischen belegt ist.) Da das „Syrische“ bekanntlich zum „aramäischen“ Sprachzweig gehört, sollte kein solcher Gegensatz konstruiert werden wie er hier dokumentiert vorliegt.

Der Wort-Index (S. 89-98) wurde von L. W. Van Reijen-

dam-Beek und B. Jongeling zusammengestellt. Er enthält natürlich die Wörter in der Form bzw. grammatischen Analyse und Zerlegung, die im Haupttext vertreten ist, das bedeutet, dass man beispielweise לכוש Kol. XXXVI 6 unter כוש und unter ל eingeordnet findet, nicht dagegen als לכוש (was ja immerhin auch sonst belegt ist und auch hier in Frage gekommen wäre) oder מנמר in der gleichen Kolumne unter מנמר und nicht unter מנר. (Gelegentlich sind auch hier Druckfehler in den Stellenangaben.)

Der Druck des Bandes mit den verschiedenen Drucktypen und vor allem der geradezu vorzüglichen Wiedergabe der Abbildungen (S. 101-131) ist im übrigen bestens ausgeführt. Nicht zuletzt wegen dieser Tafeln wird die *editio princeps* auch von preiswerteren Nachahmern nicht verdrängt werden können.

Der Dank an die Herausgeber dieses wertvollen Stückchens aramäischer Sprache sei verbunden mit dem Wunsch, dass auch die anderen Fragmente der Höhle XI bald und ebenso gut publiziert werden mögen.

Marburg/Lahn

R. DEGEN

* *

Moshe KOSOVSKY, *Concordance to the Talmud Yerushalmi (Palestinian Talmud)*. Jerusalem published by the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities and The Jewish Theological Séminary of America, vol. 1, (*aleph-aleph lamed*), 1979. (960 + 12 + 2 pp.).

The family Kosovsky (Kasovsky) has over the last few decades given us a series of invaluable reference-aids to Rabbinic literature. To mention but some of them: the father Chayim Yehoshua produced concordances to the Mishna (four volumes, 1957-60), the Tosefta (six volumes, 1933-61), Targum Onkelos (four volumes, 1933-40), and to the Babylonian Talmud, (the first nine volumes 1954-1961). After his death, his son Benjamin continued the enormous task, producing the next twenty-two volumes, (still in progress). All this work was done single-handed and manually. However, his other son Moshe undertook the task of producing a concordance to the more problematic Palestinian Talmud, working partially with the aid of a computerized system. We are now presented with the first of what will probably be about a dozen such volumes. It is a massive volume, containing close to a thousand pages, each one of which has over sixty lines in three parallel volumes! It is attractively printed in a pleasing type which makes for easy reading despite the relatively small print.

The text chosen as basis for the concordance is that of the *editio princeps*, Venice c. 1523, which constituted the source for all subsequent printings and which is available to the scholarly world in more than one modern facsimile reprint. Since the Venice edition is printed in long double-columns, the author has added sigla to indicate in which third (upper, middle or lower) the reference is to be found. Since the text of the Palestinian Talmud is notoriously corrupt, he has also given us sigla indicating corruptions, lacunae, and some occasional emendations. In a brief introduction he outlines his working method, his rules in

organizing his material, and a guide for the reader's use. A brief and very select bibliography is appended at the end of the introduction. But this very peripheral addition is sadly disappointing. It makes no mention of manuscripts of the Yerushalmi; (e.g., Leiden Ms., Cod. Scal. 3, four volume facsimile edition, Jerusalem 1971, on the whole Yerushalmi, Ms. Vat. 133, facsimile edition, Jerusalem 1971, on Zeraim and Sotah, Genizah fragments, ed. L. Ginzberg, New York 1909), nor of the basic introductions to the Yerushalmi (Z. Frankel, *Mevo ha-Yerushalmi*, Breslau 1870, L. Ginzberg, *A Commentary on the Palestinian Talmud*, vol. 1, New York, 1941, Hebrew and English), etc. In a brief note (p. 11) the author indicates mistaken pagination in the Venice edition, and his method of (double) reference to the incorrectly numbered pages. He could have added that there are two pages numbered Eruvim 24, the first being 23, and that Sota 16 and Yevamot 9 are unnumbered.

As to the main body of the work, this first volume presents some special problems. Thus almost 350 treble-columned pages are given over to the main heading *amar*, and a very rough count shows that probably over 25,000 quotations are listed with the form *amar*. One wonders how useful this can be, though I can suggest no real alternative for the moment. More general points to be noted concern the question of whether the headings should have been vocalized, as they have, In the case of Aramaic and Greek loanwords these vocalizations are often very problematic. The author not only vocalizes his "catch-word", he also translates it into Hebrew (with varying degrees of success), and also offers etymologies for the foreign loanwords. Here again he is treading on treacherous ground, which opens the way to sharp criticism (e.g. p. 236 αὐτονομία?). As to the placement of the words, this too is often puzzling. Thus אש is placed next to אש, as though it were spelled with a yod, which it is not. אן meaning if (to be distinguished from the differently vocalized אן meaning "not") is to be found under אס (pp. 583c et. seq.) and not around p. 257 et seq., as its spelling would warrant. More cross-references would have helped ease these problems.

We could add many more such comments, but ultimately they would be ungrateful. We have here before us the first volume of a magnificent achievement, an overwhelming labour of love, for which scholars in almost all fields of Judaica should be extremely grateful. These volumes will open before us new ways to the understanding of this very difficult but very crucial text, and we all look forward with great eagerness to the following volumes.

Jerusalem, June 1980

DANIEL SPERBER

* *

Jacob NEUSNER, *Eliezer ben Hyrcanus — The Tradition and the Man*, Part I: *The Tradition*, Part II: *Analysis of the Tradition and the Man*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1973 (Part I: xx + 500 pp., Part II: xiii + 528 pp.) = *Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity from the First to the Seventh Century*, Vols III-IV.

Prof. Neusner's overwhelming oeuvre is known to any student of Talmud, Rabbinic history and theology. He has progressively worked his scholarly way from straightforward historical analysis, through halachic (legal) analysis to complex historico-legal analysis. He has discussed individuals (e.g. R. Yohanan b. Zakkai), whole communities (Babylonian Jewry through the Talmudic period), movements (Pharasaism), and most recently halachic fields (Law of Purities, Law of Holy Things). And brief survey of his career and useful bibliography of his writings may be found in an appendix to his Bronfman lecture, *The Talmud as History*, (Gate Press, Westmont, Quebec Canada 1979), pp. 24-29.

In the two volumes under review he has undertaken the not inconsiderable task of surveying critically and analysing all that may be concluded concerning that outstanding and problematic figure of the first century C.E., R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanus.

In the first volume he seeks to collect, analyse and comment critically upon all that survives in Rabbinic literature — a vast corpus of material, very loosely organised at best — concerning our hero. He has to grapple with a variety of personalities with similar or identical names, different readings — Eliezer, Liezer, Eleazer etc. — of the same name (vol. 1, p. 3), and to work out which traditions relate to our R. Eliezer. To this end he formulates five criteria (vol. 1 p. 2), the sum or parts of which usually give a fair amount of certainty as to the identification. He has to distinguish between the relative historical value of a multitude of often closely parallel traditions concerned with the same event or legal issue. This he does throughout in his all-too-concentrated notes, using halachic, literary and/or historical disciplines, as the material demands.

The second volume contains an analysis of the corpus as a whole under several different headings, e.g.: Forms, Attestations, The Best Traditions, The Better Traditions, The Fair Traditions, Suppressed Traditions, The Poor Traditions ..., The Eliezer of History, The Eliezer of Tradition, The Eliezer of Legend, etc. Here the author has also very conveniently summarized previous scholarly opinion on the subjects at hand, adding his own evaluations of those views, (pp. 249-86). Some he dismisses outright, while others he admits contain valuable analysis but ultimately incorrect conclusions. He also adds (Appendix 1, pp. 422-36) a translation of an article written in Russian by G. S. Aleksandrov on "The role of Aquiba in the Bar Kokhba Rebellion", which bears tangential relevance to the subject of whether our R. Eliezer was a pacifist or a militarist.

One of the very important issues our author deals with is the relationship of R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanus to Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai, (which latter personality Neusner has examined in great detail in a number of studies, e.g. *A Life of Yohanan ben Zakkai*, Leiden, E.J. Brill 1962, second ed. 1970; *Development of a Legend: Studies on the Tradition concerning Yohanan ben Zakkai*, Leiden, E.J. Brill 1970, etc.). Surprisingly enough, he finds no early (pre-third century C.E.) evidence of any real teacher-disciple relationship between these two personalities. Furthermore, he sees no clear dovetailing of their respective halachic ways of thinking. This is a very significant

solution, which will require Talmudic historians to do some basic rethinking of widely accepted premises.

His delineation of the career of the "historical Eliezer" comes out very sketchy (vol. 2, pp. 296 et seq.). Numerous queries concerning specific events and their chronological sequence remain unanswered: was he excommunicated, if so when, and how did this affect his subsequent relationship with his disciples? There are many apparent contradictions between the sources, and Neusner finds that the sources subjected to his critical scrutiny admit no more definite conclusions than those which he draws. Nonetheless, one feels he could possibly have derived more from them, were he not so dismissive of the later (third century onwards) sources. Thus, when all is said and done, the ban is well attested, and referred to in the death stories too. It seems to have brought about a distinct separation of master from pupils, (though here the chronological problem is crucial, and contradictory texts have to be dealt with). The legal mechanism of the ban may be logically reconstructed: it was carried out under the direction of the Nasi, and was to be in force until close to his death (or his retraction). It was a logical move on the part of the Yavnean "establishment", to isolate a formidable opponent, and establish to principle of majority decision.

Furthermore, a careful reading of the "oven of Akhnai" Story (vol. 1, pp. 422-27), and especially the Bavli's version, would reveal, not only the structure of the story, but also a detailed historical sequence of events. Thus Neusner's comment (vol. 1, p. 427) that "no one evidently is bothered by the problem of how Gamaliel, who supposedly was at the consistory, got out to sea" reveals a strange lapse of literary insight on the part of our author. For the story is easily seen to have a clear structure: it falls into three distinct sections, each of which opens with key phrases (pp. 422-23): (1) "Tana: On that day" (Neusner's C), (2) "It was said: On that day" (F), and (3) "Tana: Great was the calamity that befell that day" (I). (The last section, K, is in Aramaic and belongs to a totally different stratum.) Each section, and every "that day", took place on a *different* day. The first day was that of the discussion — R. Eliezer was outvoted, but instead of accepting the majority vote, continued to act according to his own view. This angered the Rabbis who *subsequently* on a *different day* excommunicated him, and burned what he had *since* declared pure. (They could not have done so on the day of the vote, for their decision could not devolve retroactively.) They did this presumably because they saw him as a kind of a *Zaken Mamre*. The ban was carried out by a special forum headed by the Nasi, as required in this particular case, and not in R. Eliezer's presence. *Later on*, someone, R. Akiva in fact, was sent to inform R. Eliezer of the ban, and by this time R. Gamaliel, the Nasi, was already on his sea-voyage, perhaps to Rome.

Whether this is an historically accurate narrative, or a brilliant reconstruction on the part of an editor using self-contained units of tradition and linking them together in a logical manner, is a point difficult to prove conclusively one way or another. However, the "historical option" must be given fair consideration.

And while we are on the subject of the historical aspects in the book, might it not have been more convenient to

have the sources in this section (vol. 1, pp. 394 et seq.) arranged in rough chronological sequence? Thus: Eliezer's beginnings, p. 437, his leaving of Jerusalem p. 434, the ban p. 425, his death p. 418, etc. And finally the translation is not always completely accurate, (e.g. vol. 1, p. 401: *gardum* is not the equivalent of *tribune*).

In conclusion, these two large volumes contain a great deal to excite interest and careful attention. They are to be studied, rather than read. Many accepted assumptions have been called into doubt, and the unprejudiced scholar will find a new outlook on this very important figure of the early Tannaitic period.

Jerusalem, February 1980

DANIEL SPERBER

* *

TORAH HAKETHUBAH VEHEMAESSURAH — a reference book of the Scriptural passages quoted in Talmudic, Midrashic and early Rabbinic literature. Compiled by the late Rabbi Aaron Hyman. Second edition revised and enlarged by his son Arthur B. Hyman M.D., Tel Aviv, Dvir Publishing Co., 1979 (3 Vols xxvii & 338, 309, 272 pp.).

Aaron Hyman (b. 1862) was a Russian scholar who settled in London in 1885, where he lived most of his life until his death in 1937. (The last four years he spent in Tel Aviv). He officiated as an unsalaried Rabbi, and was chief *shohet* (slaughterer) for the London Jewish Community. In his "spare time" he produced a number of works which remain to this day standard reference books for the students of Rabbinic literature. For example, his *Toldot Tannaim Ve'amoraim* (3 vols, London 1901-11) is the fullest existing bibliographic dictionary of Talmudic sages, and has not yet been superseded, despite the real need for its radical revision in the light of half a century's scholarship and a wealth of textual (manuscript) evidence. Between 1937 and 1940 his most significant work appeared, *Torah Hekethuba Vehameessurah* (in 3 vols), which is a comprehensive index of all Biblical references found in the Talmud, Midrash and early Rabbinic literature. The last two volumes, which were published posthumously, were edited by his son Arthur (Arthur B. Dov Hyman, 1905-), who for many years was professor of dermatology at New York University, and who is himself a Rabbinic scholar of repute.

This work is an indispensable aid to Judaica scholarship and was reprinted more than once. However, it had long been realized that it required correction and updating. For it was marred by numerous misprints, inaccurate references, or references which were inconvenient in that they did not give a closely defined locus. Furthermore, in the years intervening since the appearance of the first edition, a number of important texts had been published, such as *Deuteronomy Rabba*, ed. S. Lieberman (Jerusalem 1940, 1965), the Midrashic texts printed in J. Mann's *The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue*, vol. 1 (Cincinnati 1940², New York 1971), the whole of the Yemenite *Midrash ha-gaddol* (Jerusalem 1947-78, in a new edition). *Ozar ha-Geonim*, ed. B. M. Lewin (Haifa 1928 —

Jerusalem 1943 —), etc. To this we may also add that a number of major texts have been published in critical editions, which supersede their predecessors, such as *Leviticus Rabba*, ed. M. Margulies (Jerusalem 1953-60). *Pesikta de Rav Kahana*, ed. B. Mandelbaum (New York, 1962), etc. Furthermore, there were important texts already available, which, for some reason or other, were not utilized by the author, such as *Mishnat R. Eliezer*, ed. H. Enelow (New York, 1933).

Now Arthur, the son, has fulfilled our long-awaited expectations, by producing a new wholly revised and considerably enlarged edition of this basic work, in which many of these lacunae have been filled. In his edition the son has added some three-score additional sources, not utilized by his father, bringing to total of sources cited to: 105. He notes that he omitted references included in his father's edition to *Tikkunei ha-Zohar* (why?), and (more understandably) to *Hovot ha-Levavot*. Furthermore, on occasions, he altered his father's system of references, as, for example, in the case of the Tannaitic Midrashim, *Mechilta*, *Sifra* and *Sifrei*. For while his father had referred to them as they appeared in the Pentateuch with the Malbin commentary, he refers to them as they are found in their own standard edition. Special mention should be made of the great advance in *Yalkut Shimoni* studies, that invaluable repository of Rabbinic riches, partly pioneered by Arthur himself — see his *Mekorot Yalkut Shimoni*, Jerusalem 1965, and with his participation in the new Mossad Harav Kook edition of the *Yalkut*, ed. Hyman, Lehrer and Shiloni, Jerusalem 1973, in progress.

A random and sporadic perusal of the sources contained in the 919 pages of references shows that the degree of accuracy is a great improvement over the former edition, the proof-reading was far more efficient, the form of citation more convenient. Furthermore, the graphic layout is not only more attractive, but also easier on the eye. In sum, this is a very fine advance over the preceding edition. A valuable introduction surveys the earlier "literature of reference", as well as giving a competent bibliography.

Having gone so far in enumerating the merits of this work, we may now, perhaps, point out some of its shortcomings.

(a) In the bibliographic field a number of significant absences may be noted. For example, if Mann, *The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue*, vol. I was utilized, why was not vol. 2 (Mann & Sonne, *The Bible etc.*, Cincinnati 1966, pp. 7-239, Hebrew section)? Fragmentary Midrashim of some importance have been totally omitted, e.g., Finkelstein's "Unknown Midrash on Deuteronomy", *HUCA* 12-13, 1937-38, pp. 533-37; Mann's "Midrashic Geniza Fragments", *ibid* 14, 1939, pp. 309-58; Tanhuma-Yelamdenu fragments, ed. Urbach, *Kobez Al Yad* 6 (16) 1, 1966, pp. 8-54, ed. Wilhelms, *ibid* pp. 57-75, ed. Adler, *ibid* 8 (18) 1976, pp. 25-75; *Pitron Torah*, ed. Urbach (Jerusalem 1978) — though this latter probably appeared too late to be utilized by our author.

Midrash Haserot vi-Yeterot is quoted from Wertheimer's second edition of *Batei Midrashot*, but Marmorstein's ed. of 1917 is not mentioned and neither is Mainz's "Midrash Malei ve-Haser", *Kobez Al Yad* 6 (16) 1, 1966, pp. 80-119. *Beraitha de-Masechet Niddah*, ed. Horowitz (Frankfurt a/Main 1899!) is totally overlooked. Zoharic literature

figures, but the very early *Sefer ha-Bahir* does not. One could continue this list for quite a while, but let this suffice.

(b) A further point to note is the generally uncritical appraisal of the sources on the part of our author. For only thus can I understand the inclusion of *Zavaat R. Eliezer ha-Gaddol*, which the author must have considered to be early, whereas in fact it is late.

(c) As to the use of mediaeval authors, such as Maimonides, Rashi, Yehudah ha-Levi, one wonders why no use was made of the (in many ways more significant for our purposes) Rabbinic Bahayye, Ibn Shuaib, the two *Menorot ha-Maor* of Al-Nakawa and Aboab, great repositories of early Rabbinic Tradition. But perhaps this is to expect too much of one person. Furthermore, it would possibly have made the work unwieldy, and hence self-defeating. But then why include the *Guide to the Perplexed*, and the *Kuzari*?

(d) But an even more serious failing lies in fact that this edition is based, apparently, primarily on previous such reference works, rather than on a direct reading of the source material. Thus, for example, B. Berachot 14b cites Leviticus 18:2, but this reference is not noted in the Talmud's margin by the author of *Torah Or* (R. Joshua Boaz, Italy 16 cent.), and hence is not mentioned by Hyman (1, p. 194). Similarly, B. Berachot 28b cites a phrase containing elements taken directly from 2 Samuel 21:17, 1 Kings 7:21 (and quotes directly Jeremiah 50:23), none of which are referred to in the *Torah Or* and consequently do not get mentioned in our work. Again, one could greatly multiply the examples from all fields of the literature — especially the Midrashic sources —, but this should suffice to make our point. Indeed, a more judicious use of critical editions could have partly rectified this failing.

(e) Finally, it would probably have been better, though a difficult task, to divide up the verses into their component parts, giving the references to the specific section of the verse, rather than to the full one. For what we have now on each verse is a collection of references which may not necessarily have any relationship to one another, since they all too often may be related to separate parts of the same verse. A greater degree of differentiation would have made things easier for the reader, in that he would have before him at first sight a comprehensive list of references to the *same basic issue*. However, perhaps this too is a little too much to expect at this stage.

But even after our critical comments, it remains to be said that in the final analysis we now have before us an aid to both Biblical and Rabbinic scholarship of the utmost importance. It will find its way into every Judaica Library, and will probably be used by scholars without any acknowledgement, so basic and indispensable a tool it will prove to be. And this indeed will be a true index of its success, the success it undoubtedly merits.

Jerusalem, June 1980

DANIEL SPERBER

* *

S. ALBECK, *Dinei Memonot ba-Talmud* (The Law of Property and Contract in the Talmud). Tel-Aviv Dvir C. Ltd., 1976 (664 pp.).

Prof. Shalom Albeck is Professor of Jewish Law in Bar-Ilan University. This is his second book; the first dealt with Torts and appeared in 1965 (*Pesher Dinei Nezikin ba-Talmud*). In both these books, as well as in his numerous essays, he takes a primarily dogmatic approach to the study of Jewish Law, in contradistinction, for example to Prof. M. Elon's broad historico-developmental approach, (see my review in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 34/1-2, 1977 pp. 100-101). And here let it be added that this "dogmatic" approach has a very distinctive flavour of its own.

In his earlier studies his philosophy of Law was not clearly formulated, and had to be extracted by the reader from his wealth of writings. However, in the introductory chapter to this latest book (pp. 13 et seq.) he sets forth a clear exposition of his views. (This exposition first appeared independently in *Iyyunei Mishpat* 3, 1974.) Thus he posits the unchanging nature of basic juristic principles. It is these principles which tie together the myriad fragments of law, individual legal incidents which arranged together in their multiplicity form a coherent mosaic in which the basic underlying patterns emerge. Legal events are subject to historical change and mutation; circumstances alter; sociological and economic configurations vary; but the Platonic principles of equity and justice persist without change, much as mathematical axioms which are unaffected by the changing circumstances of the universal flux.

This philosophical posture, which we have epitomised somewhat briefly and crudely, has recently been subjected to a searching analysis and criticism by Prof. I. England, in his important study (in Hebrew) "Research in Jewish Law — The Nature and Function", which appeared in *Mishpatim* 7/1, June 1976, pp. 34-65, and for specific reference to Albeck's position on pp. 59-64. This provocative essay evoked a lively reaction by B. Shiber in a rejoinder (ibid 8/1, July 1977, pp. 91-98) entitled "Albeck's method of research in Talmudic Law" (Incidentally, Elon, who was also the subject of England's scrutiny, likewise reacted, ibid, pp. 99-137.) What becomes pre-eminently clear from this vigorous and constructive polemic interchange is that Albeck's position is the most problematic within the spectrum of contemporary Jewish Law studies.

Albeck seeks out the basic keys to the understanding of whole complex legal fields. In his earlier study on Torts he postulated "negligence" to be the ultimate principle upon which the whole logical structure of the Law of Torts was based. In the present study in the Law of Property, two pillars support the juristic structure: *gemirut da'at* — "firm decision", and the *use* of properties (p. 20). The first principle is the decision in the part of the decisor not to go back on his decision, and constitute the source of the law of acquisition. While the second, *possessio* (sic!, cf p. 21?) *hazakah* —, is the primary source of *reshut*, from which all the details of the law of ownership evolve (pp. 20-22). Both these principles are "objective", and not subject to the change of circumstances. It is individual cases which relative to one another exhibit

change, altering communal custom, and shifting human practice (pp. 22-24).

The seventeen chapters of the book explore all aspects of the field, such as *possessio* — acquisition (chapter 2), error in sale and purchase (chapter 7), the legal status of non-existent entities or not yet existing entities with regard to sale and purchase etc. (chapter eight), conditions (chapter ten), partnership (chapter fourteen), breach of contract (chapter seventeen), etc. The examination is exhaustive and leaves no aspect of the field untouched. One feels at times that the author is over-selective in his use of interpretations by early and late Talmudic commentators (*Rishonim* and *Aharonim*), mentioning primarily those who serve to bear out his argument, and omitting references to divergent views, (if not to refute them). However, this is an inherent part of his methodology, and is a corollary to his philosophical approach, as already pointed out by England. On the other hand, his acquaintance with the whole range of sources, primary, secondary and critical, is not to be doubted, (see e.g. p. 119, note 42, p. 627 note 99 etc). One feels that with all his selectivity, he had, in fact, sifted all the material, not overlooking any major view, be it of early or even late authorities (e.g. *Pnei Yehoshua*, *Hazon Ish* etc.), has subjected them to his examination, and rejected whatever he feels to be incorrect or irrelevant.

Furthermore, he makes very little reference to modern scientific scholarship in the field. The major studies of Zuri, Elon, Rabinowitz — Te'umim etc. get scant if any mention. Gulak fares a little better (e.g. p. 119 note 27, p. 137 note 126), while Herzog and Warhaftig are honoured with a passing comment. This is in many ways regrettable, but, from his point of view, his major concern is with the sources of Jewish Law, and these he deals with carefully, exactly and in an all-encompassing manner. Hence, the majority of the book is running text, and the footnotes brief and mainly references.

For all its clarity of formulation this remains a difficult book, to be read slowly, with care and in depth. It is a thesis propounding an argument, and the exposition of the sources serve this argument. It is not a compendium of Jewish Law on this subject. (Indeed, it is interesting to compare Albeck's work with another book of nearly the same name, *Dinei Memonot*, by the judge Ezra Basri, Vol. 1 Jerusalem 1974, vol. 2, 1976 — the second volume bears an English title, "Ethics of Business, Finance and Charity according to Jewish Law" — which is in the traditional style of the non-scientific compendious codex.) It is provocative and rewarding in its rich insights, and as one reads it one cannot help but raise the question: what is the relationship between Albeck's approach and that of the traditional halachists? The book is attractively produced, and should be read by all involved in the field of Jewish Law and halachah.

Jerusalem, February 1980

DANIEL SPERBER

* *

Michael WILENSKY, *Mehkarim be-Lashon uve-Sifrut* ("Studies in Language and Literature"), Jerusalem, Hebrew Language Academy, 1978.

This volume of collected scholarly writings of the late Michael Wilensky is the third volume of Wilensky's works to be published posthumously by the Hebrew Language Academy, made possible by the will of his late widow Mary Wilensky. The first two volumes were the critical edition of Ibn Janah's *Sefer ha-Rikma* prepared by Wilensky, a most important contribution to the history of Hebrew grammar in that Ibn Janah's work was the first complete Hebrew grammar, outstanding in its breadth of scope and theoretical basis.

The present volume has been meticulously edited by Shraga Abramson, A. Eliner and M. Medan. It is accompanied by a small introduction explaining the purpose of the collection. Ever since Wilensky gave up a distinguished career as a mathematician to devote himself, at Bialik's urging, to Jewish studies, he wrote extensively on many and diverse topics, published over the years in several languages and various journals. These articles, rich in both big and little pearls, are now all brought together. The editors have wisely not tried to improve upon the language of Wilensky's Hebrew articles. Those in other languages have been translated into Hebrew, retaining the rich substance but modest manner of writing.

The dedicated work of the editors is especially seen in the arrangement of the articles. There are two main sections in the book: Language and Grammar, Literature and History. The articles are not arranged chronologically, but according to topic. The editors have succeeded so well that the sixty-four different articles carry a kind of unity. At the end of the book is a listing of the full name of every article in the language in which it was written, as well as the name and issue of the journal in which it appeared.

It is not surprising that several of the most important articles in the present volume deal with Jonah ibn Jannah, the great 11th century Spanish Hebrew grammarian and lexicographer, whose *Sefer ha-Rikma* was given critical editing by Wilensky. These articles deal with biographical detail, such as the establishment of his birthplace, his teachers, the influence of Hayyuj upon his work, a rebuttal of unfounded charges against Ibn Jannah of literary plagiarism, and even a lengthy discussion of the name Abu-al-Walid Marwan by which he is known in Arabic. Wilensky shows that he never had a Hebrew given name. The family name was indeed Janah, but Marwan was his given name. It was Abraham ibn Ezra who Hebraized the Marwan to Marinos, while the Kimhi's called him Jonah. In a related article, Wilensky shows that the great tenth-century grammarian Ibn Labrat carried the Arabic given name of Dunash, except that here, too, the same Ibn Ezra Hebraized it to "Adonim".

Ibn Ezra is again the source for the riddle of the relationship between *Sefer ha-Rikma* and *Sefer ha-Korha* which Wilensky solves. He proves that they are both one and the same book of Hayyuj. Ibn Ezra gave a wrong vocalization to the Arabic consonants forming the name of the book, so that the original Hebrew equivalent of *Rikma*, meaning roughly "selections", became *Korha* ("baldness"). Wilensky's absorption with Ibn Janah leads him to

identify a genizah fragment formerly attributed to Samuel ha-Nagid as belonging to Ibn Janah.

Next to Ibn Janah, Abraham ibn Ezra occupies most of Wilensky's attention in these articles. Most important in this connection is Wilensky's critical editing of Ibn Ezra's grammatical work *Safah Berurah*. Wilensky deals with the chronological order of Ibn Ezra's works, a problem which has long occupied scholars. Two other works of Ibn Ezra which receive discussion are *Sefer Hayesod* and *Sefat Yeter*. Pinsker claimed to have discovered the long-lost *Sefer Hayesod*, and this claim was accepted and even defended by so capable a scholar as Bacher. Wilensky demonstrates conclusively that Pinsker's manuscript was really the true *Sefat Yeter*, the confusion in name being due to Ibn Ezra's referring to it in a prefatory poem as *Sefer Yesod Hadikduk*. The name of the book which goes by the name *Sefat Yeter* as given by the printers, a defense of Saadia against Dunash, is not known to us. And the *Sefer Hayesod*, of course, is still lost.

Wilensky's greatest love is for the early Hebrew grammarians, interested in their biographical details as well as their specific contributions to the science of Hebrew grammar (even though the best of them wrote in Arabic) in the context of their general contributions to biblical commentary, poetry and other literary interests. We learn much about Hayyuj (late tenth century), hardly known in his day, who may be rightly called the real father of Hebrew grammar. It was he who firmly established the trilateral root theory. Although previous grammarians were aware of the trilateral root in Arabic, they could not explain why all three letters did not appear in every form of the Hebrew verb. Dunash, therefore, was still an adherent of the bilateral root theory.

Origins and meanings of various phrases interested Wilensky, such as the elegant Hebrew phrasing of the rule that inanimate objects can have both masculine and feminine gender (even in the same sentence). This rule was even quoted by Spinoza in his work on Hebrew grammar, attributing it to Rabbi Shelomo Yarhi, whom Spinoza took to be Rashi, connecting him with Lunel (and thus the Hebrew "Yarhi"). Indeed, Muenster and the elder Buxtorf had made this connection. Although Rashi in his commentary to Genesis 32:8 does make reference to this rule, it is not in the particular phrasing under discussion. Wilensky posits that not Rashi is the originator of this particular phrasing, but most probably Rabbi Shelomo Yarhi, the mid-14th century grammarian in his book *Leshon Limudim* (still in manuscript), quoted copiously by Abraham de Balme in his *Mikneh Avram*, and from there indirectly to Spinoza.

A number of studies in this volume are on some later Middle Ages Italian rabbis, about several of whom little has been previously known. Wilensky writes on Isaiah Bassan, teacher of Moses Hayyim Luzzato, Netanel Halevi, Emanuel Hai Riki, and on several generations of rabbis in Ancona.

In his later years, as cataloguer of manuscripts in the Hebrew Union College Library, Wilensky came to know many of special interest, the topic of several of his articles. Important contributions are to be found in several of his book reviews. Outstanding are those to the first volume of Ben-Yehuda's dictionary and to the Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume.

In collected form, these articles will have a lasting influence. The Hebrew Language Academy is to be congratulated for undertaking this important task of preserving Wilensky's contributions for posterity.

Jerusalem, January 1980

ABRAHAM GOLDBERG

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Jacques HEERS et Georgette de GROER, *Itinéraire d'Anselme Adorno en Terre Sainte* (1470-1471). Paris, Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (25 cm., x + 513 pp.) = Sources d'Histoire Médiévale publiées par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes. Prix: 290.00 F. ISBN 2 222 02206 1.

Parmi les nombreux récits de voyage que nous ont laissés les pèlerins du XV^e siècle le livre d'Anselme d'Adorno se distingue à bien des égards. La plupart de ces récits ont été écrits par des prêtres, quelques uns par des marchands. Presque tous ces voyageurs abrégèrent autant que possible leur séjour en Terre Sainte, afin d'éviter les contrariétés, voire les dangers auxquels ils étaient en butte dans le milieu hostile du Levant musulman; ils avaient recours généralement aux services, bien organisés et strictement surveillés, des galées de pèlerins vénitienes et rentraient en Italie après un séjour de 10 à 14 jours en Palestine. Une minorité des pèlerins faisait aussi le voyage du Mont Sinai pour s'embarquer à Alexandrie, quelques fois après une visite au Caire. D'autres encore allaient visiter Damas et trouvaient un bateau à Beyrouth. Anselme Adorno, lui, choisit un trajet très différent. Il partit de Bruges, sa ville natale, pour Pavie, où le rejoignit son fils Jean, s'embarqua à Gênes, berceau de sa famille, se rendit à Tunis, puis en Égypte. Ayant visité le Mont Sinai et les Lieux Saints en Palestine il fit encore un voyage à Damas et repartit enfin de Beyrouth pour l'Italie d'où il rentra en Flandre.

Non seulement l'itinéraire du voyage était particulier, mais la personnalité d'Anselme Adorno l'était encore davantage. Rejeton d'une vieille famille génoise, naturalisée à Bruges depuis trois générations, le voyageur appartenait à un milieu cosmopolitain du bas Moyen Age. Bien que Bruges fût un centre du commerce mondial, Anselme Adorno n'était pas marchand. C'était plutôt un chevalier et un homme politique, qui se mouvait dans l'entourage du duc de Bourgogne et du roi d'Écosse. Toute la famille, paraît-il, avait un penchant pour les voyages. Un Adorno était parti pour la Chine en 1343 (p. 16). Quoiqu'Anselme Adorno ait été lié à des milieux très différents et probablement se soit distingué par son attitude très ouverte, il était très dévoué à sa religion et se caractérisait par la sincérité de sa foi. Autre trait qui explique la genèse de ce livre: la famille entière était fortement attachée à la Ville Sainte. Son père avait fait deux voyages à Jérusalem et construit à Bruges une Église du Saint-Sépulcre. Il n'y a donc pas lieu de croire que le but de ce voyage n'ait pas été purement religieux. Le savant éditeur rejette justement la supposition, faite il y a 125 ans, que ce voyage aurait été lié à des projets de Croisade contre les Turcs.

Le récit du voyage d'Adorno a été connu, d'abord, par

le livre d'E. de la Coste, publié au milieu du siècle passé¹). Puis, en 1893, une traduction flamande de la partie traitant du voyage dans le Levant a été publiée²). La partie qui contient le voyage en Tunisie a été publiée, en traduction française et avec des notes savantes, par R. Brunschvig³). Nous saurons donc gré à J. Heers d'avoir publié le texte entier, en latin, accompagné d'une traduction française et de nombreuses notes.

Le lecteur intéressé par ce genre de littérature et par l'histoire de la Méditerranée au Moyen Age en général ne sera pas déçu en parcourant l'élégante publication, éditée par J. Heers et ses aides. Anselme Adorno et son fils Jean, diplomate, puis prêtre, qui ont écrit ce livre ensemble, étaient de bons observateurs et traitent de divers aspects de la civilisation des pays qu'ils ont visités. On y trouve des renseignements sur la flora des pays orientaux, sur les diverses classes de la population et sur les mœurs des musulmans. Adorno le fils y apporte son érudition, en insérant des chapitres sur le royaume franc de Jérusalem et autres du même genre. Ça et là on trouve dans ce livre de voyage des renseignements qui comblent un vide dans nos connaissances de l'histoire de la Méditerranée à cette époque. En voici un exemple: dans plusieurs livres de voyage, très détaillés par ailleurs, qui datent de la même époque, on chercherait en vain des témoignages sur l'existence d'un consulat et d'un fondaco d'Ancône à Alexandrie. A en juger d'après ces livres on conclurait plutôt qu'ils n'existaient plus à cette époque. On ne trouve mention de ce consulat à Alexandrie à la fin du XV^e siècle que dans une lettre du voyageur juif Obadia de Bertinoro⁴). Le récit de voyage d'Adorno est la seule relation de source occidentale-chrétienne qui coïncide avec ce témoignage (p. 166). Du même passage on apprend encore que les Florentins possédaient toujours un fondaco dans la grande ville marchande d'Égypte en 1470. A propos de ce fondaco le mutisme des autres sources est presque total, ce qui a amené les historiens à nier son existence à ladite époque⁵). Néanmoins on ne peut comparer ce livre de voyage quant à la richesse de l'information avec les récits des Florentins Leonardo Frescobaldi, Giorgio Gucci et Simone Sigoli ou celui du Nurembergeois Johan Tucher, tous des marchands et très intéressés par la vie économique, ou encore avec le savant traité du Dominicain bavarois Felix Fabri. Même le livre de voyage de Stefan de Gumpenberg contient des données qu'on ne trouvera pas ailleurs.

Jacques Heers et ses aides n'ont pas épargné leur temps ni leurs efforts pour éditer le texte comme il faut. La traduction est excellente et elle est pourvue de centaines de notes qui éclairent d'innombrables noms orientaux et des expressions qui seraient restées incompréhensibles

¹) Anselme Adorno, sire de Cathuy, pèlerin de Terre Sainte, sa famille, sa vie, ses voyages et ses temps, récit historique (Bruxelles 1856).

²) E. Feys, *Voyages d'Anselme Adorno à Jérusalem et au Mont Sinai en 1470*, texte flamand de Rombou de Doppere (Société d'émulation de Bruges, Annales, 5^e série, IV, 1893).

³) Deux récits de voyage inédits en Afrique du Nord au XV^e siècle, 'Abd al-Basit b. Khalil et Adorne (Paris 1936).

⁴) *Iggroth Eres Yisrael*, éd. A. Yaari (Tel Aviv 1943), p. 116.

⁵) J. Wansbrough, «A Mamluk commercial treaty concluded with the Republic of Florence, (dans) *Documents from Islamic Chanceries*, éd. S. M. Stern (Oxford 1965), p. 73.

pour le lecteur non spécialiste des études médiévales. On appréciera beaucoup cet effort.

D'autre part on regrettera que de nombreuses erreurs se soient glissées dans ces notes, bien que le savant éditeur ait consulté des spécialistes renommés des études arabes et de l'histoire des Croisades et ait eu recours en outre à une abondante littérature scientifique. Ces noms sont en effet une piège pour des savants qui ne sont pas de formation orientaliste et la seule méthode pour éviter les erreurs paraît être la collaboration ou mieux coédition avec un spécialiste. La liste suivante d'erreurs n'est pas complète, ce ne sont que des exemples.

p. 165. L'obligation imposée aux Chrétiens de porter des turbans enveloppés d'une bande bleue a été introduite en 1301, v. A. S. Tritton, *The caliphs and their non-Muslim subjects* (London 1930), p. 121 et s.

p. 167. Touzzim, port de la mer Rouge, est probablement Tūr.

p. 174. Dawadar Yashbak, non pas Yackbach (mais cf. p. 198 et aussi p. 273).

p. 188. Khān Kaṣūn, non pas Kūṣūm

Makrīzī, non pas Maqrīsi

Mokattam, non pas Mokattan

Les Kārimis étaient déjà supprimés à cette époque, v. mon article *The Kārimī merchants*, JRS 1956, p. 54.

p. 189. La citadelle du Caire n'était pas abandonnée par les Ayyoubides, successeurs de Saladin.

p. 199. Les Circassiens ne constituaient pas un élément important au sein de la classe mamlouke avant la fin du XIV^e siècle.

p. 200. Adorno confond Rayy avec Edesse, parce qu'il a entendu le nom arabe de cette ville dernière, à savoir ar-Ruhā.

p. 208. Naldarchas est nāzīr al-khāṣṣ, non pas kātīb as-sirr.

p. 253. Bāb al-Khalīl, non pas Bāb al-Khālīd.

p. 252. Le nom Yerushalayim est en fait le nom hébraïque de la Ville Sainte et non pas un nom cananéen traduit par les Hébreux en Jérusalem (!).

p. 296. Khirbat Rakhab, non pas Khisbet Rajab.

p. 297. Lac de Houlé, non pas Houblé.

p. 302. 'Amwās, non pas Anwas.

al-Kubaiba, non pas Qub-ayba.

p. 314. Bet Shean, non pas Bensam, Bethsheam.

La Vallée de Yezreel n'est pas appelée Zesrael.

Kaukab al-hawā, non pas Kubab et Hawa.

p. 316, 318. Khān at-tudjdjār, non pas al-Tajjar.

p. 321. Kurūn Ḥaṭṭīn, non pas Qarum Hattin.

p. 330. Bāb Tūmā, non pas al-Ṭūma.

Bāb Sharkī, non pas Sharky

p. 332. Taht al-ka'la, non pas Taht ka'la'a.

taldj as-sultān, non pas as-sultanas.

p. 342. al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalil, non pas Khālīl.

p. 347. Achora au Liban septentrional est probablement 'Akkār et non pas Antoura.

Jérusalem, mai 1980

E. ASHTOR

* *

ARCHEOLOGIE

Robert FLEISCHER, *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien*. Leiden, Brill 1973 (xvi + 449 S., 171 Taf. und Frontispiz, 2 Faltkarten) = Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain 35. — ISBN 90 04 03677 6. Preis: fl. 216.—.

Wie schon aus dem Titel ersichtlich ist, befaßt sich der Autor mit verschiedenen Kultstatuen, von denen Artemis von Ephesos und Aphrodite von Aphrodisias aus den weiblichen, aus den männlichen Gottheiten wieder Zeus Labraundos und Jupiter Heliopolitanus am bedeutendsten sind.

Die Schlüsselfigur bleibt jedoch Artemis Ephesia, deren Kultbild am genauesten untersucht wird. An diesem Beispiel können wir uns zeigen, wie Fleischer auch bei anderen „kleineren“ Gottheiten vorgeht. Zuerst wird ein Katalog mit erschöpfender Bibliographie gegeben. Im Detail werden besonders wichtige Denkmäler beschrieben, vor allem neuere Funde oder unpublizierte Abbildungen der Göttin; bei den älteren wird meistens auf die Arbeit von E. Thiersch aus dem J. 1935 verwiesen, die inzwischen im Nachdruck erschienen ist. Dabei ist zu begrüßen, daß sich der Fotonachweis nicht nur auf diese Stücke begrenzt — der Bilderteil ist auch sonst in jeder Hinsicht hoch zu schätzen. Nach den Denkmälern werden Elemente der Darstellung besprochen und am Ende folgt eine Zusammenfassung.

Im ganzen werden Kultbilder von 18 Göttinnen (unter ihnen auch der Hera von Samos) und 5 Göttern untersucht. Es treten hinzu andere kleinere Gottheiten, die den Haupttypen nachgebildet oder nicht gut identifizierbar sind. Das Buch schließt eine ziemlich kleine Zusammenfassung, da die meisten Resultate schon im Laufe der Untersuchung vorweggenommen worden sind.

Die typischen Züge der Statuen kann man sich wieder an der Artemis Ephesia veranschaulichen. Es ist vor allem die frontale Stellung der Gottheit mit den (bei weiblichen Gottheiten) vorgestreckten Unterarmen. Unterleib und Beine werden von einem engen Futteral umgeschlossen, dem sog. Ependytes, der, aus Goldblech gearbeitet, an dem Holzkern befestigt war. Die ursprüngliche Kultstatue war nämlich aus Holz und reicht bei den meisten alten anatolischen Gottheiten in die archaische Zeit zurück, wohl in das VII. Jh., wie jetzt bei der Artemis von Ephesos und Aphrodite von Artemisias bewiesen werden kann. Die ursprünglichen Xoana waren unterlebensgroß und es gab nur einen Prototyp, wie Fleischer mit Recht betont, obwohl die späteren bildlichen Darstellungen in vielen Einzelheiten voneinander abweichen. Dies ist durch die abnehmbare Bekleidung bedingt; die Garderobe wurde gewechselt. Wichtig ist Fleischers Feststellung (S. 401), daß für die ursprüngliche Gestalt der Götterstatue vor allem Münzen ausschlaggebend sind, da sie ein offizielles Bild liefern, das sie nur kopieren, während die Schöpfer der Marmorstatuen nicht immer das Kultbild getreu nachahmten, sondern eine eigene Vorstellung von der Macht der Gottheit hineinlegten. Das gilt ebenso von den kaiserzeitlichen Münzen; etwa seit Hadrian wurden eben alte archaische Kultbilder wieder aktuell (S. 405).

Der anatolische vorgriechische Ursprung dieser Xoana steht außer Zweifel.

Wie Artemis von Ephesos tragen auch andere Götter einen hohen Polos auf dem Haupt, die Göttinnen sind auch durch einen Schleiermantel bzw. „Nimbus“ gekennzeichnet. Von den Unterarmen hängen Wollbinden bis zur Erde hinab. Neben anderem Schmuck ist vor allem ein Blütenkranz aus Immortellen typisch.

Was die „Brüste“ der Artemis von Ephesos betrifft, die ja auch bei Zeus Labraundos vorkommen, konstatiert Fleischer richtig, daß es sich vor allem wegen ihrer Form um keine Brüste handelt; außerdem fehlen überall Brustwarzen und auch ihre Stellung am Körper widerspricht dieser Deutung. Er läßt aber die Frage unentschieden, worum es sich eigentlich handelt. Jetzt kann man wohl G. Seiterle zustimmen (*Antike Welt* 10, 1979, Nr. 3), der in den „Brüsten“ Stierbeutel sieht, mit denen anlässlich der Stieropfer zu Ehren der Artemis in Ephesos ihre Kultstatue behängt wurde. Stierhoden als Fruchtbarkeits-symbole passen gut zum Charakter der Naturgöttin, ebenso wie die Doppelaxt des Zeus Labraundos als Opferaxt erklärt werden kann. Auch die Wollbinden kann man mit diesen Opfern der mit Wolle geschmückten Tiere in Verbindung bringen. Nach dem Fest wurden nach Seiterle Stierbeutel wieder abgenommen und weggeworfen. Dies wäre danach auch ein abnehmbares Stück der göttlichen Garderobe. Nun lautet aber die Frage, ob nicht an der Statue Nachahmungen echter Beutel dauernd befestigt waren, weil es sich um ein typisches Merkmal der Artemis Ephesia handelt, das in keiner Abbildung fehlt.

Über die territoriale Verbreitung dieser Kultstatuen gewinnen wir aus den beigefügten zwei Karten ein anschauliches Bild. Es ist Westkleinasien mit seinem Hinterland, dazu der Küstenstreifen von Pamphylien bis Kilikien und außerdem die Küste von Syrien, Phönicien und Palästina bis etwa zu Gaza. Leider stammen die Denkmäler des letztgenannten Gebietes erst aus der Kaiserzeit, so daß man sich über sie kein so klares Bild machen kann. Nichtsdestoweniger scheint Fleischer recht zu haben, wenn er behauptet, daß ihr Ursprung dem anatolischen Einfluß zu verdanken ist (auch wenn Ependytes selbst wahrscheinlich aus Mesopotamien stammt).

Sehr interessant für die Geschichte der orientalischen Kulte ist die Konstatierung eines nur sehr winzigen Einflusses der ägyptischen Religion auf diese Kultbilder, wenn es überhaupt einen gab. Man würde vor allem bei der Artemis Ephesia irgendeine Verbindung mit Isis erwarten. Der Umstand, daß wir in Ephesos keine Spur einer solchen Verbindung finden, beweist uns wiederum (z.B. gegen die Ansichten von Merkelbach und Witt), daß die Hauptgöttin von Ephesos mit Isis nicht identifiziert werden kann. Isis wurde meiner Ansicht nach nur echten griechischen Gottheiten gleichgesetzt, denen Artemis Ephesia nicht zugesellt werden darf.

Die ganze Arbeit ist sehr sorgfältig gemacht, es ist eine wahre Schatzgrube des Wissens. Die Gelehrsamkeit könnte uns manchmal sogar übertrieben erscheinen, wenn zu jeder Frage alle Lösungsversuche, die je ausgesprochen worden sind, aufgezählt werden. Aber auf diese Weise werden mindestens alle früheren Fehler berichtigt und Sackgassen und Irrwege vermieden. Desto wichtiger sind die eigenen Resultate, denen man durchwegs zustimmen kann und die wir schon oben hervorgehoben haben.

Irreführend sind nur einige Verweise auf Tafeln, die nicht stimmen. Die meisten wird sich der Benutzer selbst leicht korrigieren (wie S. 199 *Taf. 118b-120b* statt *119a-120b*, S. 223 *Taf. 91b* statt 89 und 89 statt 90a, S. 225 wieder *Taf. 91b* statt 89), unangenehmer sind auf S. 291-292 mehrere Verweise auf *Taf. 169-170* statt *123a-b*. Sonst stört nur die überall gebrauchte Form des italienischen Gelehrten G. Pesche statt des richtigen Pesce (z.B. S. 9, 259, 275 ff.).

Praha, April 1980

LADISLAV VIDMAN

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Sener ŞAHİN, Elmar SCHWERTHEIM, Jörg WAGNER, *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasien, Festschrift für Friedrich Karl DÖRNER zum 65. Geburtstag am 28. Februar 1976*. Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1978. Erster Band (8°, xxiii 436 Seiten, CXXVIII Tafeln), Zweiter Band (viii-567 Seiten, CXXXIX-CCXXVII tafeln) = Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain (EPRO). Tome soixante-sixième. Price: erster Band 350 guilders, price zweiter Band: 350 guilders.

With the glut of articles slowing down publication of regular journals, the much maligned Festschriften have shown remarkable resilience in times of financial stress, and have emerged as carriers of valuable information. They are particularly valuable when they present surveys of research in cross-disciplinary alignments or specific areas. For Asia Minor, the three volumes of *Mélanges Mansel* (Ankara, 1974) had emphasized archaeology. While the present volume centers again on Asia Minor, the interdisciplinary aspect is more marked and the emphasis falls on religion. F.K. Dörner is a well-known archaeologist, who had dug at Samos and Hattuşaş but is best known for his work in Bithynia and the great discoveries and excavations in the Commagene; yet he is also a professional epigraphist, and epigraphy in its historical and cultural applications is well represented. His interests in religion have ranged from Hittite to the Revelation of St. John, and this variety too, makes the volume stimulating for scholars in many fields. The editors did set a specific framework and thus succeeded in giving intellectual coherence to this Festschrift. Spread over two volumes and luxuriously illustrated, the forty-eight articles are arranged alphabetically by authors. Most of them, however, fall into rather clear groupings and will be so reported in this review.

Prehistoric and historic Anatolian cultures: D.H. French (378-383) makes a critical assessment of recent attempts to reconstruct Prehistoric Anatolian religion, especially at Çatal Hüyük. H. Kühne (504-515) argues that Prehistoric and later breast-feeding goddesses in Mesopotamia and Anatolia (Horoztepe) are not influenced by Egypt's *Isis Lactans*. Starting from Tesub and Hebat in Hittite sanctuary of Yazilikaya, R. Mayer-Opificius (595-601) reviews divine pairs in the Near East and detects Syrian influence at Yazilikaya. K. Bittel (1978-182) publishes a new (1975) Hittite relief vase sherd and surveys Hittite chariots and their possible appearance in religious processions. From Assyrian and Hittite sources, W. Röllig (762-770) shows

that there were two cities named Zalpa, one on the Black Sea, the other in North Syria.

From the Iron Age, Urartian representations of their chief god Haldi are discussed by O.A. Taşyürek (940-955) and burial customs are given an extensive study by B. Ögün (639-678). K. Ayter (99-106) collects and seeks to interpret the role of rock-cut steps and stairs in tombs and sanctuaries of Phrygia. Carian Zeus Labrandeus may be invoked by a double-axe on a relief marker from a burial mound of a Carian official at Limyra, a testimony to the rule of Carian dynasts in Lycia around 360 B.C., according to J. Borchardt (183-191). R. Harper maintains that *Gerga* means "sanctuary of Car" and should be equated with *Leukai Stelai* in Herodotus 5.118, a place where Carians assembled. Theban myths and synoikismos of Megarikon and Olbia, two defunct settlements, are assumed by D. Asheri to account for the founding of Astakos, forerunner of Nicomedia, which ancient historians said was founded c. 712 B.C. from Megara and thus earlier than Chalcedon.

Chalcedon herself is the subject of a major report, virtually a monograph (1-92), by N. Asgari and the late N. Firatli. Provided with plan sketches, it encompasses topographic data on the city and a detailed account of the cemeteries of Chalcedon, mostly Greek and Roman documented from recent and earlier excavations; 16 stelae and 19 sarcophagi with associated finds and inscriptions are discussed.

Intermediate between Anatolian and Greek, a group of studies revolves around Artemis of Ephesus and her congeners. Easily the most important is the report (107-151) on analysis of 1750 animal bones from the archaic-Classical altar at Ephesus by Petra Wolff; F. Brien discusses the other finds; and A. Bammer draws conclusions about animal sacrifices for religion, sociology, and economics. R. Fleischer (324-374) publishes a supplement to his fundamental monograph on Artemis of Ephesus. After an appreciative digest of Fleischer's method and results, E. Kirsten (457-488) discusses the goddess Eleuthera of Myra and her sacred cypress, allegedly felled by the Younger Nicholas, bishop of Myra; she like the Ephesian Artemis dwelled in a swampy river delta. K. Parlasca (679-689) documents the popularity of the many-breasted Ephesian as a symbol of fertile Nature in European art of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Ephesian gods "Other than Artemis", as the title says, are listed by D. Knibbe (487-503).

There is much in the volume on religious life of Anatolia in the Hellenistic and the Roman periods. P. Herrmann (415-423) presents a good case for locating "Mên, Lord of Axiotta" at an Axiotta in northeast Lydia. Four inscriptions of interest for religious life of Roman Lydia are published by G. Petzl (745-761); three are from Ayazviran near Kula; the fourth, a statuette in Adana with a dedication to *Theio Hosio kai Dikaio*, is not from Sardis as the vendor had stated (cf. G.M.A. Hanfmann and N.H. Ramage, *Sardis, Report 2, Sculpture* [Cambridge, Mass. 1978] no. 271). Mên is again involved in E.N. Lane's note on the interpretation of coins (Severus, Valerian) showing Mên's temple at Prostanna. The development of the Meter-Cybele cult in Hellenistic Mysia and Roman Bithynia is clarified by the field work and publication undertaken by E. Schwertheim (891-937).

A Roman monument in Cologne leads M.J. Vermaseren (956-966) to survey the instances, in which Cybele appears with Mercury. He notes that Pausanias, 2.3.4, alludes to a connection for the mysteries of Meter at Corinth. S. Şahin (770-790) collects testimonia for Zeus Bennios, probably named after Phrygian *bennos* (fertility feast), and interprets him as a Phrygian fertility and weather god. R. Fellmann (284-294) publishes Sabazius-related finds from Vindonissa and dates the introduction of the Sabazius cult into the Roman West to ca. 20 B.C.

D. Metzger (619-639, Horse on Labienus coins a Mithraic symbol?), J.V.M. Derksen (232-244), and H. Vetters (967-979) treat of non-Anatolian gods: Mithras, the oriental Sun God, and the Agathos Daimon of Alexandria, perhaps represented at Ephesus by the painting of a snake in a curious chapel (?) in Slope House 2.

Roman Imperial cult is involved in M. Le Glay's (548-464) note on the cult of Roma and Salus at Pergamon; he suggests that the plot of M. Aemilius Lepidus against Augustus is reflected in the establishment of *Salus*. Erasure of Imperial heads on Pergamene coins with two new examples of Maximinus Thrax and Maximus is the subject of a note by P. Berghaus (158-162).

The vivifying influence of F.K. Dörner's great epigraphic and archaeological discoveries in the Commagene, especially at Arsameia and on Nemru Dag is attested by a number of studies, treating this strange, mixed world where Syria, Anatolia, Parthia, Greece, and Rome met. Relations of the Commagene kings to the Greek cities are illustrated by P.M. Fraser (359-374) with comments on inscriptions from Ephesus, Athens, and Chios. Antiochus I of Commagene (ruled 69-38 B.C.) and his religious policy as a new Numa are discussed by H. Dörrie (245-262), while A. Manzmänn (565-594) seeks to interpret Antiochus' I policies abroad and at home in the light of modern sociological theories on power. (565-594). "Priesthoods of Eastern Dynastic Aristocracy" by R.D. Sullivan (914-939) considers the importance of religious functions for the royal houses of Commagene, Cappadocia, Pontus, and Emesa as well as their "international network of marriage ties and alliances", which eventually led many of the eastern dynasts into the Roman Senate and Elagabal to the Imperial throne.

The wider ambient of Commagene is illumined by H.J.W. Driver's useful analysis (263-284) of the complex pantheon of Edessa, where originally the Mesopotamian Bel, Nebo, and Atargatis had pride of place. Edessa took early to Christianity. The Christianization of Diocletian's entire province of Euphratesia (Commagene plus Cirsistice) receives important contributions from H. Hellenkemper's survey of churches and monasteries (389-414) and from H. Candemir's and J. Wagner's well-illustrated publication of Christian mosaics (192-231).

General problems concerning Christianity are treated in J. Fink's "Concepts and Customs at the Graves of Greeks, Romans and Early Christians", (295-323), and in J. Lähmann's attempt (516-540) to reconstruct the historical and theological context of the letters to the Seven Churches of Asia in St. John's *Revelation*. Another great problem, that of theodicy, is treated by M.B. von Strizky with reference to St. Basil's homily on the subject (868-881).

Architecture and art is perhaps more emphatic than religion in K. Stähler's attempt to show that an apsidal

structure under the altar of Pergamon was a heroon; hence the altar and its great architectural setting should be interpreted as a heroon for Telephus, the founding hero of Pergamon (838-867). Hellenistic outlying fortifications around Ephesus are described by W. Jobst (447-456).

V.M. Strocka (882-914) publishes garland sarcophagi from Bubon, Tralles, and Hierapolis which he dates to the third and first century B.C. He argues strongly that the use of sarcophagi in Asia Minor was, indeed, continuous from the fourth century B.C. to the second century A.D. T. Pekary (727-744) devotes several stimulating notes to statues mentioned in inscriptions of the Roman period in Asia Minor (excepting those of emperors). A fundamental, comprehensive collection remains an urgent need. I. Pekary (712-727) presents an expert nautical commentary on a Roman relief with representation of a ship found by F.K. Dörner at Claudopolis, possibly copied from a Hadrianic coin.

Several of the articles reviewed above would qualify also as historical geography; another useful study is J. Biller's and E. Olshausen's notes on the historic geography of Pontos (163-177), fruits of field work preparatory to a map of the empire of Mithradates for the Tübingen Atlas of the Near East.

An example of socio-linguistic approach to cultural problems is found in O. Hiltrunner's study on *hostis* (enemy) and *xenos* (guest), their common origin and their semantic-cultural developments in Greek and Roman cultures. The strange world of the Alexander Roman leads beyond antiquity but R. Merkelbach returns to the theme of religion by treating two episodes as illustrating the archetypal principle that ritual preceded myth.

The inspiration received from F.K. Dörner by his pupils and associates shines from every page and reflects in the brief biographical sketch contributed by the editors. There are four good Indices but, alas, no bibliography of the celebree.

Harvard University,
January 1980

GEORGE M. A. HANFMANN

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Maurits N. van LOON, *Korucutepe. Final Report on the Excavations of the Universities of Chicago, California (Los Angeles) and Amsterdam in the Keban Reservoir, Eastern Anatolia 1968-1970. Volume 2.* Amsterdam-New York-Oxford, North Holland Publishing Company, 1978 (30 cm., viii + 121 pp., 142 pls.) = *Studies in Ancient Civilization*. Price: Dfl. 195.00. ISBN 0 7204 0531 9.

The second installment of the final Korucutepe reports deals exclusively with archaeological remains, following volume I which was devoted to archaeozoology and archaeobotany (cf. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 33, 1976, pp. 210-213, review by J. Lepiksaar).

We plunge into the archaeological record after a brief introduction concerning the site, a medium-sized mound (ca. 190 m. in diameter and 16 m. in height) in the

Altınova, the rich plain along the Murat, an eastern tributary of the upper Euphrates, now submerged under the lake which is the reservoir for the Keban dam, a major provider of electricity for modern Turkey. Korucutepe was one of a series of mounds investigated in the Altınova under the pressure of deadlines; major excavations also took place at Tepecik (by Ufuk Esin and a team from the University of Istanbul) and at Norşuntepe (by Harald Hauptmann for the German Archaeological Institute). Korucutepe is the first site to be presented in installments of the final reports, but the expedition recorded in this volume (a joint undertaking of the Universities of Chicago, California at Los Angeles, and Amsterdam under the direction of Maurits N. van Loon) worked for only three seasons (1968-1970), whereas the expeditions at Tepecik and Norşuntepe continued until 1974. Further probings were undertaken at Korucutepe by Dr. Hayri Ertem of the University of Ankara in 1973-1975 until the waters threatened to engulf the intrepid excavator.

The site of Korucutepe had been damaged before excavations started. The upper levels had been partly bulldozed by road builders. Yet, the remaining parts of the mound contained a solid accumulation of habitation strata from a relatively early Chalcolithic date until Seljuk times, with interruptions and vicissitudes.

No outline of the publication plan is given, which leaves the reader somewhat puzzled. The present volume starts with Part III, Architecture and Stratigraphy of the mound, in which M.N. van Loon describes the series of excavated strata (140 total) and their grouping, on ceramic grounds, into phases A-B, Chalcolithic (ca. 4500-3000 B.C.), through C-F, Early Bronze I-IIIB (ca. 3000-2000 B.C.), G-H, Middle Bronze I-II (ca. 2000-1600 B.C.), I-J, Late Bronze I-II (ca. 1600-1200), K, early Iron Age (ca. 1200-800 B.C.) to I, Seljuk and Mongol Middle Ages (ca. 1200-1400 A.C.). In Part III we also find a separate discussion of the Middle Bronze fortification wall by Carol M. Bier. The finds of the Chalcolithic period are dealt with in Part IV by Roelof W. Brandt, those of the Early Bronze Age in part V by Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati and M.N. van Loon. This is as far as we go at present; the next volume will evidently continue with the finds of the second and first millennia.

In part III, we note the relatively late beginning of the site (not in the early village stages of N. Syria, Cilicia and N. Mesopotamia). It has strong affinities to Amuq F, Cilicia and Tepe Gawra in Late Chalcolithic. These affinities are also evident in the sites along the lower Turkish Euphrates soon to be submerged by the Karakaya and Karababa dam projects. We have no clear record of what happens at the end of this international period. The third millennium sees the development of typical East Anatolian Early Bronze Age sites of 'Transcaucasian' affinities. In the early second millennium B.C., ties with central Anatolia and the developing Hittite powers are in evidence.

The raw data for a prehistoric and historical interpretation of the vicissitudes of the Altınova region are carefully presented. Parts IV-V fill in much of the technical detail. Korucutepe has some special information to contribute to the story of burial customs in the late Chalcolithic period (pp. 10-11, 61-62). Cists built of mudbrick contain single or double inhumations, accompanied by rather

prosperous tomb gifts such as silver jewelry and a stamp seal. Cemeteries of this period will yield a good deal of economic as well as cultural information.

The Early Bronze Age architecture, conscientiously analyzed, remains rather fragmentary due to the limited size of the exposure. Yet the special features of the houses, the elaborate hearths and andirons, are well represented at Korucutepe, and best preserved through the conflagration in phase D. The gap in the F-range is typical of disturbances which mean hostilities and power-struggles, with a concentration of activities at Norşuntepe rather than other sites in the later third millennium B.C. (p. 23).

The pottery of the Early Bronze Age was analyzed intensively according to guidelines established by Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati (pp. 67ff.). Perhaps it is ungrateful to comment that a clearer explanation of principles, procedures and results would have been welcome. If we modernize pottery analysis (and there is reason to revise methods; at many sites new systems are being tried out) we have to be clear about the why and how, or mystification results. Under 'Early Bronze ware types' (pp. 67-70) we have a discussion of techniques and the color of burnished wares, but no typology; under 'Early Bronze pottery shapes' (pp. 70-72) details rather than characteristics of general shapes and profiles are discussed. The problem is partly one of dealing with sherds rather than complete pots, but charts will not replace verbal justifications.

The non-local pottery (pp. 68, 71) deserves attention. So-called Akkadian ware and wheelmade Amuq I-J goblets and jars through their association with local wares give a clue to contacts and chronology. Such imports deserve detailed publication in view of the debate concerning correlations (cf. Hartmut Kühne, *Die Keramik vom Tell Chuëra*, Berlin 1976).

The non-ceramic material from the Early Bronze Age levels is modest, perhaps because we lack hoards or tomb groups. The obsidian arrowheads which linger in this period do not seem to appear in the catalogues; will a special section deal with chipped stone artefacts (including Canaanite blades)?

The second millennium development of Korucutepe has as its clearest manifestation of change the fortification wall assigned to phase H. A foundation trench 11 m. wide and 1 m. deep was dug to receive the outer and inner stone socles and the clay filling of the heavy rampart built in accordance with a system also known in central Anatolia. The excavation consisted of judiciously plotted trial trenches which revealed the basic layout of the wall and its towers. The general reconstruction of the plan (pl. 39) is clear; the individual plans and sections of the trial cuts leave room for some doubt as to the exact forms of the towers and the alleged absence of *Kastenmauer* construction. One appreciates the difficulties of establishing the details of a vast and denuded structure such as this citadel wall. Yet the published drawings of the sections are not as informative as one would wish (e.g. pl. 42 with the section of a passage in S 24). What existed within the enclosure system of the fortifications is not known (p. 28) but they must have been built to protect residents and property against military threats.

It is good to have this installment of the final reports in a hardbound volume. The preliminary reports, published in JNES 32-33 (1973-1974) and in the Keban Project

volumes, have now been revised and pulled together. Criticisms of details will be made, but the principal gain is to have the permanent record without delay, and this at the time when the principal author is engaged in new undertakings in Syria. The history of the Altınova will be put together with the aid of the excavation reports of the neighboring sites. Much is to be learned from the region, and Korucutepe is contributing its share. The Hittite history of the site will be discussed in the next volume, along with the royal bullae of Ishuwa one of which decorates the cover of the Korucutepe volume.

Bryn Mawr College,
September 1980

MACHTELD J. MELLINK

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David FRANKEL, *Archaeologists at Work. Studies on Halaf Pottery*, London, British Museum Publications, 1979 (24 cm., 30 pp.). ISBN 0 7141 1101 5.

This is a nicely organized, well-written, and well-illustrated booklet with attractive color photos on front and back covers. Frankel provides a handy summary of work on Halafian ceramics, and also outlines successive attempts to understand the origins and dynamics of the ancient society that produced this characteristic ware. He begins with a history of archaeological work at Halafian sites, then turns to an account of the various analyses archaeologists and others have applied to Halafian pottery. A particularly nice touch here is the inclusion not only of one of Mallowan's original field photos from Arpachiyah (p. 5), but also of one of the pottery description forms devised by Robert J. Braidwood for his study of Amuq pottery (fig. 10), and the sketch of a kiln at Yunus from Leonard Woolley's original fieldnotes (fig. 11).

Frankel's presentation of the various studies is amazingly evenhanded; that is, he has not set out to evaluate the methods and results of these investigations. No particular approach is singled out as more productive than another, nor are specific conclusions presented as more valid or correct than others. To a specialist or fellow-professional this is rather disconcerting, but such a presentation is justifiable (perhaps even necessary) for a museum guide-book presumably aimed at an interested but not technically trained audience. Frankel manages to maintain this balanced approach exceedingly well considering that he covers the gamut from Max von Oppenheim's free-wheeling excavations at Tell Halaf some 70 years ago to the very recent neutron-activation analyses by T.E. Davidson and H. McKerrell of Halafian pottery from a number of sites in northern Syria.

I noticed one typographical error (p. 19, line 5 from the bottom should refer to figure 12 not figure 20), and Frankel makes a somewhat misleading statement about the results of one of the studies: On p. 23 he says that Steven LeBlanc and I concluded from a tabulation of design motifs at seven Halafian sites "the closer sites are to one another, the more similar their decorative output". Rather, what we said was that similarity in motif-use seemed to vary with the *nature* of communication routes between sites. Sites that are distant from each other but

separated only by easily travelled terrain display design repertoires more similar to each other than to those at sites closer to them in straight-line distance but separated from them by difficult terrain such as mountains and rivers.

However, the booklet as a whole is authoritative and well-designed. It is a useful and attractive addition to the library of anyone interested in Near Eastern prehistory specifically, or in ceramic analysis in general.

St. Louis, April 1980

PATTY JO WATSON

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Dominique COLLON, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh*. Kevelaer, Verlag Butzon & Bercker, Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchner Verlag, 1975 (4to, xxii + 217 pp., 75 pls., 1 Frontispiece) = AOAT, Band 27. DM 130.-. ISBN 3 7887 0469 1.

The book by Dominique Collon here reviewed may serve as a model for the presentation to readers of a large number of seal impressions, a task which places exceptional demands upon the scholar preparing such material for publication. Ancient seal impressions are rarely complete and therefore are often quite unintelligible. The reason for this is that, in antiquity, sealing with an engraved cylindrical seal stone was a routine action, rarely performed with sufficient care to produce the imprint of a complete revolution of the cylinder. Cylinders were usually only partly rolled on the clay envelopes of tablets, on tablets themselves or on the lumps of clay which served for jar sealings. Generally, some attention was accorded the panel of the inscription if one was engraved on the cylinder, whereas the beginning of a scene was rarely sought by the scribe of a tablet, who can be expected to have rolled all the seals of the contracting parties as well as his own. With his hand held flat, the scribe probably placed his fingertips on the seal and rolled it out to the heel of his hand. Such a procedure would account for the uneven depth which can often be observed in seal impressions. Impressions which are so shallow as to make it difficult to recognize the design may have been rolled when the clay of the tablet was too dry to take a good impression. It is surprising that in spite of all this variability some impressions have survived the millennia with remarkable freshness and precision. In general, the designs of impressions on tablets and jar sealings found at a site are more numerous and more interesting stylistically and iconographically than the cylinder seals discovered in the habitation levels of the same site. The obvious reason is that the impressions were often made with the fine seals of dignitaries, sometimes even with seals of persons located at another, more important sites (see Dominique Collon's suggestions to this effect for the sealings of kings and dignitaries of Alalakh on p. 139).

In drawing an ancient seal impression the modern draftsman ideally records the forms created by the ancient seal engraver. This requires not only a talent for copying precisely what is still visible in the impression but also a knowledge of the forms possible within the general

style to which the original seals belonged. Only a person closely acquainted with the style and subject matter of a region and period can produce valid drawings of ancient seal impressions. These have to be drawn considerably enlarged so as to minimize the errors which even the most conscientious draftsman is bound to make, especially in view of the minute size of the most delicately engraved cylinders and their equally minute impressions.

Unfortunately, the process of reproduction of the drawings employed in the present book has often made the lines run together, depriving the drawings of their original clarity. Nevertheless, the character of each impression is fully conveyed and many are also reproduced by good photographs.

The tablets derive from archives found in two different levels of Sir Leonard Woolley's excavation published in *Alalakh*. (Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, No. XVIII), Oxford, 1955. Level IV yielded tablets from the palace and fortress of Alalakh, both destroyed in the fifteenth century B.C. by a fire in which the tablets were baked and thereby well preserved. In Level VII tablets were found in the so-called palace of Iarim Lim which was also destroyed by fire. The approximate dates of that level were given by Dominique Collon as from about 1720 B.C. to not later than 1650 B.C. (p. 143). At that time Alalakh was ruled by governors of Iamhad, a kingdom centered at Aleppo.

In conformity with scribal practices of the period, all but three of the tablets from the earlier archive were enclosed in envelopes on which the cylinders of the parties involved in a case and their witnesses were rolled. If the name of a person who had sealed was not included in his seal design, it was written beside or even partly over the sealing. These seal owners' names contribute criteria for dating the sealings and also provides important historical information concerning people active in Level VII.

The first part of the book is a catalogue in which the text of every entry is accompanied by a drawing of seal design reproduced at the scale of 2:1. All the information concerning original and present location, description of the design and comments on important features is given here in a concise but readable form. Two sealings of Levels XI and VIII, nos. 1 and 2, precede those of Level VII. In the arrangement of the sealings from Level VII the royal seals, seals of high officials, and stylistically related seals are placed before seals in which an outstanding iconographic or stylistic feature provides a criterion for forming a group. The same principle of arrangement was employed for the sealings of Level IV.

A survey of the development of Syrian glyptic art, which the discovery of the sealings of Alalakh has put on a sound basis begins Part II (pp. 139ff.) Before the style of Alalakh emerged, an Old Syrian style prevailed there, one which is contemporary with that of Level II of the Karum at Kültepe, a style for which the Old Syrian sealings of Old Assyrian tablets from Kültepe provide a date of about 1920 to 1840 B.C. Nimet Özgüc uses the term Colonial Syrian for the manifestations of this style at Kültepe.

Perhaps sealing No. 153 (p. 83) from Alalakh was made with an original cylinder belonging to that style. Dominique Collon noted the close connection of her sealing with "Cappadocian" designs, but the example from Alalakh is

more Syrian and may have been a product of that early Old Syrian style of which few, if any, examples are so far known from Syria itself.

The next style, which I call classic Syrian, comprises the largest number of Syrian cylinders, a style which lasted for more than a hundred years until the second half of the eighteenth century B.C. These cylinders are characterized by a restrained, simple rendering; close relation exists with Old Babylonian cylinders with those of the level of Kültepe Karum Ib¹). Some cylinders of Classic Syrian style were used on tablets from Mari by courtiers of king Zimrilim, a fact which implies a date of about 1770 to about 1760 B.C.²)

The sealings of Alalakh have provided dates for the phase of the Syrian style which I call Baroque; Nos. 1-12 belong to that phase. To this Dominique Collon has now added a group in which "the forms lose their detailed modeling and the relief becomes flatter with more linear details". (p. 140). The date of this development seems to fall into the first part of the seventeenth century B.C.

In addition to their importance for questions of date in Syrian glyptic art, the sealings discussed by Dominique Collon reflect international contacts by showing Egyptian, Babylonian and Aegean influences. As suggested by an object from excavations of royal tombs at Ebla, the Thirteenth Egyptian Dynasty may have had greater influence in Syria than was hitherto realized³). Babylonian connections with Syria through Mari may be taken for granted. Aegean connections, however, shown, for example, in No. 111 remain a problem. I have tried to associate scenes with bull leapers with Cyprus⁴), Dominique Collon prefers a Syrian origin for the group (p. 141). Future excavations may decide the question.

Study of the sealings of the rulers of Iamhad on tablets from Alalakh yielded new information on the history of Syria. The sequence of the kings was revised, and, in some cases, errors concerning them were corrected, as for example the mistaken assertion that Abban, son of Hammurapi of Iamhad, had been a high official of the Hittite king (see p. 146). A chart showing the family tree of the kings of Iamhad, the governors of Alalakh, and the merchants of Alalakh in Level VII of that town is most useful for an understanding of the complicated historical situation during the time of that Level.

Reproduction of the drawings of sealings in groups according to their occurrence on tablets, dated, undated, or fragmentary, pp. 154ff. helps the reader to form an

¹) The sealings of Old Babylonian style on tablets from Level Ib at Kültepe correspond largely to those seen on Babylonian tablets of the time of kings Hammurabi (1792-1750 B.C.) and Samsuiluna (1749-1712 B.C.) See, Nimet Özgüc, *Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib from Karum Kanish* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından, V. Seri, No. 25) Ankara, 1968, p. 59.

²) For the dates of Zimrilim of Mari see Maurice Birot, "Données nouvelles sur la chronologie du règne de Zimrilim", *Syria* LV (1978), pp. 333-343.

³) The recent finds at Ebla were reported at the XXVI^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Copenhagen on July 5th, 1979 by Gabriella Scandone Matthiae and Paulo Matthiae.

⁴) Edith Porada, "On the Complexity of Style and Iconography in some Groups of Cylinder Seals from Cyprus", *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean"*, Nicosia, 1973, pp. 268-271.

idea of the stylistic development and the diversity of the seal designs.

Important for future classification of Syrian seals is the reproduction of the seal shapes, especially of octagonal seals, which had so far been difficult to date (Nos. 156, 163).

The impressions of Level IV are treated in Part III of the book (pp. 165ff.) The stylistic variety seen in this Level, owing in part to the presence of both earlier cylinders and imports, is interestingly explained by the author as partly the result of a desire to mark dynastic, or at least family continuity. Again the presence of royal sealings provides significant stylistic and historical information.

There is a commentary on the iconography of Level VII and IV at Alalakh, which is introduced by a brief but important essay, "The Seal Cutter at Alalakh and the Transmission of Motifs" in Part IV (pp. 177ff.) From the texts it could be learnt that in Level IV the seal cutter belonged to a social class "consisting of high-ranking private citizens, often employed by the Palace" (p. 177).

The iconography as such is largely presented pictorially. Representations of principal figures such as the Syrian goddess (Pl. XVI), the Babylonian goddess (Pl. XVII), the warrior goddess (Pl. XIX), and the nude goddess (Pl. XIX), are taken out of the context of their seal designs and assembled in groups on a plate. This collocation permits the reader to discern at a glance the variations in the representation of a specific iconographic figure, or details such as Egyptianizing motifs (Pl. XXVIII) or decorative floral motifs and textile patterns (Pl. XLIX).

Throughout the reader is given all possible help to find the material easily and quickly. The excellent organization and lucid presentation of the material should not make the reader forget the great amount of care and labor which went into making this book one of the most essential works for knowledge of Syrian art and archaeology.

New York, October 1979

EDITH PORADA

The following is a list of corrigenda which was furnished by the author Dominique Collon, with the request to append it to the present review.

p. 13 n. 1 — the reference should be to p. 12 n. 2.

p. 40 sealing 63 — the British Museum envelope fragment was found in the Level VII palace, Room 2.

p. 63 n. 3 — the reference at the end of the footnote (continued from the opposite page) should be to p. 57 n. 2.

Seal impressions 171 to 186 have been printed as if the seal were held horizontally with its top towards the left. This makes the inscription easier to read but is not in accordance with the system adhered to in the rest of the catalogue.

p. 116, No. 211 — in the reference to AT 344 please read: "—see sealing 204, p. 111 note 3)".

p. 135 — Fig. 1, a simplified rendering of the spirals on sealing 235, has unfortunately been omitted.

p. 146 no. 1 — the reference should be to sealing 117 n. 2.

p. 150, 3rd paragraph, line 3 and 4 should read "... in AT 411 we have a record of the daughter of a governor of Alalakh: Summunabi and this bride may have been one and the same person..."

p. 151 — the first sentence of the penultimate paragraph

should read: "We have already discussed the possibility that Ammitakumma had a daughter called Bia whose dowry was recorded (see p. 150)".

p. 161 — with sealing 20 should be listed sealing 141 and with sealing 176 should be listed sealing 180.

p. 201 — the reference for *Ni-ig-* (father of Am-mu-*(sa-ma)*) should be to sealing 23 n. 2.

p. 210 — 8456: the excavation number for Antakya should be ATT/37/308.

p. 211 — 9107: after Room 21 should be added "(?sic)".

p. 213 — 7322 and 7960-1 are also from Room 11.

Plate II — Room 2, sealing 63 is an envelope fragment, not a jar stopper.

Plate IV — the contents of the following rooms should be revised: Room 10: 11 (?), 189, 192, 216, 218 (x2), 220 (?), 228, 232 (x2), 233.

Plate LXIV — the half-tones are printed upside down so that the numbers, which are correctly printed, do not relate to them.

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Kathleen M. KENYON, *The Bible and Recent Archaeology*. London, British Museum Publications, Limited, 1978 (24 cm., 106 S., 104 Plates), A Colonnade Book. ISBN 0 7141 1098 1 cased. £ 5.50. Paper. ISBN 1099 X. £ 3.25.

Dame Kathleen Mary Kenyon verstarb August 1978 im Alter von 72 Jahren, noch bevor dieses Buch erschienen war. Sie war zweifellos eine bedeutende Archäologin und einer der besten Ausgräber, die im Heiligen Lande tätig waren, vor allem aber hat sie die Archäologie im Blick auf die Methodik ein beträchtliches Stück weitergebracht. Sie war nach Hershel Shanks, dem Herausgeber der populärwissenschaftlichen und etwas sensationshungrigen, aber dennoch durchaus wertvollen Zeitschrift *Biblical Archaeology Review* (Vol IV no. 4, S. 51), „generally recognized as the world's greatest field archaeologist...". Die gleiche Zeitschrift bezeugt aber auch, daß Dame Kenyons Werk nicht unumstritten blieb. Sie hatte für die Arbeit etlicher israelischer Archäologen nicht viel Anerkennung übrig und focht nicht selten deren Ergebnisse an. Andererseits wurde Miss Kenyon selbst ebenfalls von einigen israelischen Kollegen angegriffen. Man konnte sich des Eindrucks nicht verwehren, daß dabei auf beiden Seiten auch außer-wissenschaftliche Faktoren eine Rolle spielten, z.B. sicher ein — vielleicht nicht ganz unverständlicher — Chauvinismus auf israelischer Seite und ein gewisser Antizionismus bei Miss Kenyon (vgl. in der obengenannten Zeitschrift Vol I no. 3: 1,3ff, 18ff, 21ff, Vol II no. 1: 12ff, Vol IV no. 4: 45,51f).

Fachlich mußte man Kenyon m.E. in den meisten Fällen recht geben.

Auffallend in ihrem letzten, hier zu besprechenden Buch ist, daß sie die Ergebnisse der jüngsten Ausgrabungen in Jerusalem nicht erwähnt. Da in letzter Zeit der Zeitraum zwischen dem Verfassen eines Buches und dessen Erscheinen oftmals sehr groß ist, ist es natürlich denkbar, daß ihr damals diese Ergebnisse noch überhaupt nicht vorlagen; mit größerer Wahrscheinlichkeit aber ist der Grund darin zu sehen, daß die Grundlage dieses Buches

„is the text of the four Haskell lectures, which I gave at Oberlin University, Ohio in 1976" (S. 6).

Übrigens — auch die Abschlußberichte über Kenyons eigene Grabungen in Jericho und Jerusalem sind noch nicht publiziert.

Ihr letztes Buch wendet sich an „a general readership“, nicht an den archäologischen Fachmann (S. 6). Es ist in gewisser Hinsicht als Fortsetzung des von Miss Kenyons Vater verfassten Buches *The Bible and Archaeology* gedacht, das im Jahre 1940 erschienen war. Die Verfasserin weist jedoch selbst auf die großen Unterschiede zwischen beiden Büchern hin: Die Archäologie hat seit 1940 enorme Fortschritte gemacht; dazu kommt hinzu, daß „I am an archaeologist, an excavator, whereas my father was a classical scholar and an authority on the criticism of the New Testament“.

Eine Sachverständige auf dem Gebiet der Bibelwissenschaften war Miss Kenyon freilich nicht. Dies gibt auch dieses Buch wieder zu erkennen. Sie ist sich darüber allerdings selbst durchaus im klaren, und so folgt sie auch in den Auszugs- und Landnahmefragen hauptsächlich de Vaux, *Histoire Ancienne d'Israël* 1931 (vgl. S. 31).

In dem vorliegenden Buch behandelt sie in erster Linie Ausgrabungen, über die sie bereits früher geschrieben hatte, wie die von Hazor, Samaria, Gezer, Megiddo- und natürlich ihre eigenen Grabungen Jericho und Jerusalem; vgl. ihre Bücher *Digging up Jericho*, *Jerusalem*, *Digging up Jerusalem* und *Royal Cities of the Old Testament*. Wer diese Bücher kennt, wird in dem vorliegenden Band nicht viel Neues finden; er ist gedrängter und populärwissenschaftlicher geschrieben. Miss Kenyon hält darin an nahezu allen in den obengenannten Büchern vertretenen Ansichten fest, wie z.B. hinsichtlich des sog. „straight joint“ in der Südostmauer des Haram und in Zusammenhang damit an ihrer Theorie über den Umfang der salomonischen Tempelplattform; was den Siloah-Teich betrifft, so vertritt sie weiterhin ihre These, daß dieser ursprünglich gar kein Teich gewesen sei, sondern „an underground, rock-cut cistern, accessible by a shaft or a staircase from within the city...“, und auch hinsichtlich der Ausdehnung Jerusalems auf den Westhügel hält sie an ihrer früher geäußerten Auffassung fest (dies in Zusammenhang mit Avigads Ausgrabungen im jüdischen Viertel der Altstadt).

Über den „straight joint“ wurden nach Kenyon auch verschiedene andere von der ihren sehr abweichende Theorien vertreten, bsw. von Laperrousaz und Tsafir, aber diese konnten sie offensichtlich nicht überzeugen. Was die Ausdehnung der Stadt auf den Westhügel betrifft, so stimmt ihre Ansicht hierüber im wesentlichen mit der in „Digging up Jerusalem“ dargelegten überein, der Plan aus „Digging up...“ (dort S. 146) ist auch in ihrem letzten Buch wieder unverändert abgedruckt (S. 79), obwohl inzwischen 65 m der „Avigad-Mauer“ freigelegt sind und diese ganz offensichtlich in einer anderen Richtung verläuft als man anfangs vermutet hatte.

Aber es hat nicht allzu viel Sinn, hier noch weiter auf Kenyons wohlbekannte und viel diskutierte Thesen einzugehen.

Dagegen ist es von einiger Bedeutung, zu erwähnen, was Kenyon in dem vorliegenden Buch über die bekannte Diskrepanz, die zwischen der Erzählung von der Einnahme Jerichos im Buche Josua und den Grabungsergebnissen von Tell es-Sultan besteht, schreibt. Eine äthiologische

Auslegung dieses alttestamentlichen Textes hält sie für unmöglich und versucht dies auch zu beweisen; aber ebensowenig haltbar ist ihr zufolge die Ansicht de Vaux', daß nämlich die Überreste eines Jericho des 13. Jhds durch Erosion weggespült seien. Die Hypothese, nach der die Mauern aus der Zeit Josuas völlig verschwunden seien, weil Herodes und die Byzantiner den Ruinenhügel des alttestamentlichen Jericho vollkommen abgetragen hätten, als sie die neue, d.h. die herodianische bzw. byzantinische Stadt errichteten, um auf diese Weise Baumaterial zu bekommen, bespricht Kenyon nicht; aber sie hätte wohl auch schwerlich Gnade vor ihren Augen gefunden. Und dies vermutlich auch durchaus zu Recht, obschon es im Heiligen Lande des öfteren begegnet, daß Überreste früherer Bauwerke beim Errichten neuer Gebäude wiederverwandt wurden. Dies ist aus herodianischer Zeit bekannt, und — noch ein weiteres Beispiel zu nennen — auch in der Kreuzfahrerburg Belvoir findet man in einer der Mauern einen Stein mit hebräischer Inschrift eingearbeitet, der mit Sicherheit aus (der Ruine) einer Synagoge stammt.

Aber wie gesagt, vermutlich kann das „Jerichoproblem“ auf diese Weise nicht gelöst werden. Dame Kenyon hält es für möglich, daß die Eroberung von Jericho einer Gruppe zuzuschreiben ist, die früher als die (ihr zufolge mindestens) zwei Gruppen, die zu Beginn des 13. Jhds nach Palästina eingewandert sind, in das Land eindrang (S. 42f).

In ihrem letzten Buch entsteht ferner der Eindruck, als ob Kenyon noch nicht völlig davon überzeugt sei, daß Mazars Ausgrabungen wirklich bewiesen haben, daß „Robinson's arch“ nicht doch Teil einer richtigen Brücke war, die über das Stadttal hinwegführte (S. 88).

In Hinsicht auf das Heiligtum von Arad scheint sie ihre Auffassung, die sie in *Archaeology in the Holy Land*, 3. Aufl., S. 348f vertreten hatte, etwas geändert zu haben. Damals bezweifelte sie, daß das von Aharoni ausgegrabene Heiligtum ein Jahwetempel gewesen, und dieser während der josianischen Reform zerstört worden sei, wie der Ausgräber annahm. Inzwischen scheint sie in beiden Punkten ihre Zweifel überwunden zu haben (S. 76), im ersten Falle m.E. zu Recht; allerdings halte ich es für absolut unbeweisbar, daß dieser Jahwetempel während der Reform Josias zerstört wurde.

In diesem Zusammenhang möchte ich auf einen weiteren Punkt aufmerksam machen: Wie wissenschaftlich exakt Miss Kenyon auch zu arbeiten pflegte, wie behutsam sie auch vorging beim Ziehen von Verbindungen zwischen Aussagen biblischer Texte und den Grabungsergebnissen der Archäologie, dennoch frage ich mich, ob sie nicht gerade an diesem Punkte doch etwas zu weit ging (s.bsw. S. 78).

Zusammenfassend bleibt zu sagen: Wer eine zuverlässige, gut lesbare Beschreibung einiger wirklich bedeutender neuer Ausgrabungen im Heiligen Lande sucht, eine Beschreibung, die sich an den „general reader“ wendet, kann ohne Vorbehalt an dieses Buch verwiesen werden.

Kampen, juli 1979

H. H. GROSHEIDE

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Gaalyah CORNFELD, *Archaeology of the Bible: Book by Book*. An up-to-date Archaeological Commentary on the Bible. London, A. & C. Black, 1976 (25 cm., VIII + 334 pp., IX pls.). Price: £ 7.50. ISBN 0 7136 1749 7.

The Bible is the book of the people of Israel. In the Bible this people confesses its faith by telling about God's mighty works in history. Information on the historical background of the written sources is scarce, especially concerning ancient periods as those that form the historical setting of the stories of the patriarchs. During the last few decades more and more knowledge has been acquired through the developing results of archaeological research in the land of the Bible.

For his commentary Cornfeld uses both the historical and the archaeological data, to illuminate the historical setting, the cultural background and the events with which the biblical text is concerned. He emphasizes that by taking those results into consideration one can only increase the respect for the received text as it is presently known.

Dealing with the old testamentic books he neither follows the massoretic order nor that of the septuagint version, which constituted the basis for christian translations, but he takes the books in order of the historical events described in each of them. So we find Chronicles directly after Kings, Amos and Hosea before Isaia and Jeremia, both Ruth with other Ketubim comes after the minor prophets and the book of Daniël closes the series.

The gap between the old and new testament is bridged by a chapter with information about the Hasmoneans as well as about the Herodian period. There we also find some remarks about the Dead Sea Sect and its famous scriptures.

The new testament part deals extensively with the gospels and Acts, shortly with the Pauline and other letters in their historical order, and with Revelations.

Every book is introduced by means of a short summary of the contents, accompanied by historical and literary remarks. Then follows, if available, archaeological material that can be related directly with the situation described in that part, either by giving information about the historical background, or because of biblical and extra-biblical parallels that illuminate the cultural background: the Solomonic fortifications or the Lachish Letters are examples of the first method. The Babylonian stories as parallels of the beginning of Genesis, or the Midianite tent-sanctuary at Timna as an illustration of the desert stories and the building of the tabernacle represent the second method.

For several books, like some of the minor prophets or a number of the newtestamentical letters, for which no relevant archaeological material is available, only a short summary of the content and some historical notes are given.

On several occasions, where the text invites to it, various subjects are dealt with in detail. In Samuel: the invasion of the Sea Peoples, the evolution of the alphabet; in the Acts: first century A.D. Jewry and Jewish-Christianity.

The books offers a lot of information in the archaeological, historical as well as in the literary field, together with a big number of illustrations of archaeological finds

and areas. The often very small pictures are mostly printed in the margins of the pages, and not always very clearly: some are printed upside down or even in reverse, several times parts of the side have been omitted. The captions to the pictures are often rather limited.

The comprehensive approach of giving a broad review on the biblical books by using archaeological together with historical and literary information didn't reach a very well balanced result in this book. Time and again one reads judgements and opinions on literary or historical subjects without any further solid argumentation.

Sentences like 'no one would deny that' or 'intensive literary research proved' introduce views which are sometimes only supported by one or a few scholars. For the statement 'no one would deny that in their present form the narratives from Genesis to Samuel are the literary product of the monarchic period' (p. 18) Cornfeld adopted the viewpoint of Prof. B. Mazar, the only scholar whose name is mentioned in this context.

The rather detailed introductions to the gospels with discussions about their sources and editorial stages, or the theological remarks on the resurrection reach beyond the scope of this book.

Apart from a general index and an index of biblical references there is no further bibliography nor are there any notes, only a very few not always complete references in the text.

The idea and principles that underlie this book could, with some more care, accuracy and modesty, have led to more appropriate and effective work in better agreement with the writers intention.

Diemen, augustus 1980

HANNA BLOK

* *

Harriet E.W. CRAWFORD, *The Architecture of Iraq in the Third Millennium B.C.* København, Akademisk Forlag, 1977 (23 cm., VIII + 106 pp.) = Mesopotamia 5 (Copenhagen Studies in Assyriology). Price: D.Kr. 75.-. ISBN 87 500 1703 9.

In her preface, the author calls her book a 'catalogue of the architectural evidence from Mesopotamia', thus implying a modicum of completeness as well as a different geographical scope than the title indicates. Fortunately the book proves indeed to encompass Syria as well as Iraq, although the excavations at Habuba-Süd and Tell Qannas in the Lake Assad region east of Aleppo are not mentioned (see, e.g., MDOG 102 1970 59ff., 103 1971 37ff.; A. Finet, *Les temples sumériens du Tell Kannas, Syria* LII 1975 157-174, etc.).

The degree of completeness of this catalogue, however, is insufficient, especially if, as the preface states, 'students are to find the existing material tabulated in concise form instead of scattered...'. Indeed the tabulation is too concise, and based on a highly personal classification (p. 22), the principles of which are not elucidated; it thus makes the impression — on students — of being a universally accepted one. Group "A", Classic Tripartite Plans, should have been described as a development of earlier temples: imposing such strict chronological limits on the survey as

to exclude a general discussion of such developments seems unwarranted. Furthermore, mention should have been made of the writings of, e.g., Lenzen (*Iraq* 36 1974 111-128, *Stud. Or.* 46 1975 169-191, etc.). A general discussion of the term 'temple' would have been in place, for adhering to 'the names given by the excavators' (p. 22) while at the same time proposing a new classification of types does nothing to systematize, let alone to clarify architectural remains.

Many statements in the book are either insufficiently or not at all annotated: p. 6 end of topmost paragraph and end of third paragraph ("Some scholars..."), and note 19 on p. 17 should include a reference to F.R. Kraus, *Sumerer und Akkader* (Amsterdam 1970); on p. 21 mention is made of a seal impression from Susa, by which perhaps P. Amiet, *Glyptique Susienne* (Paris 1972) no. 673 is meant, but not noted. The book contains 12 plans on 6 figure pages, truly a meagre harvest for a catalogue. One hopes that the scope and form of this work will be changed for any future editions.

Amsterdam, April 1980

D.J.W. MEIJER

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Donald E. McCOWN, Richard C. HAINES and Robert D. BIGGS, assisted by Elizabeth F. CARTER, *Nippur II: The North Temple and Sounding E*. Excavations of The joint Expedition to Nippur of the American Schools of Oriental Research and the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 1978 (31 cm, XVI + 105 pp., 77 plates) = The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, Vol. 97.

The volume under review is the final report on part of the third and fourth post-war seasons of excavation at Nippur (1951-2, 1953-4). It was prepared by Professor Haines but had to be seen through the press by others after his death in 1977. With this second volume¹⁾ on the modern excavations at the most important religious center of Early Mesopotamia, the authors contribute a long-awaited corpus of data for Sumerian archaeology (It is gratifying to see that more recent results are now promptly being published in the revived O.I.C. series — vols. 22 (1975) and 23 (1978) — by McGuire Gibson of the University of Chicago).

This second volume contains seven chapters, chapter I treating the structural remains of the North Temple, II the objects from that area, III the structural remains in Sounding E, IV the objects from the latter, V burials from both areas. Chapter VI contains a short synopsis and VII treats the Cuneiform Inscriptions. The book is carefully edited and well printed and thus maintains the high standards of the OIP series. It is important to realise that "North Temple" and "Sounding E" are designations not

¹⁾ Cf. D.E. McCown, R.C. Haines, assisted by D.P. Hansen: *Nippur I: Temple of Enlil, Scribal Quarter, and Soundings*. O.I.P. 78, Chicago 1967.

for different areas but for two superimposed horizons within the same area; the lower (NT) contained the Protoliterate complexes to Akkad remains, the upper (SE) those from the Ur III period onward.

In the NT levels (X-I) Early Dynastic through Akkad period architecture with plano-convex bricks was found to have been preceded by a number of floors and some wall fragments dated by an Uruk/Jemdet Nasr seal impression²⁾; the bricks here were rectangular. The book's title implies that the main building remains in the area constituted a temple, and two arguments seem to support this thesis: throughout the Early Dynastic period the building's ground plan and location underwent only slight modifications, and a cache of gypsum worshiper statues was found in association with it³⁾. The ground plan has a single cella; two anterooms soon make place for a walled courtyard, which in turn is later divided into several rooms and open spaces. At least 26 floors were distinguished, grouped into 10 levels. Professor Haines' presentation of the stratigraphy is concise, clear and easy to follow, with perhaps one or two minor exceptions: between levels VII₁ and VI₂ there is a debris layer of ca. 15 cm. thickness not clearly assigned to either (p. 9), and in this and other cases the section drawings on pl. 43 are hardly usable because of their minute scale. Also p. 24 (NT level I) might have contained a reference to p. 35, where erosion by wadi's is given as the cause of the scantiness of the remains.

Notable features are a well preserved coat of white paint throughout the cella in level V₃ (p. 14) and a ramp structure in level VI comparable to the one in the Nintu V temple in Khafaje (p. 10).

Regarding the SE levels (SE IX-I) it may be said that the earliest three (IX-VII) have not been "assigned to any cultural period" (p. 35), but seem to post-date NT I (cf. pp. 25 and 35); it is especially sad at Nippur not to have — as yet — a good archaeological sequence for the Akkad through Ur III periods, for in this "a-political", religious centre interesting light might be shed on this dark period in history. Even destruction by man is preferable to that by erosion.

Burials have only been found from the Neo-Babylonian through Parthian periods. They took the form of earth-, tub-, jar-, bowl-, and 'slipper coffin' inhumations. They are shown on the excavation plans but not on the section drawings. The lack of any indication as to their respective depths is rather a drawback.

The pottery has been arranged on the same principle as in vol. I (q.v. pls. 80-105 and table II). Its treatment (by McCown) is short, but well documented. A few types are added to the existing list (type 73 on p. 43, and types 74-76 on p. 45). For the cylinder seal 4 N 98 (p. 64) the information "similar to seal in vol. I pl. 113:8" is sup-

²⁾ Locus 132, which produced these remains, seems to have been "appended" to the section drawing on pl. 43 A, for nowhere on pls. 26 C, D or pl. 27 does section A-A seem to cut through this test pit 132.

³⁾ The stratigraphy of the cache is not unequivocally clear: p. 22 "... may have been discarded outside the temple at level III₁, or they may have been buried from level II..."; p. 32 "... doubtless buried..."; catalogue facing pls. 67-69 "III₁". For the statues, see also *Archaeology* V, 1952, p. 75.

plied but a photograph is lacking, which leaves one wondering about the degree of similarity.

We can be grateful to the authors — and to the editors — for this important and valuable book, and we are eagerly awaiting the final report on the Inanna Temple area. Through such publications together with the reports in the revived OIC series, Nippur will finally become a major source of information for modern archaeology.

A'dam, november 1979

D.J.W. MEIJER

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P.R.S. MOOREY, *Kish Excavations 1923-1933*. With a microfiche catalogue of the objects in Oxford excavated by the Oxford-Field Museum, Chicago Expedition to Kish in Iraq, 1923-1933. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1978 (25 cm., XXII + 213 pp.). £ 15.00. ISBN 0-19-813191-7.

Dr. Moorey is to be congratulated with an involved piece of work, resulting in an extremely important book: an integration of all the loose notes and object-cards with the published and partly badly edited final reports on the excavations of ancient Kish, that influential urban conglomerate in central Mesopotamia.

After a chapter on the history of the excavations the reader will find a systematic exposé of the individual areas: for each of the sites Uhaimir, 'Area P', Mound A and Ingharra as well as for the less important ones, a discussion of the architecture is followed by an extended catalogue raisonné of the main object-classes. It is here that the interest of many readers will focus, since description of the objects, cross references and remarks about their date are reliable, comprehensive and pointed. A case in point is the section about the inlay fragments from the palace in mound A (p. 59ff.), where a date somewhere in ED III for the palace is finally settled (cf. already McG. Gibson, *The City and Area of Kish* (Miami 1972) p. 79). Similarly one finds careful and convincing argumentation for the date of Cemetery A (pp. 61-75), completing Gibson's (op. cit. p. 79f.). An important section on the site of Jemdet Nasr and the other 'outlying' tells precedes the conclusion, a historical synopsis of the settlement.

The book has been well edited, and the functional policy of using typescript — clearly legible — and microfiches for the illustrations has resulted in an admirably low price. One minor printing error is important to note: on p. 75 in note 4 "p. 94" should read "p. 194".

Although it will forever be impossible to use the data from Kish as a dating criterium because of the lack of precise stratigraphy, Dr. Moorey's book makes them excellently suited as additional illustrations in matters of dating. Thanks to his work and that of McG. Gibson (op. cit.), one imagines that on the archaeology of Kish as such the last word has now been said.

Amsterdam, April 1980

D.J.W. MEIJER

* *

Ted A. RATHBURN, *A study of the physical characteristics of the ancient inhabitants of Kish, Iraq*. Coconut Grove, Field Research Projects, 1975 (28 cm., VIII + 412 pp.).

The author has devoted a thorough study to the skeletal material of the ancient city of Kish. A city which has, as the author states, been of much interest to Southwest Asian prehistory because of its extraordinary position as the important early city in the northern Mesopotamian valley. It stood as the dominant urban center in the northern area until the early second millennium B.C. when political power was taken by Babylon. The disparity of developments of the two regions concerned, i.e. of Akkadia and Sumeria, has been explained in terms of unequal maturation of irrigation systems and of differences in foreign contacts and migrations. The usual assumption has been of a dichotomy of two ethnic groups and types of social structure with the north being an area of less stability and more subject to nomadic movements and disruptions (p. 3).

The tells and area of Kish have been explored various times, and were recently re-explored by McGuire Gibson of the Oriental Institute of Chicago. In conjunction with this renewed interest the author was asked by Henry Field of Field Research Projects to analyse the skeletal remains presently housed at the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago. The goals of the study would include: documentation and descriptive analysis of each individual and the cultural period populations, metrical analysis of the entire site and the different cultural periods represented, analysis of discrete cranial traits, documentation of pathologies, and comparative statistical analyses of intra-site and inter-site variation of metal age populations in Southwest Asia.

The time range of the cultural periods represented in the skeletal material begins at approximately 2700 B.C. and extends to 600 B.C. Seven periods are successively distinguished: Early Dynasty I, Early Dynasty II, Early Dynasty III, Akkadian, Ur III, Old Babylonian (no skeletal remains present), and Sassanian.

Although the total number of individuals was 551, a number which at first sight seems very useful for a statistical analysis, the author was faced with substantial difficulties in this respect. One of the major problems was the lack of cultural period designation in the Field Museum: of no less than 397 of the 551 individuals present this designation was unknown. Besides, some of the periods were underrepresented. For example, E.D. I and Ur III were each represented by only 5 individuals, and the Sassanian period by just 1. Moreover, a large number of skeletons was incomplete. This in particular held for sub-adult individuals due to the relative friability of sub-adult bone. Since bones of this nature are often considered to be non-diagnostic, and, consequently, there were indications that some of these were discarded during excavation, there is all reason to believe that non-adults were also underrepresented. Clearly, this altogether severely limited the possibilities for analyzing the material.

The relevant statistical methodology for investigating skeletal remains are so-called multivariate statistical techniques, that is techniques that use the combined information that the individual scores on a number of selected

skeletal traits may provide. Since computers became available it has become customary with investigations of this nature to use mathematical multivariate statistical techniques which in principle provide more extensive and reliable information than do diagnostic techniques which rely on visual comparison alone. Very recently, however, the insight begins to gain ground that present-day mathematical techniques lack the level of sophistication that is necessary for more satisfactorily solving problems as the present ones. (One may, by the way, wonder how far this has contributed to the relative neglect of skeletal material in archaeology). This would mean that for obtaining a good insight in the population dynamics of the period and area under study, the application of customary mathematical techniques will hardly suffice. Newer techniques which are, and to a large extent have already been developed (but scarcely applied), seem indispensable here.

In this respect, we must say that Rathburn's monograph has been published just a few years too early. This in particular pertains to sections of his study which many will consider to be obsolete even for the mid-seventies.

For example, for calculating a measure for the relative similarities and divergencies among the populations represented at Kish and related areas, the author chose to use Penrose's distance statistic. Although he admits that this statistic is less sound than the well-known Mahalanobis statistic, he motivates this choice with findings that the correlations of results obtained with the Penrose statistic, on the one hand, and the Mahalanobis statistic, on the other, are high. Moreover, only the Penrose statistic might, as he says, utilize means and standard deviations of scores rather than demanding the raw data which were unavailable for comparative material.

Both remarks are not to the point. First, the fact that often high correlations are found does not necessarily imply that there is in general much correspondance between the results. Second, by applying a slight modification of the customary technique, it is also possible to calculate Mahalanobis distances by making use of the mean scores of the samples to be compared. The variances and covariances are then calculated with the aid of a reference series.

A further important notion is that, contrary to Penrose's distances, Mahalanobis distances may subsequently be made unbiased by applying certain corrections. In the event that sample sizes are small with respect to the number of variables used, these corrections may be considerable. Besides, the Penrose statistic does not allow an optimization of the nature and number of the variables which has in general severe consequences for its relative discriminatory power. Finally, we must mention that we disagree with the author's remark that multivariate analysis demands a full range of measurements for each individual. A number of techniques has been developed which can, to a large extent, cope with the problem of missing scores. The consequence of neglectance of these techniques is that the sizes of the samples used were smaller and the amount of the information obtained was less than would have been necessary.

Objections of a similar nature may a.o. be raised to the methodology employed for the sex and age determinations. Taking all these points together we may surmise that, although the author has collected interesting new

data, a re-examination of the material in the near future would very likely lead to much more conclusive results.

The main conclusions to be found in the present monograph are the following:

a. The pooled metric analyses suggest that the populations in Southwest Asia were relatively stable and homogeneous during the metal ages. The basic morphology of the Kish populations was similar to the general Mediterranean complex.

b. Demographically the Kish populations were relatively young in structure, thus displaying similarity to proto-agricultural groups with a high infant mortality.

c. Evidence of pathology appeared in 27 percent of the samples. The observed pathologies included: periodontoclasia, osteoarthritis, healed fractures, traumata such as mace wounds, carious lesions and alveolar abscessing, localized osteitis, cribra orbitalia and myocitis ossificans.

We quite agree with the author's last remark that "the time has come for synthesis and cooperation among anthropologists and other scientists in attempting to understand the dynamics of the earlier inhabitants of Southwest Asia".

We should like to add that, although the author has made an important contribution by the present extensive study, a switch-over to a more sophisticated methodology for investigation the skeletal material should be the first next step.

Groningen, January 1980

G. N. VAN VARK

* *

Rudolf NAUMANN, *Die Ruinen von Tacht-e Suleiman und Zendan-e Suleiman und Umgebung*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Iran, Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1977 (126 pages, 101 photographs, designs and plans, 4 folding plans and maps) = Führer zu archäologischen Plätzen in Iran, II. DM 35.00.

Reports on various detail aspects of the large German excavations on the Achaemenid, Sassanian and Mongol (Il-Khan) site of Takht-i Suleyman in Iranian Azerbaydjan appeared regularly since this great work started (1959), scattered in periodicals like *Archeol. Anzeiger*, *Teheraner Forschungen*, *Istanbuler Forschungen*, *Revue d'Archeologie et d'Art Iranien* and *Iran* (VII/VIII/IX). In the volume *In Memoriam Kurt Erdmann* (Istanbul, 1969) Naumann and his wife, both for many years engaged in the excavations on the Takht, published a first survey of the astonishingly rich tile decoration of a part of the Il-Khanide hunting lodge on the Takht, one of the summits of Iranian decorative arts. In the present work, lavishly illustrated, the results of 18 years of digging and study have been put together in one single volume. This work was published as a guidebook for those who actually wish to visit the place but will certainly be read more by armchair travellers. The "Throne of Solomon" and the "Prison of Solomon" three km. further on, are even under normal conditions very difficult to reach. The work contains, to the contrary of what one is entitled to expect

hardly any practical information the traveller needs in order to plan his trip (where to stay, time and money needed, petrol stations, addresses). In this respect the book of Sylvia Matheson, *Persia, An Archaeological Guide* (London, 1972) gives much more. Nevertheless, the work of Naumann is of considerable value because of its detailed description of the various buildings or their ruins. Written by one who has worked so long on the site it could hardly be avoided that the work took a form reminding one more of a popularised report of the excavations than an actual guidebook and it would be better to regard it as such.

After a few pages (and map) of how to find the site Naumann describes the geographic and geologic aspects of the place and gives a very succinct historical survey. The greater part of the book is made up by three sections in which the Zendan-i Suleiman is discussed, the Sassanian fire sanctuary on the Takht and the ruins of the Mongol palace on top of the latter. The Zendan (Zindān) is an isolated conical hill resembling an extinct volcano. In Achaemenid and Sassanian times it was filled with sulphurous water springing from a strong natural source. It was the site of the Zoroastrian cult of the sacred Fire and Water. Architecturally and historically of greater interest is the Takht-i Suleyman nearby, an oval flat topped hill surrounded by the ruins of a strongly fortified wall. Naumann calls it Sassanian and does this perhaps on better grounds than Matheson, Guide, who calls it Parthian, or Parthian in origin. The natural platform of the Takht is partly occupied by a "bottomless" lake and by the foundations of the large fire sanctuary known until the present. It was the Adhar Gushnasp, the "Fire of the Warriors" of the Sassanids and the central sanctuary of their religion to which the kings made the pilgrimage after having been enthroned in Ctesiphon and where they received the divine investiture. The Achaemenid and early Sassanian site was rebuilt in grand style by the greatest of the Sassanian kings, Khusraw I Anushirvan (531-579 A.D.). What remains of his work is described in detail by Naumann, as well as the foundation of the earlier constructions below Khusraw's structures and the minor finds, which include the remains of a substantial archive with many sealed and dated bullae among which some of the Grand Magi of the sanctuary. Naumann visualises his descriptions with many illustrations.

The Mongol hunting lodge of Khan Abaqa (1265-1282) built between 1272 and 1276 (dated by inscriptions on the tile decoration) also received detailed treatment. For the historians of Islamic art it is interesting to know that the bulk of the exquisite multi-coloured relief tiles and the cast gypsum reliefs were made at the spot, as Naumann's team found a large number of moulds, mis-firings and an almost complete ceramic oven.

It is remarkable that, whereas Naumann is very parsimonious in giving interpretations and suggestions about the Sassanian buildings he feels much freer to interpret the Mongol ruins. Is this because the so-called Islamic Archeology is still such a young branch of science, where the various traps are not yet fully known? It is also remarkable that he cites the works of Lars Ivar Ringbom but passes over in silence the latter's provoking theory that the sanctuary on the Takht-i Suleyman is identical with the Holy Grail, the actual prototype of the poetical

descriptions of it in the Western mediaeval romance literature, and related theories as that the Takht was the centre from which a secret, esoteric religion reached Western Europe in the guise of the Knight Templars, and the prototype of their curious centrally planned round churches. Perhaps this kind of explanations, however intriguing they are, were too much for the matter-of-fact nature of the archaeologist?

The book ends with a chapter on some minor sites in the district; a survey of the discovery and research of the Takht and a very useful bibliography listing the literature on many detail aspects.

The work is excellently produced. If we gloss over a few printing mistakes or different spellings of one and same word (Abasidische, Abbasidische) a slip of the pen in the date of 1371, which should be 1271 (p. 69) and a miscalculation for the Muslim years 671 and 674 (the first year runs between July 1272 and July 1273, instead of 1271 as given by Naumann, and the second date is between June 1275 and June 1276, instead of 1274 by N.) there is but one large mistake in this book, due to the printing/execution. This is on p. 88/89, where the text is wholly in disorder. The text on p. 86 is continued on p. 89, where nine lines should have been placed beneath the photograph on p. 88 and the last seven lines of 89 should follow after the ten lines of 88. Otherwise the book is as useful as it is pleasantly written and abundantly illustrated, enabling the archaeologically interested reader as well as the art historian to obtain in one glance an impression of all the painstaking work done by Naumann and his team on Solomon's Throne.

Castricum, June 1980

MACHIEL KIEL

* * *

Ulrich HARB, *Ilkhanidische Stalaktitengewölbe. Beiträge zu Entwurf und Bautechnik*, Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1978 (27 cm., 66 pages, 34 designs and nine plates). DM 35.—.

Although the stalactite (muqarna) in general and stalactite portals and vaults in particular constitute one of the most characteristic elements of Islamic art and architecture relatively few authors have tackled the problem of planning, design and construction of these bewilderingly complicated decorative elements. Stalactite vaults are indeed easier to admire than to describe let alone to analyse. Stalactite vaults, complete and in good shape, cannot be studied as to design and method of construction. One needs to have at one's disposal a ruined vault that can be dismantled as well as the leisure and the permission to do this. Such a combination is not often found. Ulrich Harb, who for many years collaborated with the important German excavations of the Sassanian and Islamic site of Tacht-e Suleiman (Takht-i Süleymān) in Iranian Azerbaydjan south east of Lake Urmiah, was in the necessary position to do the work. He could study in detail the ruins of a large and elaborately decorated hunting lodge of the Mongol ruler of the Near East, Abaqa of

the Il-Khanid dynasty (1256-1334), erected on the "Throne of Solomon" between 1272/76.

Besides having a mass of details concerning the construction techniques of stalactite vaults ready at hand (in the form of finds at the site) Harb was in the happy position to use a recent find at the Takht which is almost unique in the history of Islamic archeology. This was a gypsum tablet of 47/50 cm in which a design was carved that proved to be the plan of a large and rich stalactite dome.

In the book in which the research of Harb culminated the writer gives a detailed description of the plate at the base of which he arrives at a reconstruction of the planned vault, of which he gives some very carefully executed designs and an axonometric view. He gives a catalogue of all the types of gypsum elements of stalactite vaults as found during the excavations at the Il-Khanide site on the Takht. In order to give his work a wider bearing Harb also added an analysis of a number of other stalactite vaults of the Il-Khanide period, in various places in Iran. The catalogue, as well as the analysis of the other vaults are visualised with the help of very accurate designs. The reviewer likes to repeat this because in numerous other studies on Islamic decoration the designs are often of far less accuracy than those in Harb's work. It is curious to note that a man who worked so careful did not take the trouble of controlling his Muslim/Christian dates. H. 671 = A.D. 1272/73 and not "1271" as Harb has it. 674 is 1275/76 in stead of "1274".

The publication was intended to be a supplement to other work. Hence it appeared as "Ergänzungsband (IV) of the series "Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran" where the other activities of the German Archeological Institute in Teheran are covered. The more general reader would perhaps have liked a few words on the Il-Khanide period, which was a particularly stormy one in the history of Iran, not only as to the enormous extend of destruction caused in its earlier phase but especially because of the extraordinary impetus it gave to the development of art and architecture in its later phase. The frame work, however, in which the work of Harb was published excluded any such things. This apparent lack is made up with an adequate reference to the literature on the art of the Il-Khanide period.

The actual work is preceded by a short but very useful survey of the "Forschungsstand" and even goes into the etymology of the word "muqarna".

The design of the vault on the gypsum plate, around which the whole pleasant little work centres, is the second we know of this kind and it is the oldest design for an architectural concept ever found (the one previously known was found in Russian Turkestan and dates from the 16th century).

The Il-Khanide period was one of fundamental importance for the development of Iranian art. This enhances the value of Harb's book. Almost simultaneously with its appearance another German researcher with the same extraordinary patience to solve problems like the design of stalactite decorations, Gerd Schneider, wrote a work on the stalactite vaults and decoration of that other great Islamic art of the middle ages, that of the Seljuks of Anatolia (published in vol III of Kurt und Hanna Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray*. Both works, both dealing with the 13th century, greatly enlarge our know-

ledge on hitherto hardly studied technical details and methods. I mention Schneider's work in this context because it appeared almost immediately after that of Harb and is thus not mentioned in his references. It might be hoped that soon another researcher of the same calibre as Harb and Schneider will appear and will finish the task still to be done: the planning and execution of the stalactite domes and portals of the Maghrib and of Ottoman Turkey.

Castricum, June 1980

MACHIEL KIEL

* * *

QATAR ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORT EXCAVATIONS 1973, edited by Beatrice de CARDI. Published for the Qatar National Museum by Oxford University Press, 1978 (218 pp., 3 colour plates, 32 monochrome plates, 65 figs., 8 tables). £ 20.00. ISBN 0 19 920078 5.

This meticulous and well documented volume on the archaeology of Qatar, edited by Beatrice de Cardi is dedicated to the late George Barrington. The reviewer knew Barry, as he was known to his friends, from 1962, the same year of her first acquaintance with Beatrice de Cardi and the warm friendship between the three was sadly disrupted by George Barrington's sudden death in 1974. One can but admire Beatrice de Cardi's perseverance in continuing her research and in finishing the manuscript of the *Qatar Archaeological Report Excavations 1973* in that same year.

The book under review is an account of ten weeks of survey and excavation by the British Archaeological Expedition in Qatar under the general direction of the editor from November 1973 to January 1974¹). This fieldwork was, as Beatrice de Cardi herself states in her "Introduction" (Chapter 1, p. 1) specifically designed to record and preserve Qatar's traditional heritage "at a time of rapid change and development". The recovered geological, ethnological and archaeological material was intended to provide the basis of the new National Museum of Qatar.

Beatrice de Cardi's well-known trademarks of superb drawings, photographic plates and detailed bibliography, enhance the volume, making it a most welcome addition to the hitherto insufficiently published and somewhat inaccessible results amassed during the general reconnaissances of the Danish Archeological Expeditions in Qatar commencing in 1956 (see De Cardi's bibliography). The outstanding exception to the foregoing statement is Holger Kapel's detailed *Atlas of the Stone-Age Cultures of Qatar (Reports of the Danish Archeological Expedition to the Arabian Gulf*, Jutland Archeological Society Publications Vol. VI, 1967 (1968)).

The "Introduction" (Chapter 1, pp. 1-10) restates for those in the field the main achievements of the successive Danish Expeditions to Qatar, as far as they are available for reference in published record. Beatrice de Cardi then

¹) de Cardi, Beatrice, "The British Archaeological Expedition to Qatar 1973-1974", *Antiquity*, XLVIII, 1974, pp. 196-200.

continues to outline the aim of her own archaeological project and at this point it seems pertinent to quote *verbatim*: "It was against this background that my proposals for introductory fieldwork were formulated. In terms of the Museum project the immediate need was to provide a broad chronological framework to give meaning and coherence to Qatar's past by using, and wherever possible extending, such limited material as was already available. This fact needs to be stressed because it explains the number and unusually wide range of projects undertaken and described in this volume as a means of recovering as much evidence of Qatar's past as possible in a relatively short time. To this end it was proposed that environmental studies should be undertaken to see what changes had taken place in Qatar from the Stone Age onwards. A preliminary study of air-photographs suggested that the coastal areas and the more fertile depressions in the interior were the regions most likely to provide the evidence since they were the localities with the resources — fish and grazing to ensure a good supply of game — required by early hunting communities. Qatar's wealth of known Stone Age sites made it unnecessary to consider adding to their number: instead, it was decided to make a detailed study of an area representing either a working- or an occupation-site in the hope of shedding new light on the relation of Qatar's Stone Age and the rest of Arabia and the Near East. Further excavation on cairn sites of differing types was also proposed as a means of providing the basis for a typological study of these structures which abound in the countries around the Gulf. It was hoped that fresh excavations in the cairn-field on Ras Abaruk plateau might amplify the meagre grave-goods found there by the Danish Expedition of 1961 — some beads, an amulet and pottery — and would enable plans of various types of cairns to be made for exhibition purposes" (p. 3).

This "Introduction" is particularly useful, since it also provides the reader with a "Summary of Results" of all the excavation and survey activities of the British Archaeological Expedition giving explicit references to the relevant pages. An additional subheading "The Physical Geography of Qatar" familiarizes the interested scholar with the various aspects of the geography of the peninsula.

"A Gazetteer of Sites and Finds" at the end of the volume (Chapter 16, pp. 180-201) corresponds with an outline map of Qatar (Fig. 1, p. 2 of the "Introduction") onto which the general locations of all the sites mentioned in the text have been plotted, providing the reader with their geographical location, the main archaeological characteristics and where possible their chronological setting. To these are added details of sites which were previously only on record in an Index deposited in the National Museum of Qatar (p. 8).

Since the extensive study, covered by the present volume, encompasses the Old Stone Age (Early and early Middle Pleistocene) — Holger Kapel's A-group of Qatar — at one end of the scale, and an encampment of the 17th-19th centuries A.D. at the other, and hinges on a broad scale of archaeological and environmental aspects, it is proposed to treat the various chronologically or technologically compatible findings together as we wander through this excellent publication, discussing, therefore, the salient points in a chronological rather than a geographical order.

This would fall in line with the fact that this report is more than a merely detailed description of the materials uncovered, their stratigraphical setting, a possible date and their likely liaisons with cultural units outside the peninsula proper. Several chapters dealing with specialized topics relevant to the archaeological material and environmental studies undertaken by the British Archaeological Expedition in Qatar further enrich this publication. These include "Environmental History" by C. Vita-Finzi (Chapter 2, pp. 11-25, with an Appendix B: Report on molluscs from raised beaches in Qatar by C.P. Nuttall (p. 25)), "The Stone Industries of Qatar" by G. H. Smith (Chapter 4, pp. 35-38), "Ubaid Mesopotamia and its Relation to Gulf Countries" by Joan Oates (Chapter 5, pp. 39-52, with an Additional Note — The Qatar Prehistoric Pottery: Analytical Studies pp. 46-52), and "Historical Sketch of the Gulf in the Islamic Era" by R. B. Serjeant (Chapter 13, pp. 147-163).

The geomorphological study on the coasts and the internal basins of the peninsula as part of the Expedition's program undertaken by Dr. C. Vita-Finzi (Chapter 2, pp. 11-25), was obviously an attempt to reconstruct the changes in Qatar's climate and sea-level during the period of human occupation, i.e. in the last 40,000 years. As Vita-Finzi points out "Many of the themes to be discussed here have already been broached in the publications stemming from the Danish expeditions to Qatar; this is especially true of sea-level fluctuations, which were always under consideration in the search for prehistoric sites and which formed the subject of pioneering geological studies by Dr. Erling Bondesen (Kapel, 1967; Bibby, 1970). Much remains to be done in the field and in the laboratory, but a preliminary statement may be found of interest to others concerned with the possible influence of environmental changes on successive patterns of settlement in Qatar and elsewhere in the Gulf" (p. 11).

The crux of Vita-Finzi's report rests for the greater part on observations resulting from field evidence, whereas, as he himself admits, the evaluation of the data in archaeological terms is by necessity largely conjectural.

Under the subheading "Coastal Sequences" Vita-Finzi discusses the evidence for sea levels lower than the present which can be found in the form of old dune deposits (aeolianites) at places which at present are devoid of any reserves and supplies and therefore "indicative of a period when the foreshore was exposed" (p. 11). Vita-Finzi mentions as good examples for demonstrating this phenomenon 1) the embayments in the escarpment in the eastern side of Ras Abaruk peninsula and 2) near Chalib'bis (QB2, Fig. 1 on p. 12), 3) on the eastern coast of Qatar, Jebel Jusasiyah and 4) Jebel Wakrah (QB22, Fig. 1 on p. 12 and Pl. IIIa).

The next step in Vita-Finzi's research was "to obtain datable sea-level indicators", so that "attention was focussed on fossiliferous coastal deposits" (p. 13). Examples of such exposures of ancient beachrock and beach gravels can be found on the eastern shores of the Ras Abaruk peninsula at QB 4, where they are 5-8 metres above high tide (Figs. 1 on p. 12 and 2 on p. 13, Pls. IIb and IVa) and at QB 18 on the western shore of the Ras Abaruk peninsula where Vita-Finzi also found beach gravels overlaid by beachrock together measuring about 7 metres above high water. A C14 sample taken from the base of

the beachrock at QB4 in order to obtain "a limiting age for the underlying beach" (p. 13) yielded a minimum age of over 35,000 years (HAR-527) (pp. 13-14).

Other C14 results came from a shelly horizon at QB10 in western Qatar (Fig. 1 on p. 12, Site 5, pp. 164-174) providing a C14 date of $5,370 \pm 80$ years B.P. (HAR-528); from a shelly beach rock ca. 5 metres above high water at QB17 (Fig. 1 on p. 12) which C14 age of $27,100 \pm 900$ B.P. (HAR-526) is considered by Vita-Finzi as a minimum age "In view of the almost total replacement of the shell aragonite by high-magnesium calcite" (p. 14) and from a shelly beach gravel 5 metres above high water at QB21 (Fig. 1 on p. 12, 400 metres south of Site 46, pp. 53-75) with a C14 age of $21,950 \pm 550$ years B.P. (HAR-529).

C14 results from the north-east coast of the peninsula come from QB19 (Fig. 1 on p. 12, Pl. Va), a shelly beach 1,70 metres above high water, which provided a date of $4,690 \pm 80$ years B.P. (HAR-523). Other exposed cemented beach sands and beachrocks are at Khor itself, i.e. QB15 (Fig. 1 on p. 12, Pl. Vb); at QB11 (Fig. 1 on p. 12) and QB13 (Fig. 1 on p. 12), the latter providing a C14 age of $5,830 \pm 70$ years B.P. (HAR-525) from unaltered shell from the beachrock.

Unaltered shell material coming from exposures in south-eastern Qatar, i.e. from an extensive fossil beach at QB23 (Fig. 1 on p. 12, Pl. VIb) lying ca. 4.50 metres above high water and from QB20 (Fig. 1 on p. 12, Pl. VIIa) situated probably 6 metres above sea level, both yielded C14 dates of over 35,000 years (HAR-522 and HAR-524). See also Table I "Radiocarbon Ages for Fossil Beach deposits" (p. 15) which refers to some samples mentioned in the text.

With the "Sea-Level Chronology" (pp. 15-17) we are in the field of scholarly controversy and the reviewer does not feel competent to join in with the arguments. The interested reader is therefore referred to pages 15-16 where the various views have been put forward, regarding the question whether "the global sea level did not rise above -50 m. between 70,000 and 15,000 y.a., and that the last well-attested transgression above datum took place about 120,000 y.a.", or whether according to others "the sea lay close to its present level about 30,000 y.a.". Others again believe that "sea level has risen repeatedly above datum in the course of the last 6,000 years, and there are those who "accept a cumulative if irregular rise from a minimum of about- 120 m. about 20,000-15,000 y.a. to the current position by 6,000 y.a. or soon after".

Another interpretation is Quaternary elevation for various features on the southern shores of the Gulf and it seems at this point pertinent to quote Vita-Finzi's own point of view *verbatim*: "In addition, there is archaeological evidence which, given the global sea-level record for the periods in question, could be taken to signify uplift. In Qatar itself, a relative fall in sea level of about 3 m. since the time of occupation was assumed in the search for Palaeolithic sites by the Danish expeditions (Bibby, 1970, 145). On the Saudi Arabian coast, a site north of Dhahran has yielded 'Ubaid remains (fifth millennium B.C.) encrusted with barnacles and now lying 4 m. above high water (Bibby, 1970, 394). At 'Uqair Cornwall (1946.b) observed middens of pearling camps apparently related to a former high sea level, and he found evidence

for a fall of 5-10 ft. (1.5-3 m.) during the historical period. This estimate depended on the siting relative to the modern shore of ruins which he identified with Gerrha (third-century B.C.) and which have been shown to be Islamic (Bibby, 1970, 342). It therefore seems reasonable to propose that Qatar has been elevated by about 2 m. in the last 5,000 years and that this represents the continuation — though not necessarily at a constant rate — of a trend already manifested 20,000 y.a. More work is required not only to confirm this movement but also to ascertain whether it was manifested uniformly throughout the peninsula" (pp. 16-17).

In his "Archaeological Implications" (pp. 23-24) Vita-Finzi stresses that only one of Kapel's B-sites, i.e. XXXVII (Kapel, 1967, 16), south-east of Shaqrah shows a possible archaeological relation with the geological evidence of Qatar because of a C14 date of $6,970 \pm 130$ years. The unreliability of the relationship of the Danish prehistoric sites to former sea-level positions causes him to refrain from discussing any further "individual site location" (p. 23).

He then continues: "The dates to hand suggest that between about 70,000 and 44,000 y.a. the floor of the Arabian Gulf was dry land. Bereft of peninsular status and lacking prominent relief, Qatar is unlikely to have offered hunter-gatherers any special attractions and was presumably part of a winter-grazing zone seasonally complementary to the surrounding uplands. If the ensuing marine transgression is a fact (rather than a product of the vagaries of radiocarbon dating) there ensued a period of about 14,000 years when flooding of the Gulf endowed Qatar with coastal resources readily accessible along a low-lying, indented shoreline. A second fall in sea level attained its maximum 15,000 y.a. (Fig. 9a)" (pp. 23-24) ... "Thus, if we exclude the modern, oil-dominated population map, only two periods emerge as favourable to permanent occupation of Qatar, the first about 6,000 y.a. and the second during the Islamic period. At other times Qatar was at best of seasonal value to nomadic populations, its rich archaeological record being more a token of intensive exploration than of a former more bountiful nature" (p. 24).

The recognition of 'Ubaid-type' painted pottery in Qatar comes primarily from only two excavated sites, that of the small coastal settlement site of al-Da'asa (Site 46) to the south of Dukhan (Chapter 6, pp. 53-75) and the other on the stony limestone plateau of Ras Abaruk (Site 4b), which latter was first located in 1960 by the Danish Expedition in Qatar (Kapel, 1967, 35) (Chapter 8, pp. 80-106). At Site 45a, Kapel's A.4, which is not far from al-Da'asa, (Chapter 8, pp. 80-106) Al'Ubaid painted pottery also turned up among the surface material and the same holds for Site 50 at Bir Zekrit (Chapter 9, pp. 107-116).

There is a difference in date in this undoubtedly imported painted Mesopotamian 'Ubaid pottery from Qatar and in her contribution "Ubaid Mesopotamia and Its Relation to Gulf Countries" (Chapter 5, pp. 39-52) Joan Oates proposes to regard al-Da'asa (Site 46) as undoubtedly the earlier of the other sites where 'Ubaid pottery was discovered and thus proposes an early fifth millennium B.C. date on stylistic grounds — late 'Ubaid 2-early 'Ubaid 3 — for "Two of the sherds from al-

Da'asa (27, 28), although too fragmentary to permit positive identification, are, painted in a style that resembles closely that known as 'Hajji Muhammad' in Mesopotamia. The very narrow bands left in reserve, the neat execution and the relative thickness of the ware are much more characteristic of earlier than later 'Ubaid ceramic techniques, and possibly date these pieces to early 'Ubaid 3, or even as early as late 'Ubaid 2, that is, contemporary with Ras al 'Amiya in Mesopotamia and perhaps even the earliest Arabian 'Ubaid" (p. 43). "The bulk of the painted sherds from al-Da'asa can be compared with the more common later 'Ubaid types, though whether the Qatar sherds should be attributed to 'Ubaid 3 or 4 is impossible to determine, given the badly weathered state of most of the surviving pieces. A local variety of greenish calcareous sandstone, which weathers into fragments resembling 'Ubaid sherds in a most convincing manner, also adds to the problem of identification among the surface materials. Among the most interesting sherds from al-Da'asa are three tiny but unmistakable fragments of the very distinctive coarse reddish ware that is found associated with 'Ubaid painted pottery on sites in the Eastern Province (Burkholder, 1972, 268). One such fragment came from the present excavations and two from the earlier Danish collection (Pl. A: 19, 20). No sherds of this type were found at either of the later 'Ubaid sites in this region (Ras Abaruk and al-Markh, see below)" (pp. 43-44)².

In an "Additional Note" — "The Qatar Prehistoric Pottery: Analytical Studies" (pp. 46-52) Joan Oates reports cursorily on the results of analytical studies carried out on pottery of Al'Ubaid type from Qatar which had become available too late to be included in the main report. The interested reader is, therefore, referred to a full account of these results by J. Oates, T.E. Davidson, D. Kamilli and H. McKerrell³ which, to a certain degree, is a critical reconsideration of Joan Oates' own previous review article of A.H. Masry "Prehistory in Northeastern Arabia: The Problem of Interregional Interaction", 1974⁴ which is also under review at present and to Masry's personal retaliation⁵.

The following four quotations from Joan Oates' contributions deserve comment. 1) "The essentially marine orientation of the relevant Arabian sites strongly suggests maritime contact ... while the most plausible explanation for these visits almost certainly lies in a search for marine resources, perhaps even including the pearls which we know were later a highly prized commodity from the area". 2) "Whether the 'Ubaid visitors were mere fishermen or more commercially-minded entrepreneurs ..." (pp. 51-52). 3) "we are forced to conclude that significant numbers of

² Roaf, M., "Excavations at Al Markh, Bahrain — A fish midden of the fourth millennium B.C.", *Paleorient*, Vol. 2, no. 2, 1974, pp. 499-501; *Id.*, "Excavations at Al Markh, Bahrain", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, Vol. 6, 1976, pp. 144-160; McNicholl, A., M. Roaf, "Archaeological Investigations in Bahrain 1973-1975", (typed manuscript).

³ Oates, J., T.E. Davidson, D. Kamilli & H. McKerrell, "Seafaring merchants of Ur?", *Antiquity*, LI, 1977, pp. 221-234.

⁴ Oates, J., "Prehistory in Northeastern Arabia", *Antiquity*, L, 1976, pp. 20-31.

⁵ Masry, A.H., "A Reply to J. Oates *et al.*, 'Seafaring merchants of Ur?'", *Antiquity*, LII, 1978, pp. 46-47.

the 'Ubaid inhabitants of ancient Sumer actually travelled to what is now Eastern Arabia, Qatar and Bahrain, carrying pottery from home with them among their personal luggage, perhaps as containers for food or other products, but apparently largely for their own personal use" and 4) "These visitors appear to have stayed long enough — perhaps seasonally — to require locally made coarse pots for cooking or other domestic purposes"⁶).

Though attention is here drawn to these comments, the reviewer prefers to incorporate a short discussion upon them in her forthcoming review of A.H. Masry's work mentioned above, and to which they have equal relevance.

In Joan Oates' opinion the majority, if not all of the painted pottery fragments from Ras Abaruk (Site 4b), is undoubtedly later than those from Site 46, for which an early 5th millennium B.C. date has been suggested. They are, therefore, more comparable and compatible with the 'Ubaid material from Al-Markh on the west coast of Bahrain Island; these later two have been attributed to "Ubaid 4 at the very earliest and ... possibly post-Ubaid in the conventionally accepted sense. Most of it is probably to be equated with Wooley's Ur — 'Ubaid III, on which painted ornament is reduced to a minimum and which is found in association with pottery that would normally be identified as Uruk" (p. 44), i.e. the early fourth millennium B.C. as a probable date for the latest 'Ubaid material.

The fieldwork of the British Archaeological Expedition in Qatar, has added a neolithic chapter of the early 5th-early 4th millennium B.C. to Qatar's past by the discovery of 'Ubaid-type' pottery, and has also considerably furthered our knowledge of the stone industries of Qatar in general, and has enriched our understanding of the way of neolithic life in this rather inhospitable corner of the Gulf.

Before examining more closely the various sites where neolithic-associated flint artefacts were encountered, either in a stratigraphical setting or as surface collections, it seems pertinent to quote Beatrice de Cardi *verbatim* once more: ⁷)... "Clearly, if the Ubaid culture was to be found in Dhahran" [i.e. eastern province of Saudi Arabia] "there was every reason to look for it along the west coast of Qatar which in part lies within sight of Saudi Arabia. A vital clue was provided by the occurrence on many of the Dhahran sites of finely worked, barbed and tanged arrowheads, in some instances identical to those discovered by Holger Kapel in Qatar. This suggested the need to re-examine sites on which implements had been noted to see whether any trace could be found of 'Ubaid-type pottery". The relevant chapters on this lithic material are Chapter 3. "Test Excavations in the Oasis of Bir Abaruk, Site 3", pp. 26-34; 4. "The Stone Industries of Qatar" by G. H. Smith, pp. 35-38; 6. "Al-Da'asa, Site 46: An Arabian Neolithic Camp Site of the Fifth Millennium B.C.", pp. 53-75; 8. "Two Prehistoric Sites on Ras Abaruk, Site 4", pp. 80-106; 9. "Stone Tools from Bir Zekrit, Site 50", pp. 107-116; 10. "Flint Tools from Bir Hussein, Site 7", pp. 117-119.

Since it obviously lies beyond the scope of a review of a multimorph publication like the present one, which not only contains a copiousness of new information but also

includes a number of contributions by scholars on specialized topics, to mention all interesting aspects, the reviewer is forced to concentrate only on some salient points, while mentioning merely in passing other sections of this report.

The discovery of 'Ubaid-type' pottery found in Qatar in the two excavations of al-Da'asa (Site 46) and Ras Abaruk (Site 4b) and which also occurs among surface material at Bir Zekrit (Site 50) and on Site 45a (which last equates with Kapel's A.4, not far from al-Da'asa) resulted in a reorganization of the stone industries of Qatar.

In 1971 McClure⁸) reported on Kapel's "Atlas of the Stone-Age Cultures of Qatar", 1967 as follows: "Kapel notes that little is known about the material from Arabia proper. We must assume, however, that the Qatar material would most surely be derived directly from the main Arabian Peninsula, since Qatar is, in effect, a geographic *cul-de-sac*. The Qatar tools will doubtless tie in neatly with the material from Arabia proper when such a study is finally undertaken. Kapel makes another interesting and informative point in the notable lack of microlithic tools such as occur elsewhere in Egypt, Africa, India, and Europe. Burins are lacking also, as are likewise hollow based points (such as are common in the Fayum). The meaning of this must for now remain uncertain". It is fitting to quote G. H. Smith of the present publication in this context: "In addition to the D-Group neolithic sites in Qatar there are sites of which Bir Zekrit, Site 50 (see below, p. 107) is representative, with a stone industry lacking any pressure flaking although related to the D-Group. Most of the sites included in the C-Group fall into this category. It is suggested here that these sites represent a local devolved tradition of stone-working. The site of Bir Zekrit has some sherds of 'Ubaid-type pottery and late type quadrilateral cutters. Elsewhere in Arabia a microlithic industry seems to have continued into the first millennium B.C., e.g. in the Yemen (Harding, 1964, Pls. XXII and XXXIV), in Oman (Pullar, 1974, 33) and in the Hadhramaut (Caton-Thompson and Gardner, 1938, 31). In Qatar no microliths occur and it seems that the simple stone industry as at Bir Zekrit continued in use by nomadic groups not benefitting from cultural contacts with the rest of Arabia in earlier times" (p. 38).

Of the four main groups of lithic material of Kapel's tentative classification, designated A, B, C and D — the A-Group being the oldest and the D-Group representing the neolithic age —, the C- and D-Groups have undergone a significant change due to the recognition of 'Ubaid-type' painted ware in Qatar, associated with both C- and D-type artefacts.

Subsequently, Kapel's C-Group, which he thought at the time to be ancestral to the D-Group, now also belongs to the neolithic horizon (Kapel, 1967, page 34, Plate 33, page 35, Plates 38-40). This was clearly attested at the most significant sites where test excavations were carried out, i.e. at al-Da'asa and at Ras Abaruk 4b (Kapel's site XLVIII) by G. H. Smith (Chapters 6, 8, also 9 and 10).

At both neolithic encampment sites al-Da'asa and Ras Abaruk, Site 4b (Ras Abaruk 4a is of a Middle Palaeolithic age and falls in Kapel's A-Group), the excavator

⁸) McClure, H. A., *The Arabian Peninsula and Prehistoric Populations*, Miami, Florida, 1971, p. 81.

discovered scrapers, knives, awls, tile knives, bifacially pressure-flaked and tanged arrowheads, rubbing stones, querns, hammerstones, a few beads (cornelian at al-Da'asa; turquoise and shell at Ras Abaruk, Site 4b), gazelle and equid bones, fish-bones and sea-shells in association with pottery of 'Ubaid-type'.

The neolithic settlement at al-Da'asa comprised 59 shallow pits, fireholes or hearths, mostly circular in plan and filled with dark grey or black sand with or without the presence of burned stones, described as pot-boilers. In other cases the pit was lined with a stone layer, most probably as a deliberate measure. The settlement at Ras Abaruk 4b is less rich in the same features as al-Da'asa and Smith remarks that "The only close external affinities of the site are with those settlements found in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia (Burkholder, 1972; Bibby, 1973) and the recently discovered site of al-Markh on Bahrain (McNicoll, 1974)" (p. 80).

It probably these small neolithic encampments used, locally, by hunting/fishing/collecting immigrant communities, lived either in tents or temporary shelters with their cultural connections lying outside Qatar proper. Contacts with other areas of the Gulf, either to be explained by trade or by immigration movements, can be demonstrated by the presence of the few foreign knick-knacks discussed above.

Smith mentions elsewhere: "Of the nineteen C-Group sites described by Kapel, six included finds of bifacially pressure-flaked arrowheads and three ... have an industry more closely related to that of the Khor sites of the A-Group. Surveys in northern Saudi Arabia have produced over thirty sites with a stone industry similar to that of the D-Group of Qatar and associated with 'Ubaid-type pottery (Masry, 1974; Burkholder, 1972, and Bibby, 1973). Excavation of stratified sites has shown the superimposition of 'Ubaid-type pottery on top of the local aceramic tradition. Qatar's D-Group culture is therefore securely dated to the fifth and fourth millennia B.C. Among the stone assemblages of the D-Group certain differences suggest a chronological division. At al-Da'asa points were mainly on triangular flakes. Those barbed and tanged were only edge-worked flakes. At Ras Abaruk 4b, the points include specimens with all over bifacial working. At al-Da'asa the cutting tools were made merely to a convenient but irregular shape. At Ras Abaruk 4b many were made to a standard irregular quadrilateral shape, representing either an evolution of style or the development of a standardised method of hafting. A chronological division of the two sites, putting Ras Abaruk 4b as later is also supported by the evidence of the pottery styles (J. Oates, below, p. 44)" (p. 37).

Smith also correctly stresses that, despite the associated 'Ubaid-style' pottery, the flintwork associated with all the Qatar sites (i.e. those examined by the British Archaeological Expedition in 1973-1974 and Kapel's C- and D-Groups), with their lithically closely affiliated sites, also with 'Ubaid-type' pottery, in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia and with the site of al-Markh on Bahrain, seem to be an Arabian tradition with no association in Mesopotamia⁹). "The closest parallels to the equipment

⁹) Regarding possible plans 'Ubaid-type' pottery from Bir Zekrit, Site 50, see G. H. Smith, Chapter 9, p. 107.

of these sites, lacking any published work in Saudi Arabia, is in fact in Egypt. In the Fayum B Phase (dates, c. 4000-3500 B.C.) ..." (p. 105). Smith, admits that, "The affinities are not specific, however, and though the two areas may have been close in culture type there is no evidence of actual population connection. The complete separation, apart from the pottery, of material culture between Mesopotamia and Arabia indicates that they were two quite different cultural and subsistence-type zones with the comparison between a Saharo-Arabian zone of nomadic hunter/fishers and gatherers and a Mesopotamian zone of settled agriculturalists. Although by the fifth millennium domestic animals and crops were the main source of subsistence in Mesopotamia, no sign of domestic species occurs at Ras Abaruk, even though the settlement seems to have been larger than a normal nomadic hunting/gathering community" (p. 105).

The fact, that I have dwelt, to some readers perhaps, in undue length on this early lithic material, quoting liberally from G. H. Smith, underlines the great importance of this new material which fills in, in a most welcome manner, a gap in our knowledge of these early 5th-4th millennia communities.

Reading through Beatrice de Cardi's reports in *Antiquity* XLVIII, 1974¹⁰) additionally to the book under review, one gains the impression of a considerable gap occurring in the occupational sequence extending from the fourth millennium B.C. to almost the end of the first millennium B.C. This gap can be narrowed considerably if the retrieving of Barbar sherds from Trench III Layer II of the Test Excavation in the Oasis of Bir Abaruk Site 3 (Chapter 3, p. 33), can be ascertained quite definitely and if Beatrice de Cardi's opinion of the possible presence of a Barbar settlement beneath the silts of Bir Abaruk Site 3 can be firmly established. The fact that Barbar sherds have already been identified on Hvar Island only 9 km. to the west of Ras Abaruk seems to indicate strongly a possible spread of the Barbar culture in an eastward direction.

As we move forward in time I think it appropriate to quote Beatrice de Cardi: "Nor was it possible to say much more about the later periods. The excavation of several burial mounds on the west coast near Umm el-Ma' (Site 10, location map, Fig. 1) had revealed rock-cut graves but little in the way of datable finds (Glob, 1958, 176-7; 1959, 238). North of Dukhan, the oil-town on the west coast, excavations on a Seleucid settlement at Ras Uwainat Ali XSite 49a) were known to have produced pottery dating to about 300 B.C. (Bibby, 1965, 107; 1966, 148). Across an inlet to the north-east, on the stony plateau of Ras Abaruk (Site 1) several stone-piled cairns in an extensive cemetery had been examined but the structures themselves had not been recorded in detail and their dating rested — and still rests — insecurely upon a scatter of Seleucid sherds near one of the burials (Bibby, 1965, 104)". Beatrice de Cardi is, therefore, suitably careful in her "Gazetteer", regarding Site 49a (Ras Uwainat Ali), which she relates to Site 49c (Ras Uwainat Ali District) (p. 198), when she mentions "... The site [Site 49a] was later visited by Professor P.V. Glob and Mr. Geoffrey Bibby who identified the pottery as belonging to two

¹⁰) de Cardi, 1974, p. 199.

⁶) Oates et al, 1977, pp. 232-233.

⁷) de Cardi, 1974, p. 198.

periods, c. A.D. 600 and c. A.D. 800-1100, the latter described as Qarmatian, the vessels of that period being regarded as similar to some found on Bahrain (Payne, 1972).

Brief references to the excavations carried out by Svend Bue-Madsen and Erik Bendixen (Bibby, 1965, 107; 1966, 148) describe the site as a Seleucid settlement of c. 300 B.C. which yielded thin buffware bowls, some carefully riveted, of types current in the Seleucid occupation of City V at Qala'at al Bahrain (Bibby, 1958, 160-1), together with red as well as black burnished wares comparable to those found at Thaj in Saudi Arabia (Bibby, 1965, 110).

A few distinctive rims in a polished red ware were collected from the settlement area in 1973. These may well be Seleucid but their principal diagnostic feature — external horizontal grooves below the rim — has a time range from the Achaemenian to the Parthian periods and probably extends to the Sasanian (Adams, 1965, 130-1, Nos. 10i and 11k). A closer dating of this site must await the publication of the pottery.

Of the few sherds of Trench I (Layer 1) of the above mentioned test excavations of Bir Abaruk, Site 3, two show "the use of shallow horizontal grooving around the exteriors ..." (p. 33). De Cardi compares this usage with what she calls Hellenistic pottery from the Seleucid levels of City V at Qala'at al-Bahrain and from Thaj in Saudi Arabia. Across the peninsula to the north of Doha, two mounds at Mezru'ah (Site 31a) had each covered a group of inhumation graves containing finds of some interest, including a glass vessel recently dated by Dr. D. B. Harden to about the sixth century A.D. — the Sasanian period — but, apart from a brief reference (Bibby, 1965, 104) the site remains largely unknown. Nor were the results of excavations on an early Islamic settlement at Murwab (Site 12a) available in any greater detail (Glob, 1959, 238) (pp. 2-3). In her "Gazetteer" Beatrice de Cardi discloses more detail regarding Site 31a Mezru'ah: "Two burial mounds in a group of four were excavated by H. J. Madsen and J. A. Jensen in 1961 (Bibby, 1965, 104) and are described in Danish notes Nos. 5 and 15 deposited with the Ministry of Information in Doha.

The mounds lie on rolling ground on the edge of a ridge about 23 km. north-west of Doha. They are difficult to locate as their shape and gravel capping make them almost indistinguishable from natural features in the landscape. The larger of the two mounds (diameter 15 m.; height 1.5 m.) was found to cover three stone-piled graves, one of which contained flexed human skeletons with pottery and fragments of bronze, iron and glass. The other two burials each contained the skeleton of a camel with, in one case, an intact glass flask. The smaller mound (diameter 6 m., height 0.5 m.) covered a grave with two human skeletons, the remains of an iron sword and a number of iron arrowheads, one being embedded in the arm-bone of one of the skeletons.

No full report on these excavations has appeared but the glass flask has been ascribed to the Sasanian period by Dr. D. B. Harden who considers that it is unlikely to be earlier than the sixth century A.D. and might even be slightly later in view of its squat globular body below a short neck with widely-splayed rim. The manner in which the rim is folded up and inwards supports this dating.

The practice of sacrificing camels goes back to Parthian times and a burial (Tumulus 36/1) attributed by the Danes to that period, was excavated near Jidd Hafis on Bahrain (Bibby, 1954, 140-1) (pp. 192-193).

Incidentally the term 'Seleucid', or sometimes 'Hellenistic', appears to have been very loosely used to designate pottery over a much extended era. The correct use of the terminology cannot be applied historically to the lengthy period between 300 B.C.-200 A.D.¹¹⁾, since the Seleucid dynasties, successors of Alexander the Great, did not extend into early Christian times. The term 'Seleucid' is also used by those engaged in the ancient historical field as a geographical denotation merely indicating the various eastern regions under the sway of the dynasties and adhering to their cultural pattern.

The occurrence of coins struck by Alexander's successors has solely a political implication. As Bevan once wrote¹¹⁾ "The kingdoms of Alexander and his successors show a mingling of several distinct traditions, which they did not succeed in altogether happily reconciling. We must distinguish three. (1) There was the Oriental tradition, the forms and conceptions which the new rulers of the East inherited from the "barbarian" Empires which went before them; (2) there was the Macedonian tradition; and (3) the Hellenic"¹²⁾.

To return to the British Archaeological Expedition in Qatar, the excavations of the cairns, burial mounds and graves are discussed by Mr. D. G. Buckley in Chapters 7 ("The Excavation of Two Cairns at Al-Da'asa", pp. 76-79), 8 (Two Prehistoric Sites on Ras Abaruk, Site 4" by H. G. Smith, pp. 84, 89-92), 1 ("Introduction" by Beatrice de Cardi, p. 7), 11 ("The Excavations of Seven Burial Cairns on the Ras Abaruk Peninsula", pp. 120-135). Other cairn burials and possible grave formations plotted during the survey have been included by Beatrice de Cardi in Chapter 16 ("Gazetteer of Sites and Finds", pp. 180-201) and the interested reader is, therefore, referred to this Gazetteer.

Although one cannot escape the feeling of a concentration of what one may perhaps call the "earlier" cairns on the west side of Qatar, this impression may prove to be a fallacy since Beatrice de Cardi herself says: "The prime purpose of the survey was to locate sites of all periods, especially those which might repay excavation by adding to our knowledge of Qatar's past. So specific an objective imposed two major limitations upon our work. It was clearly impractical in the time available to attempt a comprehensive survey of the country as a whole and only the Ras Abaruk peninsula on the west coast was explored in any detail. Elsewhere, survey was largely restricted to areas traversed by main roads except in the Umm el-Ma' region on the west and among the dunes near the southern borders. ... This is not to say that such areas would not repay more through investigation ... A protracted search of such areas could not, however, be reconciled with the immediate purpose of our work"

¹¹⁾ Bevan, E. R., *The House of Seleucus* (2 Vols.), reprint Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1966, Vol. 2, p. 269.

¹²⁾ During Caspers, Elisabeth C. L., review T. G. Bibby, *Preliminary Survey in East Arabia 1968* (Reports of the Danish Archeological Expedition to the Arabian Gulf. Vol. Two.) 1973, in: *Bibliotheca Orientalis* XXXIII, No. 1/2, 1976, pp. 81-87, esp. pp. 83, 85.

(p. 180). We will, therefore, only refer to Beatrice de Cardi's own fieldwork, i.e. the excavations of two cairns at al-Da'asa by Mr. D. G. Buckley (Chapter 7, pp. 76-79) which are situated in a cemetery scattered over the low limestone plateau overlooking the south side of a neolithic encampment. The aim of finding a relationship between the two cairns and the settlement could not be established because of the lack of any finds. In addition Mr. Buckley explored cairns at Ras Abaruk, Site 4b, Trench II (Chapter 8, pp. 84, 89-92) and excavated seven burial cairns on the Ras Abaruk peninsula belonging to a cairnfield comprising ca. 182 burials and lying within one kilometre of Ras Abaruk, Site 4 (Chapter 11, pp. 120-135). None of these explored cairns provided any significant finds of datable material, apart from one fish-bone and some fragments of human bones from the five cairns of the first category (see below) of Ras Abaruk peninsula cemetery (Site 1), situated on the western edge of it. The two cairns of Category 2 (see below) at Ras Abaruk (Site 2) also did not contain any datable material. This latter cairnfield situated along the west coast of the Ras Abaruk peninsula consisted of "graves set either on the shore, on low cliffs or along the edge of the plateau overlooking the sea" (p. 182).

The date of the oval-structure at Ras Abaruk, Site 4, Trench II, which could possibly be regarded as some sort of burial cairn, is uncertain, although sherd no. 22 on Fig. 4, p. 87 has been described as "Hellenistic or later". Within a kilometre of distance the Danish Expedition excavated ten cairns of the large number on the Ras Abaruk plateau, and one of these was reported to be of early Seleucid date ca. 300 B.C. This was based on a few potsherds scattered around it and it is, therefore, possible, that this "oval ring-wall and other stone structures on the site of Ras Abaruk 4 may then be of Seleucid date" (p. 104). Unfortunately, the cairns investigated by Mr. Buckley did not provide any further proof to confirm this dating and only the meticulous recordings of the differing building construction of the cairns or stone slab and boulder formations may, in the future, prove to be a useful asset in arriving at a more reliable, chronological dating. The present increase of detailed knowledge of the structures themselves are of inestimable value in the typological studies of such burials.

Those at al-Da'asa proved to be limestone blocks piled on top of each other, with blown sand filling the spaces between and lacking any internal structure. They show a marked difference from the burial cairns on the Ras Abaruk peninsula which Mr. Buckley describes as being of "varied types found widely throughout the peninsula in small groups and singly (Pl. XVIIIb), but principally concentrated in two groups" (p. 120). The burial cairns are divided by the British Archaeological Expedition in Qatar into two sites: Ras Abaruk Site 1, resting on bedrock, consisted of approximately one hundred cairns "widely spaced over the plateau area west of the oasis of Bir Abaruk at approximately 25 m. above sea-level" (p. 121).

Following the Danish Expedition of 1961-1962 the British Archaeological Expedition in Qatar opened another five cairns of this group eying at the Western edge of the field. These burial cairns, which measure 0.60-0.70 m. in height with a diameter ranging from 5-7 m., can be roughly divided into two variants of the same basic structural

principle. They consist of a) a central cist area built of upright limestone slabs, with overlapping, sloping slabs as supports and further kept in position by stones piled around and over them. b) Cairns 3, 4 and 5 were of a more complicated nature having a "sand- and stone-filled 'grave-pit' cut into the underlying natural limestone bedrock" (p. 123). See Plates XXII-XXVa and Figs. 4, 5 and 6.

Ras Abaruk Site 2 has been described as a field of eighty-two cairns, comprising three linear groups of which ten situated on the plateau near the coast could be compared with the ones recognized at Ras Abaruk Site 1. (See Fig. 7 on page 131 for their distribution).

As previously mentioned the British Archaeological Expedition excavated two cairns of the other seventy-two, many of which were found robbed. These cairns turned out to be circular pits sunk into the low cliff scarp, measuring two to three metres in diameter. Mr. Buckley reports that "Large stones were then placed into and around the prepared holes, some reaching the full height of the pit from bedrock to surface, over a metre in height, others being keyed together carefully as a secure dry-walling (Pl. XXVIb). Unfortunately, no finds were made during the course of excavation either within the central chamber or from the surrounding area, and no date can therefore be assigned to the structures. In the absence of bone these cairns cannot be described with absolute certainty as burial cairns although this seems the most likely explanation of their nature. Proximity to the sea would point strongly to their construction by members of a sizeable seafaring community" (p. 132). B. de Cardi suggested in her preliminary report in *Antiquity* 1974, that these people may have lived in tents, since no trace was found of more permanent dwellings in the vicinity of the pit cairns. Mr. Buckley finally comments upon the fact that comparisons with other comparable structures elsewhere in Arabia, Southern Iran and Baluchistan are difficult since details of the construction of the large number of cairns reported there have not been adequately published, and "all too often attention has been focussed on their contents rather than their construction" (p. 134).

Two settlements of Ras Abaruk, Site 6 and Joghbi (Umm el-Ma' II) are dated by their pottery to the first centuries A.D. and evidence of encampments at Ras Abaruk, Site 5 and at al-Huwailah, Site 23 belong to the 17th-19th centuries A.D., securely dated by the ceramics such as Chinese blue-on-white porcelain, olive-glazed Kung ware and Persian pottery.

A complex of buildings at Ras Abaruk, Site 6 was excavated by Mr. P. S. Garlake, and he also undertook the small-scale excavations of a coastal camping-ground of the 17th-19th centuries A.D. at Ras Abaruk, Site 5 and at al-Huwailah, Site 23 (Chapter 12, pp. 136-146, "A Fish-Curing Complex on Ras Abaruk, Site 6, Chapter 14, pp. 164-171, "An Encampment of the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries on Ras Abaruk, Site 5", Chapter 15, pp. 172-179, "Fieldwork at al-Huwailah, Site 23").

Ras Abaruk, Site 6 "stands on the western end of a wide curved bay at the north-west end of the Abaruk peninsula" (p. 136). The complex of buildings consisted of three marked features: 1) a small stone building of irregular slabs of shelly limestone, comprising two rooms interlinked by a thin cross-wall and a third horse-shoe-shaped chamber facing the sea. These chambers may have

been open to the sky, since Mr. Garlake found no certain proof for roofing, although a less conventional way of covering by means of tents of woven fabric has been suggested (p. 138). 2) A mound, 2.50 metres high with a diameter of 15 metres, on the opposite side which was basically formed of an accumulation of fish bones. 3) To the south of the three excavated rooms of the main building was a cairn, 0.45 metre in height, lying on the former beach line and enclosed by a low wall of shelly limestone slabs. These enclosed the inner stones of the cairn which, however, showed neither internal structures nor a underlying pit. Mr. Garlake mentions that "the slabs used were for the most part noticeably smaller than those used in the main building but otherwise no different ... The purpose of the cairn remains unknown ..." (p. 142).

Buff coloured pottery from the slab-stone building originally had "a smooth light brown or grey surface finish". Six sherds of this ware had been decorated with a row of fingernail type impressions set between double horizontal grooves round the rim and belonged to the same pot, seemingly of the predominant "large globular storage pot" type. These were identified by the late Mr. Andrew Williamson "as comparable to wares of the first few centuries A.D. The remaining sherds, although of little diagnostic value, tend to support this date. On this identification rests the dating of the site" (pp. 143-144). The Ras Abaruk, Site 6 complex, i.e. the fish bone mound, the building, the fireplaces and the cairn, "is best interpreted as a temporary habitation built by fishermen who came ashore periodically in this sheltered bay to dry and cure their catch, a practice still prevailing on some islands off the coast of northern Oman" (De Cardi, *Antiquity*, 1974, p. 199).

A second indication for an occupation in the first millennium A.D. can be found in the "Gazetteer of Sites and Finds" (p. 185). Site 11b Joghbi (Umm el-Ma' II) is described as a small, but more permanent settlement, consisting of "Some fifteen structures built of random rubble masonry ... The pottery collected on this site was of considerable interest and included 'Sasanian-Islamic' glazed ware and a fragment of red polished ware identified by Mr. Andrew Williamson as a Gujerati imitation of Roman *terra sigillata* made during the second to third centuries A.D. ...".

A contribution by Professor R.B. Serjeant called "Historical Sketch of the Gulf in the Islamic Era from the Seventh to the Eighteenth Century A.D. (Chapter 13, pp. 147-163) provides the reader with the necessary general historical background against which both the excavated and recorded historical sites of the British Archaeological Expedition in Qatar can be suitably placed.

For this exhaustive, methodical and complex study of fieldwork, the resultant material and for the clarity of the drawings and plates, a debt of gratitude is due to Beatrice de Cardi. The volume should prove of the utmost use to all concerned in the field of Gulf archaeology, and the detailed exposition of every scrap of evidence serve as an outstanding example for other scholars engaged in publication.

Leiden, Instituut Kern, ELISABETH C. L. DURING CASPERS
August 1980

ARABICA-ISLAM

ABŪ RIFĀ'A 'Umāra b. Waṭīma al-Fārisī al-Fasawī
Les légendes prophétiques dans l'Islam: depuis le I^{er} jusqu'au III^e siècle de l'Hégire; avec édition critique du texte = Kitāb bad' al-ḥalq wa-qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'
d'après le manuscrit d'Abū Rifā'a etc par Raif Georges KHOURY. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1978, (200, 389 (texte arabe), viii pp.) = Codices arabici antiqui, Band III. DM 178.-. ISBN 3 447 01962 X.

After his volumes on Wahb b. Munabbih (1972) and his edition of Asad b. Mūsā's *Kitāb az-zuhd* (1976) R. G. Khoury presents an edition of a unique manuscript preserved in the Vatican containing a text which was indispensable to him when he reconstructed one of the two ancient papyri ascribed to Wahb. The book under review is divided into two parts; besides the edition there is an extensive introduction with an appraisal of the peculiarities of the language used in the MS and of the origins of the *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* genre preceded by an analysis of the *isnāds*.

Of 'Umāra b. Wathīma we know very little. In any case, he has preserved for us his father's collection of prophetic tales, but to ascribe therefore the authorship of these tales to the father would be as wrong as ascribing it to the son. Every single story or part thereof in this text is based upon an *isnād*. The most frequently occurring *isnāds* list such people as Wahb b. Munabbih (d. 110). Hasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110), Makhūl (d. 112). Qatāda (d. 117), Sa'īd b. Abī 'Arūba (d. 156) and Sa'īd b. Bashīr (d. 168). What is so remarkable is that all these transmitters allegedly had qadarite tendencies. What is more, there are a few more transmitters, also frequently occurring in the book's *isnāds*, who were also known for their qadarite inclinations, whom Khoury does not mention as such: 'Amr b. Dinār (d. 126), Ibn Ishāq (d. 150), 'Uthmān b. 'Aṭā' (d. 155) and Sufyān b. 'Uyayna (d. 198). As can be expected, references to the discussion on *qadar* are strewn all over the book, including an *awā'il* report indicating the first prophet who allegedly dealt with *qadar*, 'Uzayr (p. 292). If the transmitters mentioned here, or at least some of them, can be held responsible for these qadarite 'embellishments' or, as Khoury aptly calls them: *gonflements*, who is/are the actual originator(s) of these legends? Khoury makes a passionate plea for ascribing at least the framework of the tales to Wahb. During the time of transmission, he theorizes, until they came to be compiled in Wathīma's collection, they underwent several changes, embellishments (*gonflements*), additions at the hands of the transmitters named in the *isnāds* or, as one should always add, I think, when discussing issues concerning the historicity of *isnāds*, anonymous people using those transmitters' names in order to lend more prestige to the transmitted material. Authorship in early Arabic literature is a fascinating but nearly always insoluble problem. Khoury's arguments in favour of Wahb's authorship are quite convincing, but there still remain too many questions, to which no satisfactory answers can be found.

This *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* text makes pleasant though at times very difficult reading. The MS contains many marginal notes in which the reader's attention is drawn to various especially interesting and vivid twists in the

narrative. The story of David and Bathsheba is a good example of this. Furthermore, there are many legends which cannot be traced to Old Testament originals. Many early homilies urging asceticism are found in this text linked to the names of Solomon and Luqmān. The *qadar* issue is also broached in a saying attributed to the latter (p. 184). Many of Luqmān's sayings are reminiscent of *ḥadīth qudsī*, and indeed we do find several sayings directly ascribed to God which are not listed in W. A. Graham's recently published *Divine word and prophetic word in early Islam* (The Hague/Paris 1977), e.g. those found on pp. 192, 194, 208, 215, 217 and 218. Luqmān's sayings are, furthermore, also interspersed with wise sayings attributed to 'Umar (pp. 198 and 209) and the prophet (passim).

An *isnād* frequently occurring in Luqmān's *ḥikam* is the one with 'Uthmān b. 'Aṭā' b. Abī Muslim in the authority of his father. Since it is explicitly stated in Ibn Hajar's *Tahdhīb* (VII, p. 139) that 'Uthmān transmitted *ahādīth mawḍū'a* or *munkara 'an abīhi*, we can perhaps make a beginning here with fixing a tentative date of origin for this material: between 135, the year 'Aṭā' died, and 155, the year of 'Uthmān's death. In any case, this material can not possibly be ascribed to Wahb (d. 110) in my view. But since the forging of *isnāds* occurred on just as big a scale as the forging of *matns*, one can never be quite sure.

As for the text edition itself one could raise a few objections. First of all, in view of the stiff price of the book it is incomprehensible that two typewriters (Roman and Arabic) were chosen with particularly unpleasant type to produce this offset print. Furthermore, as the following list of remarks will show, on quite a few occasions one comes across words that are not to be found in the dictionaries. These words should at least have prompted Khoury to comment on them and/or come up with a feasible reading. Then there is the general state of the *isnāds*. Barring those that occur most frequently, which were subsequently analysed in the introduction, many *isnāds* occurring once or only a few times are a mess. This is due, most probably, (1) to the carelessness of the MS' copyist, (2) his all too apparent ignorance of Arabic grammar and orthography as well as of the subject-matter of the text and/or (3) the presumably poor state of the manuscript he was copying. I am inclined to lend credence to all three of these considerations. With a little bit of effort Khoury could have reconstructed these *isnāds*. I have tried to do so on a few occasions as shown in the following list. It goes without saying that I have not reconstructed all those *isnāds* that needed reconstruction. I do not think that that is the task of a reviewer but I do think it is my duty to point out where Khoury's edition leaves something to be desired so as to warn other readers, if they are interested in those matters, what to look out for and what information not to depend on too heavily. Honesty compels me to add, though, that when I set eyes for the first time on a photocopy of the Vatican manuscript (through the gratefully acknowledged services of Leiden UL's J. J. Witkam), I did feel nothing but awe and admiration for the hard labour that the editor must have put into this edition. To produce an even at times awkwardly readable text from this unholy scribble, riddled with grammatical mistakes, orthographical inconsistencies and innumerable distortions of words

which often altogether lack any sense, is a truly Gargantuan task of which Khoury acquitted himself in a way that deserves the unbounded gratitude of every one who takes an interest in this very early, very important Arabic text. Many a time Khoury must have gnashed his teeth in despair as to how to make sense of what looked at first sight like gibberish. With the following list I hope to have somewhat reduced in number those passages that, in spite of the editor's work, have remained unclear. Also printing mistakes will be noted here, except those in the French text of which there are not too many. On a few occasions I had the pleasure of discussing various passages with M. J. Kister, who showed a keen interest in this work. Emendations suggested by him will be marked as such.

N.B. In some of my references to the edited text I have followed Khoury's system of indicating the folio number of the MS, reluctantly adopting his illogical system of, for example, calling 4r what is in reality 3v, and 4v what is in reality 4r.

Introduction.

- p. 63 Insert after line 1: *ṣayf* pour *sayf* fol. 12v, 20.
p. 65 Insert at top of page: *al-baṣī* pour *aṣ-ṣabī* fol. 5r, 2.
p. 66 Correct the second *yantifa* into *yantifa*.

Remark. Regarding the maghribi script of the MS, the lengthening of short vowels in connection with the placing of the stress, which may be a characteristic phenomenon of Spanish Arabic, is, as W. Stoetzer pointed out to me, also dealt with in F. Corriente, *A grammatical sketch of the Spanish Arabic dialect bundle*, Madrid 1977, pp. 60-65.

Arabic text.

- p. 11 (16) *Khalilihi*
p. 32 (16) Read for 'Abbās 'an ibn: 'Ayyāsh 'an Abī
(18) Read *Sufyān b. Ḥayyān* and *al-Mawṣilī*
p. 65 (15) Read *abaw* with additional final *alif*.
p. 67 (11) Read for *wa'bnu Yazid*: *wa-akhbarānā Jarir*
(12) Read for 'Abd al-Ḥaysar: 'Abd al-Ḥamīd
Read for *Ibrāhīm b. Masrūq*: *Ibrāhīm 'an Masrūq*
(N.B. cf. p. 63, lines 12 and 13)
p. 70 (6) Read for *muṣṭāriyatan*: *muftariyatan* (III is not listed in the dictionaries).
(11) Read *fa-aqbalat*
p. 81 (3) Read *raghbatan*
p. 88 (7) Read for *ḥamrāwatayni*: *ḥamrāwayni* (cf. p. 171 (20))
note 4 Read for 278: 248
p. 89 note 5 Read for 279: 249
p. 94 (12) Read *fa-yaqtulūnahu*
p. 96 (13) *Inṭaghat* not in dictionary. I suggest to read *inṣarafat*, which is regrettably not borne out by the MS (45v, 3), but makes good sense.
p. 99 (14) Read *Ibn Jurayj*
p. 100 (6, 12) Read *Ibn Jurayj*
(12) Insert between 'an and *Salama*: *Abi*
p. 101 (10) Read *Ibn Jurayj*
p. 114 (5) *tanāqaza* not in the dictionary. I suggest to read *tanāthara* which is the verb often used in connection with *dūd*, pl. *dūdān*.
p. 125 (1, 14) Read for *ḥiṣānuhu* (his horse): *khiṣānuhu* or *khuṣṣānuhu* (his cronies), which makes far

- better sense. In the MS (57v, 6 and 18) the \dot{s} on both occasions seems to have a dot, which might have moved forward from above the kh, and something which might be construed as a *shadda*. I suggest the same emendation to be incorporated in the equivalent passage of Wab b. Munabbih's GD.
- p. 130 (13) *baridāhu* gives no sense; I suggest reading *dhirā'āhu*.
- (15) Read for *an-Na'sān*: *an-Nu'mān*
- p. 133 (15) Read for *an*: *in*
- p. 136 (11) Read for *fa-taldhu'ahu*: *fa-taldughahu*
- p. 174 (16) I suggest to read for *khashinihā*: *khashinihā*, and to add this word to the list of pp. 65ff of the introduction; *khashin* is not listed as such in Lane.
- p. 175 (3) Read for *khashinahā*: *khashinahā*: cf the preceding.
- p. 176 (10) Read the first word *al-qiblati* (suggested by M.J. Kister)
- p. 185 (1) Read for *ilā tamāmin*: *ilayya tamāman*.
- p. 192 (6) I suggest that *na'ti*, as is written in the MS (87v, 19), is grammatically more correct than Khoury's *na'ti* (i.e. it should be considered as the *jawāb* of *ta'āla*).
- p. 195 (20) Read for *tabšira*: *tabšira*
- p. 202 (5) The whole sentence after *in* does not make sense; *busta* or *bista* cannot be traced in the dictionary. I propose to make three emendations and read the whole sentence as follows: *In basa'ta bi'n-nās wa'qtarabta minhum qāla mā ashadda tamalluqaka*. The last word should then consequently be added to p. 64 constituting the only observed case where *q* is replaced by *k*.
- p. 205 (1) Read *yandam*
- (2) Read for *tšly* (which gives an awkward sense in whatever way you vocalise it): *tušliḥ*, which is plainly borne out by the MS (94r, 13).
- p. 206 (11) Read for *'frit*: *ghufirta*, unfortunately not borne out by the MS.
- p. 211 (4) Read for *dhabib* (which does not make sense): *dabib*
- (11) Delete *mustariḥ* because it seems superfluous in the text.
- p. 216 (7) Read for *'Ubayda*: *'Uyayna*
- p. 219 (2) Read for *brk*: *baṣaraka*
- (11) I suggest reading instead of *ynjyk*: *yunjika* or *yunjiyannaka* either of which was probably in the MS our copyist copied. In this case, I think, the *lectio difficilior* principle does not obtain.
- (12) Read for *Sufyān*: *Sam'ān*
- Read for the first *Yazīd*: *Zayd*, and for the second *Yazīd*: *Zubayr*
- p. 220 (2) Read for *bi-anjibāniyya*: *bi-anbijāniyya*
- p. 221 (15) I suggest reading instead of *ghawā'i*: *ghawā* (spelled *ghwy*). *Ghawā* is not found in the dictionary. We could conclude that it is an alternative form of *ghawā*, but to my view it is more likely that the copyist made a hypercorrection by simply adding a *hamza*

- when he found *ghayn-wāw-alif*, the alternative spelling of *ghwy* (cf. p. 60 of the introduction).
- p. 223 (12) Read for *yghtyh*: *yuwaṭṭi'ahu* (suggested by M.J. Kister)
- p. 228 (11) Read for *sayyadtani*: *sayyartani* (suggested by M.J. Kister)
- p. 231 (2) Read the first word as *bi'l-falāti* (Kister) and compare the word '*arā*' used in a comparable context in the Qur'an.
- p. 246 (13) For *bghrthhm* read: *bi-ghirratihim*
- p. 247 (1) For *bi-ghiratihim* read: *bi-ghirratihim*. This case could be added to the list on pp. 65ff of the introduction.
- p. 248 (16) Read *as-samawāti*
- p. 252 (15) Read for *yu'amirūnahu*: *yu'ammirūnahu*. This may be considered as one more example of the copyist's erratic orthography of the *hamza*.
- p. 256 (10) Read *fa'staktamahā*
- p. 258 (5) A note should have been added — at least more than *kadhā* — drawing attention to the incorrect use of the construct (*al-khalqa al-amri*) and compare p. 151 (16): *aṣ-ṣalāti al-aṣri* (and also p. 152 (6)) with *ṣalāt al-aṣr* (p. 152 (8)).
- p. 260 (3) Read for *badalū*: *badhalū*
- p. 270 (11) Read for *al-itābati* (which is not listed in the dictionary): *al-inābati* which seems plainly to be borne out by the MS.
- p. 278 (9) Should we read *jafna* for *jafnata*? The first is found in Lane, the second is not.
- p. 281 (8) Read *al-khabīth*, cf. p. 283 (3)
- p. 282 (17) Delete *ba'da*
- p. 285 (11) Read *wa-'Uzayr*
- p. 290 (20) Read *'Uzayr*
- p. 294 (12) Read *'Uzayr*
- p. 295 (17) Read *Ibn Jurayj*
- p. 299 (16, 21) Read *Ibn Jurayj*
- p. 304 (7) Read the last word *ḥasanān*: *ḥasanatan*
- p. 312 (5) Read for *wa'l-fajr*: *wa'l-fakhr* (which is borne out by the MS 138r, 19); what does *ta'azzuq* mean, which is not in the dictionary; 'difficult disposition' perhaps?
- p. 314 (14) Read for *yamassini*: *yamsasni*, as in the Qur'an as well as in the MS.
- p. 317 (7) Read *fa-baynā*
- (12) Read *laysa*
- p. 319 (2) Read for *'l-yshr*: *al-bashari*
- p. 323 (9) Read for *'an-Abi Sa'id al-Khudri*: *'an Makḥūl*: *'an Abi Sa'id al-Khudri wa-'an Makḥūl*, which is not borne out by the MS but is imperative in view of the ages of both men.
- p. 342 (6) Read for *wa-malā'iki*: *wa-malā'ikati*
- p. 343 (9) Does *ghanāja*, which is not in the dictionary, mean something like 'coquettish behaviour'?

Index

- p. 348 Change the second entry *Ibrāhīm* into: *Ibrāhīm* [*b. Yazīd an-Nakha'i*] 63, 67, 100, 207
Delete the entry *Ibrāhīm b. Masrūq*
For *Ibn Jarīḥ* 100 etc read: *Ibn Jurayj* 99, 100 etc.

- Delete *Ibn Ḥuṣayn* 32 and insert *Abū Ḥuṣayn* 32 at the appropriate place on p. 349
- Delete *Ibn Sufyān* 219
- Insert in *Ibn Sam'ān* after 209 (4): 219
- p. 349 Delete *Ibn Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Ḥaysar* 67
For *Abū Bakr b. 'Abbās* read: *Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh*
- p. 350 Insert after *Abū Salāma b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Awf*: 100 and change 159 into 195.
- p. 354 In the first entry *Jarīr* (who is b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd) delete: 318. In the entry *Jarīr b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd* insert: 67.
- p. 355 Add after the name *Ḥammād*: [*b. Abī Sulaymān*]
- p. 357 Add: 111 among the occurrences of *Zuhri*
- p. 358 Delete *Sufyān b. 'Ubayda* 216 and add 216 to the occurrences of *Sufyān b. 'Uyayna*.
- p. 359 Delete *Salāma b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān*
- p. 361 Add [*b. Mas'ūd*] after the single entry *'Abd Allāh*
- p. 363 Delete *'Urwa b. Yazīd*
For *'Azīz* read: *'Uzayr* and add: 284.
Delete the single entry *'Amr* and add 311 to the occurrences of *'Amr b. Dīnār*
- p. 366 Add 219 to the occurrences of *Muḥammad b. Zayd* and delete *Muḥammad b. Yazīd*
- p. 367 Add [*b. Miqsam*] to the single entry *Muḥīra*
Read *al-Mawṣilī* as the *nisba* of the following *Muḥīra*
- p. 368 Read for *an-Na'sān*: *an-Nu'mān* [*b. Bashīr*]

Jerusalem, May 1980

G. H. A. JUYNBOLL

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S. Husain M. JAFRI, *The Origins and Early Development of Shi'a Islam*. London, Longman Group, 1979 (22 cm., xii + 332 pp.) = Arab Background Series. Price: £ 10.75. ISBN 0 582 78080 2.

Even for the average reader of a newspaper in the West, it is no secret any more that there are shi'ite muslims in the world. The 'islamic revolution' in Iran — 1978/1979 — has drawn the attention of a wider public to this 'branch' of the islamic world or depending on one's point of view an authentic expression of islam. as such. The history of the shi'ites and their faith have by far not received the equivalent of attention of orientalism as the sunni-Islam has gotten over the years. Despite the more recent valuable contributions in this field of Henri Corbin, H. Nasr and Osman Yahya, a lot more research has to be done.

The publication of Dr. S. Husain M. Jafri's book *The origins and Early Development of Shi'a Islam* in 1978 is therefore 'timely'.

Of course it is not for the first time that a similar study was undertaken and published in English. One can mention in this context the 'classic' of D. M. Donaldson, *The Shi'ite Religion*. London 1933, as well as the much more recent translation from Persian by Seyyed Hossein Nasr of the work of 'Allamah Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Tabataba'i, *Shi'ite Islam*. London 1975. But Dr. Jafri's undertaking is more pretentious than for instance the last mentioned work. Dr. Jafri is not only of the opinion

that the origins and early growth of Shi'a Islam has not received sufficient attention of the scholarly world, but that the subject has been largely approached through the work of heresiographers such as Baghdādī, Ibn Hazm and Shahrastānī.

Valuable as their works may be, much more reliable basis for research may be found, according to Dr. Jafri, in what he classes as the 'historical' texts (XI). For instance of the voluminous work of the younger contemporary of Ibn Sa'd, Ahmad b. Yahyā b. Jabir al-Balādhuri *Ansāb al-Asrāf*, he states that it "is perhaps the most important historico-biographical work of the third century". (36).

Dr. Jafri attempts to trace out and reconstruct the earliest tendencies and ideas which gave Shi'a Islam its distinctive character. He focuses on the question of religious leadership and the Shi'ite response to it, from its origins among a group of early muslims until the Imamate of Jafar as-Sādiq. His aim is to reconstruct and present the development of an islamic ideal, that of a particular vision of religious leadership that first appeared after the Prophet's death — based on the testimony of the historical sources (XI, XII).

The most crucial and critical question one can ask the author is what he means by historical sources and 'objectivity'. For any student of history it is clear that this is a necessary but nevertheless not an easy proposition. Dr. Jafri is of course conscious of this fact when he for instance speaking about Ibn Sa'd's treatment of the Saqifa states, "It should suffice here to note that a historical investigation into the controversial nature of the subject was outside the scope of his work". (36).

But does Dr. Jafri shows a similar consciousness when he deals with sources which he labels as historical? Dr. Jafri mentions in a footnote that some scholars have questioned the authenticity of the *Nahj al-Balāgha* by suggesting that it was written by Ash-Sharīf ar-Rādī himself and attributed to 'Alī.

He calls this allegation in the light of his own research absolutely without foundation. He only refers to some titles among others again al-Baladhuri's *Ansāb al-Asrāf* but for his proofs we have to wait a full analysis of these sources in a forthcoming annotated translation of *Nahj al-Balāgha*.

It is clear that Dr. Jafri's understanding of history-writing is not without a certain apologetic when he for instance states that the German school of orientalis although it indeed made valuable and solid contributions in certain branches of Arab-Islamic studies with admirable thoroughness and depth" was so committed to a particular historical methodology that it could never grasp the 'feelings' and 'necessary aptitude' so vitally important in understanding religious history and its development". (199). The same is — with few exceptions — also true of other British and French scholars". "It is thus rather regrettable that the tragedy of Karbalā has been regarded by these scholars with the same mechanical historicism: none of them has ever tried to study Husayn's action in its meaning and purpose" (199, 200). Dr. Jafri had in particular Henri Lammens in mind as well as Wellhausen. One touches here on the real concern of Dr. Jafri when he continues a little further, "It is rather disappointing to note that Western scholarship on Islam, given too much

to historicism, has placed all its attention on the discrete external aspects of the event of Karbalā and has never tried to analyse the inner history and agonizing conflict in Husayn's mind... In the case of Husayn, a careful study and analysis of the events of Karbalā as a whole reveals the fact that from the very beginning Husayn was planning for a complete revolution in the religious consciousness of the Muslims. All his actions show that he was aware of the fact that a victory achieved through military strength and might is always temporal, because another stronger power can in course of time bring it down in ruins. But a victory achieved through suffering and sacrifice is everlasting and leaves permanent inprints on man's consciousness. Husayn was brought up in the lap of the Founder of Islam and had inherited the love and devotion to the Islamic way of life from his father".

One can fully sympathize with Dr. Jafri's concern and even agree that so often feelings of others — in this case shi'ites — were hurt by a certain type of scholarship. But that does not mean that honest research for what really happened remains the task of the historian, also the historian of religion. Dr. Jafri had given a very readable and clearly arranged survey and shi'ite evaluation of the early history of Islam. He presents material which deserves to be more widely known. But the last word on some aspects of this history are certainly not yet said.

Amsterdam, September 1980

A. WESSELS

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HUNAYN IBN ISHĀQ. Collection d'articles publiée à l'occasion du onzième centenaire de sa mort. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1975 (8vo, S. 229-330). Preis: Hfl. 20,-.

Der vorliegende Sammelband ist ein Sonderdruck aus der Zeitschrift *Arabica* (Band XXI, Fasc. 3), der für einen größeren Kreis von Interessenten gedacht ist und sicherlich Anklang finden wird.

Alle im Band zusammengefaßten Beiträge wurden auf dem Kolloquium vorgetragen, das während des 29. Internationalen Orientalistenkongresses in Paris veranstaltet wurde.

Neben drei Beiträgen, die nicht direkt mit Werken Hunain's in Zusammenhang stehen, es sind D. M. Dunlop "The manuscript Taimur Pasha (290 *ahīq*) and the Summa Alexandrinorum"; J. Nasrallah "Nāzif Ibn Yumn médecin, traducteur et théologien melkite du X^e siècle" und F. W. Zimmermann "The Chronology of Ishāq Ibn Hunayn's *Ta'riḥ al-Atibbā'*" — enthält der Band die folgenden Aufsätze:

G. C. Anawati "Les médicaments de l'œil chez Hunayn Ibn Ishāq",

G. Celentano "Le petit traité de Hunayn Ibn Ishāq sur la prophylaxie et la thérapie des dents",

R. Y. Ebied and M. I. L. Young "A manuscript of Hunayn's *Masā'il fi 'ilm al-tibb* in the Leeds University Collection",

Toufic Fahd "Hunayn Ibn Ishāq est-il le traducteur des *Oneirocritica* d'Artémidore d'Ephèse?",

M. Grignaschi "La „Physiognomonie“ traduite par Hunayn Ibn Ishāq",

R. Haddad „Hunayn Ibn Ishāq apologiste chrétien“,
P. Nwyia „Actualité du concept de religion chez Hunayn Ibn Ishāq“,

G. Strohmaier „Hunayn Ibn Ishāq et le Serment hippocratique“.

Diese Inhaltsübersicht zeigt, dass vor allem das arabische Schrifttum Hunains untersucht wurde. Seine syrischen Werke, die weithin noch immer als verloren gelten, wurden leider nicht berücksichtigt.

Zu Celentano's Beitrag ist inzwischen die Edition und Übersetzung des Schriftchens über die Zahnheilkunde in den *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 35/1 (1975) 45-80, Tar. I-XIV zu verweisen. (Vgl. dazu auch R. Degen „Eine weitere Handschrift von Hunain Ibn Ishāq's Schrift über die Zahnheilkunde“, ebenda, 36 [1976] 236-243).

T. Fahd's Beitrag ist eine Auseinandersetzung mit M. Ullmann „War Hunain der Übersetzer von Artemidors Traumbuch?“, der in *Die Welt des Islam* N.S. XIII/3-4 (1971) 204-211 erschienen ist. Während Ullmann bestreitet, dass Hunain der Übersetzer gewesen sein kann, versucht Fahd seine gegenteilige Meinung durch Heranziehung weiterer Beispiele für den Übersetzungsgebrauch zu untermauern.

Erwähnt werden muss noch der Beitrag von Ebied und Young, der mit Abstand der schlechteste des Bandes ist. Die beiden Autoren, die in den letzten Jahren in rascher Folge Aufsätze und Bücher veröffentlicht haben, scheinen der Meinung zu sein, dass die Menge des Publizierten wichtiger ist als die Qualität. Auch der hier gedruckte Beitrag scheint in Eile verfasst zu sein. Das hier besprochene Manuskript hat jedenfalls nichts mit den *Masā'il* Hunains zu tun, da die Charakteristika, wie z.B. die *Ziyādāt* des Hubaiš fehlen. Die Autoren haben zwar eins der Manuskripte der *Masā'il* in der Bodleiana mit dem Leeds-Manuskript verglichen und bemerkt „that they treat the same matters, but with a different arrangement and different wording. In addition, the Oxford text is somewhat longer“. Sie ziehen jedoch nicht die einzig richtige Folgerung daraus, dass nämlich das Leeds-Manuskript dem Hunain nur fälschlich zugeschrieben ist. Bestätigt wird dieser Befund durch einen Vergleich mit anderen syrischen, arabischen und hebräischen Manuskripten der *Masā'il*. Keins von ihnen enthält die von Ebied-Young als Proben aus den *Masā'il* (p. 267f.) mitgeteilten Stücke (Eine mehrsprachige Edition der *Masā'il* bereite ich vor, s. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 17 (1972) 214¹; *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 7 (1972) 118²⁰, 122.)

Marburg/Lahn

RAINER DEGEN

* *

Kwame GYEKYE, *Arabic Logic. Ibn al-Ṭayyib's Commentary on Porphyry's Eisagoge*. Albany, State University of New York Press, 1979 (24 cm., x + 245 pp.). Price \$ 30.00. ISBN 0-87395-308-8.

This is the second volume dealing with Ibn al-Ṭayyib's commentary on the *Eisagoge* published by Dr. Gyekye. The title does not indicate that this second volume contains Dr. Gyekye's English translation of the com-

mentary, which is rather confusing in bibliographical respect. This translation is the sequel to Dr. Gyekye's edition of the Arabic text (*Ibn al-Ṭayyib's commentary on Porphyry's Eisagoge. Arabic text edited with introduction and a glossary of Greek-Arabic logical terms*, Beirut 1975). The translation is preceded by an Introduction (24 pp.) of which the first thirteen pages give a general impression of the ideas about logic held by some leading Muslim philosophers as well as some important philosophical aspects of the *Eisagoge* in general and Ibn al-Ṭayyib's commentary in particular. The remaining part of the introduction is largely identical to the Introduction which preceded the Arabic text. A statement about the existence of a translation of the *Eisagoge* by Ibn al-Muqaffā' has been withdrawn, and there are some, mainly bibliographical, additions. A rather confusedly written section on the MSS. is added.

The translation of Ibn al-Ṭayyib's commentary on the *Eisagoge* will surely be welcomed by scholars interested in logic; Ibn al-Ṭayyib's commentary makes no light reading for those who, like myself, are not thoroughly familiar with logic and its Arabic terminology. To my, albeit not too expert, eyes the translation looks accurate, although I wonder why for instance a term like *muqawwim* is translated by 'intrinsic' in para. 9 of the English text and by 'constitutive' in the next paragraph.

It is to be regretted that the paragraph numbering of the translation does not follow that of the Arabic edition; comparison would have been easier that way. It is also surprising that Ibn al-Ṭayyib's own introduction (thirty pages of the Arabic text) has been omitted from the translation without any given reason. In this introduction Ibn al-Ṭayyib gives his opinion on some basic concepts of philosophy, which is quite interesting; so why should it be excluded?

The translation is followed by Dr. Gyekye's commentary on Ibn al-Ṭayyib's commentary, which testifies to the author's great familiarity with the complicated matters dealt with in the text.

Leiden, July 1980

REMKE KRUK

* *

AVICENNE, *La Métaphysique du Shifā'*, I-V, Introduction, traduction et notes, by George C. ANAWATI, Paris, Librairie Philosophique, J. Vrin, 1978 (26 cm., 381 pp.) = *Études Musulmanes*, no. 21.

The *Metaphysics* of *al-Shifā'*, Avicenna's philosophical encyclopedia, is unquestionably his major contribution to this subject, which he has broached in numerous other works. Its chequered history cannot be traced here, but it suffices to say that it has left an indelible mark on the whole development of Islamic-Arabic philosophy, both in its more conventional 'Peripatetic' form, and its less conventional illuminationist (Ishrāqī) form. In the field of scholastic theology (Kalām), it became at first the target of violent onslaughts from Ash'arite circles (such as al-Ghazali's) and Malikite circles (such as Ibn Khaldūn's). Subsequently, it began to condition later dialectical methods; even sufism was able to accommodate itself to

some of its basic cosmological and metaphysical assumptions.

In the Middle Ages, the *Metaphysics* was translated into Latin by Dominicus Gundissalinus (Gudissalvi) and had a far-reaching influence on philosophers and theologians of the most diverse persuasions, including Roger Bacon, St. Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus. In 1907, Max Horten made an integral translation into German of the *Metaphysics* and many Western scholars have excerpted or commented it since. Hence the present meticulous translation of Books I-V of this important work continues a long tradition of Avicennian scholarship, in Arabic and Persian, on the one hand, and various European languages, on the other.

Father Anawati's contribution to Avicennian studies in general, and Arabic-Islamic thought, in particular, is already considerable. He was originally responsible, jointly with Sā'id Zāyid, for the only modern edition of the *Metaphysics of the Shifā'*, sponsored by the Egyptian Ministry of Culture and National Guidance, and published in Cairo in 1960. This edition has made the Arabic text accessible to scholars in Arabic on a wide scale; and the present French translation will make it even more widely accessible, at least up to Book V. One can only hope that the remaining five books will not be long in appearing.

Readers of Father Anawati's translation will learn a great deal from his extensive Introduction, which traces the history of the Arabic text, the translations which have preceded his own, and the influence the *Metaphysics* of Avicenna has exerted on Muslim and Western scholars, in the Middle Ages, as well as modern times. The elucidation of the text is given in the very copious Notes and Commentaries, which leave hardly a single textual or philosophical point, pertaining to the text, unresolved. In this respect this volume may be looked upon as an exhaustive exposition of the whole metaphysics of Avicenna, at least as far as the subject-matter of the first five books is concerned. In the forthcoming volume, we feel confident that the remaining books will receive the same meticulous care and elucidation, and it is the hope of the present reviewer that a French-Arabic glossary will cap this outstanding piece of scholarship, facilitating further the work of scholars, whether Western or Arab.

In closing, we wish to be permitted to draw attention to one or two shortcomings or oversights, which will not detract from the value of this work, or the personal regard in which the present reviewer holds its author. On p. 44, Ibn Bājja (Avempace) is mentioned among the many Muslims admirers and disciples of Avicenna who "reconnaissent ce qu'ils lui doivent". My own researches into the work of Ibn Bājja have revealed the startling fact that nowhere is Avicenna mentioned by name by this Arab-Spanish philosopher, who made of al-Fārābī, Ibn Sina's own spiritual master, his almost exclusive mentor. Whether this omission was intentional or not, it is certainly not without historical significance. A noteworthy bibliographical omission is J. Saliba's *Étude sur la métaphysique d'Avicenne*, published in Paris in 1926. A minor typographical error occurs on p. 286, where "la science de mécanique" is clearly intended, as one of the subdivisions of geometry.

However, apart from these minor omissions, the present reviewer can find no fault to detract from this outstanding

piece of philosophical and philological scholarship, and would recommend it without reservations to all those scholars who are interested in Arabic-Islamic philosophy, and its most illustrious representative in the eleventh century.

American University of Beirut
Beirut, Lebanon, August 1980

MAJID FAKHRY

* *

TAHA HUSAIN, *The Call of the Curlew*. Translated into English by A. B. as-Safi. Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1980 (20 cm., viii + 130 pp.) = Arabic Translation Series of the Journal of Arabic Literature, Volume 5. fl. 32.-. ISBN 90 04 06197 5.

The Call of the Curlew, or *Du'ā' al-Karawān* in Arabic, is a very popular novel in Egypt as may be concluded from the fact that it had reached its seventeenth impression by March 1980. It could be that its sales have been boosted by its inclusion on compulsory reading lists of secondary schools. Anyway, a seventeenth impression is no mean achievement for a book which dates back to 1934 for its composition. About the same time, 1931, Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Qādir al-Māzinī published his *Ibrāhīm al-Kātib*, and Ṭāhir Lashīn his *Hawwā' bilā Adam* (1934). Tawfiq al-Hakīm's *Awdat al-Rūh* belongs to this same period (first published in 1934), but it dates back to 1927 as regards its time of composition. *Du'ā' al-Karawān* distinguishes itself from these early novels by its tight composition which however should not be taken to mean that it is the most remarkable novel of the period. The position of the narrator in *Du'ā' al-Karawān* is firmly established, all events are narrated, all emotions translated by her. Nowhere the position of the narrator is meddled with, as is so often the case in other early Arabic novels. The narrative is linear except for the first chapter and part of the second chapter. The first chapter relates an event which takes place in the middle of the story, or in chapter 22, introducing thereby the theme of the novel: A girl, placed in an inferior position as a servant, has to face the seductive skill of a man, who is placed in the superior position as her employer. The narrator tells about her present well-to-do position in the second chapter and then she begins to tell her story. These two chapters apparently should whet the appetite of the reader, since they make clear that the book contains a story of success: A poor humble servant eventually becomes the lady of the house.

However, the novel is not just a success story. It also tells about the path leading to success and about the path leading to perdition. An ignorant girl is seduced by her master and then killed by her uncle because of her being seduced. Her sister fares a better sort, because she, by chance, received some schooling. Trying to take revenge for her sister's death, she seeks employment at the house of her sister's seducer. Fortified by her sister's spirit, and by the call of the curlew reminding her of her sister's sort, she succeeds in keeping her employer at a distance without offending him. He, in his turn, is impressed by his servant's stand as well as by her education. He proposes to her and this makes her tell him the story of her

sister's death. There is no happy ending except that the second chapter makes clear that the story does not end in a minor key.

As regards the social aspects of the novel, there is the horror expressed at the killing of the seduced girl and there is the plaidoyer for education for girls. Education does not corrupt girls, on the contrary it enables them to withstand corruption¹⁾, it is intimated.

The translator, in his Preface, draws the attention of the reader to the difficulties of translating the work of a man, whose "narrative prose is always studded with poetical features: there are whole paragraphs written in parallelisms of meticulously balanced structures, numerous traditional mannerisms, the most obvious examples being the graceful assonances and the rhythmic repetitions of words, phrases and complete sentences"²⁾. "The dilemma facing the present translator", the Preface continues, "is how to bring about an equilibrium whereby the original artistic flavour is transferred into English without hindering genuine comprehension or producing something that can be rejected as totally 'un-English'. In many cases, only an approximation, rather than a complete translation is possible in order to present a natural, acceptable rendition". These words, which imply that the translator did not view his task lightly, have not remained mere words. One feels their impact throughout the translation which reaches a seldom attained level. It could serve as a model for others who translate from the Arabic.

I discovered one flaw worth mentioning. On page 14 the translation has "the crescent of the moon", whereas the Arabic original clearly indicates a waning moon. The difference is not without significance. The notion of a waning moon agrees with an atmosphere spelling imminent disaster. Like the moon events are heading for darkness. The translation, therefore, robs nature of a function it had in the Arabic original.

Ending this review, I hope that this novel is given the reception it deserves, both on account of the place it has in modern Arabic literature as well as on account of this splendid translation.

Leiden, October 1980

C. NIJLAND

* *

NAGUIB MAHFOUZ, *Children of Gebelawi*. Translated by Philip STEWART London, Heinemann Educational Books, 1981 (18,5 cm., ix + 355 pp.) = Arab Authors 15. Price: £ 3.75. ISBN 0 435 99415 8 (Arab Authors); £ 2.95 0 435 90225 3 (African Writers Series).

TAHA HUSSEIN, *An Egyptian Childhood*. The Autobiography of Taha Hussein. Translated by E.H. PAXTON. London, Heinemann Educational Books, 1981 (18,5 cm., x + 85 pp.) = Arab Authors 16. Price: £ 2.25. ISBN 0 435 99416 6 (Arab Authors), 0 435 90228 8 (African Writers Series).

¹⁾ See also my review of Hilary Kilpatrick, *The Modern Egyptian Novel*. BiOr XXXIV (1977), 244-246.

²⁾ Last page of the Preface.

MAHMOUD DARWISH, *The Music of Human Flesh*. Selected and Translated by Denys JOHNSON-DAVIES. London, Heinemann Educational Books, 1980 (18,5 cm., xix + 71 pp.) = Arab Authors Series 7. ISBN 0 89410 202 8 (cased), 0 89410 203 6 (paper).

Children of Gebelawi is the title which Philip Stewart chose for his translation of *Awlad Haritna*, Naguib Mahfouz's most controversial novel which was serialized in the daily *al-Ahram* from 21 September-25 December 1959 and which was first published in bookform in 1967 in Beirut. Summaries of this novel can be found in Sasson Somekh's *The Rhythm of Change. A Study of Najib Mahfuz's Novels*. Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1973, and in Hilary Kilpatrick, *The Modern Egyptian Novel. A Study in Social Criticism*. London, Ithaca Press, 1974. The place of action is an imaginary quarter of Cairo bordering on wellknown quarters like al-Gamaliyya and al-'Utuf and the Muqattam Mountains. The story of this quarter has been grafted upon the stories of Adam, Cain and Abel, Moses, Christ and the Prophet Muhammad as they have been handed down through the Quran and the biography of the Prophet. The line is stretched beyond the Prophet to reach Arafa, who impersonates modern science and who aspires to achieve lasting results where his predecessors only achieved partial and ephemeral results in the quarter. It was F. Steppat who defined the novel as "Heilsgeschichte" in his article "Gott, die Futuwat und die Wissenschaft. Zu Nagib Mahfuz: Awlad Haratna", *Mélanges Armand Abel*, Vol. II. Brussel, 1975, pp. 375-390. I doubt if English words like "Salvation History" or like "Sacred History" do express the same meaning as the word "Heilsgeschichte". It is the history of God's guidance of mankind and of man's forgetfulness of this guidance and of man's suffering on account of this forgetfulness. As Moses, Christ and the Prophet Muhammad had God-willed missions to accomplish, so Gebel, Rifaa and Kassem are commanded into action by Gebelawi, their god-like ancestor. Even Arafa received approval of his actions from the dying Gebelawi, after he had broken into Gebelawi's mansion to unveil his secrets and had thereby dealt him a deadly moral blow. I should like in this connection to mention Naguib Mahfouz's assertion that Gebelawi does not represent God but man's concept of God. Modern science killed this concept and certainly not God himself according to Naguib Mahfouz. I for myself am of the opinion that the relation Gebelawi — God or, man's concept of God is not static. Sometimes one can hardly doubt the identification Gebelawi — God but at other times the linkage is made insecure or even denied as it were. The same can be said about the links between Gebel and Moses, Rifaa and Christ, and Kassem and the Prophet. I do not think that one should hold this against the novel, on the contrary, I consider this phenomenon as one of its attractions.

The blurb on the backcover of the book tells the reader that the work can be read on many levels, one of them being the "surface level". The blurb says: "On the surface it is an evocative account of an Egypt that has now almost vanished". This statement needs some qualification. The author has drawn on authentic Cairene material, it is true, but he has mixed it freely with material from other sources to begin with and he does not seem to have left everything

Cairene in its proper place. The case of the trustee may serve as an example. The trustee plays the role of the opponent or opponents of Gebel, Rifaa and Kassem on the one hand, on the other hand he is the administrator of a trust and as such playing a role in the quarter which I doubt any such administrator ever played. The "chiefs" pose a similar problem. Their actions in the quarter are likewise grafted upon the actions of the opponents of Moses, Christ and the Prophet, and that means that they are not completely themselves. Another question is whether the Amir al-hitta and his private army have not provided the model for part of the behaviour of the Trustee and the chiefs. For the remainder the scene is as Cairene as a scene could be.

I fully agree with the statement that "There is little to compare it with in world literature...", but I should have liked to see a reference to James Joyce's *Ulysses*. It is known that the author has a great admiration for this work and it is therefore highly plausible that he was directly inspired by it. The difference between him and James Joyce is that he opted for frequent and rather overt references, whereas Joyce chose concealment, his one overt reference being the title of his book.

Scrutiny of selected parts of the text revealed to me the quality of this translation. It is very high. This does not mean that I approve of everything. I would have preferred not to translate the word "Futuwwa" and to give some explanation of the term in the introduction or in a footnote. Any other term, however well chosen, becomes at times awkward. I do not think that one should shrink from using words which the reader does not know, and certainly not when they stand for concepts which are equally unknown to the reader. I do admit, however, that "chief" is a good rendering once one has opted for translation. I think that the translator may be proud of his achievement for which he must have worked very hard. He certainly will be satisfied to see the book in print to which he devoted so much love and attention. I, personally hope that he will find time and courage to translate other Arabic books much to the benefit of both Arabic literature and its non-Arab readers.

Taha Hussein, *An Egyptian Childhood* is a reprint of Paxton's translation of the first part of *al-Ayyam*, which translation was first published in 1932, or only three years after the original version had come off the press. Comparing the translation with the original I was struck by the translator's precision. The remarks I make should therefore be considered as proof of my perusal of the text rather than as critique.

P. 44 of *al-Ayyam* reads: "fatah Allah 'alayka" which words are rendered by "Well done" (translation p. 21). The translator seems to have argued that the Arabic utterance has little more than commonplace value and that a literal translation would be out of place therefore.

This point of view may have been quite respectful at a time when the number of translations was low and when the reader was rather unaccustomed to this kind of expression. Today, however, with an increasing number of translations and with the increase of contacts between non-Arabs and Arabs, a literal translation must be preferred.

P. 46 "Wa haqq al-qu'rān al-magīd" is rendered "By the

truth of the glorious Quran (p. 22), where "By the glorious Quran" would have been better in my opinion.

P. 68 "dars fi al-tawhīd aw al-fiqh" is rendered "a lecture on the Unity or jurisprudence" (p. 34), where I would prefer "a lesson on the Faith or the Sacred Law". Likewise p. 141 "Urid an adrus al-fiqh wa al-naḥw wa al-manṭiq wa al-tawhīd" has been translated "I want to study jurisprudence, syntax, logic and the doctrine of Unity" (p. 73). I would prefer: "I want to study the Sacred Law, Language, Logic and Religion".

I should like to say that I was impressed to see that the translation has aged so little. This fact and the precision of the translator fully justify its reimpression. There are a few alterations in the present edition like "ulema ones" (p. 85) being replaced by "ulemas" (40), "They perform the Zikr sitting in silence" (98), by "They start the Zikr ..." (46), "bad omen" (100), by "bad luck" (47), some thirty alterations in all. Beginning students of Arabic will certainly profit from the renewed availability of this text, which they should be encouraged to buy for themselves. The Introduction has been written by Prof. Pierre Cachia of Columbia University, New York, the esteemed author of *Taha Husayn: His Place in the Egyptian Literary Renaissance* (London, Luzac, 1956).

The third volume to be discussed here is an anthology of the poetry of Mahmud Darwish. It is not the first selection of his poetry to be translated in one of the Western languages. *Selected Poems*. Mahmoud Darwish, introduced and translated by Ian Wedde and Fawwaz Tuqan was published by Carcanet Press Limited, in Cheadle (U.K.) in 1973. It was followed by *Splinters of Bone* selected and translated by B. M. Bennani and published by Greenfeld Press, New York in 1974. A French anthology was published by Les Editions du Cerf, Paris 1970 with the title Mahmud Darwish, *Poèmes palestiniens. Les fleurs du sang*, translated by Olivier Carré. The German "Verlag der Olivenbaum", Berlin, published *Die palästinensische Wunde*, a selection of poems by Mahmoud Darwish, translated by Johanna and Mustafa Haikal. Mahmud Darwish, moreover, is a fixed feature in the general anthologies of Palestinian poetry. To be mentioned are *A Lover from Palestine and other poems*, edited by Abdul Wahhab Al Messiri, published by Free Palestine Press, in Washington, 1970. This volumes derived its name from one of the poems of Mahmud Darwish. The volume *Enemy in the Sun. Poetry of Palestinian Resistance*, by Naseer Aruri and Edmund Ghareeb was published by Drum & Spear Press in Washington. The present volume contains 36 poems, thirteen of which were included in one or more of the above volumes. All poems have been retranslated for this volume. It is remarkable to see how different the wordings of two translations of one poem sometimes are while both translations could be separately praised for their precision. Denys Johnson Davies should be thanked for his poetic and yet concise translation and for the efforts he is spending in fostering the series Arab authors, in which the three volumes under review were published.

Leiden, April 1981

C. NIJLAND

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Sawsan EL-MESSIRI, *Ibn al-Balad. A Concept of Egyptian Identity*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1978 (25 cm., xi + 116 pp.) = Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East. Études sociales, économiques et politiques du Moyen Orient. Volume XXIV. ISBN 90 04 05664 5. Price: fl. 64.-.

The first line of the Introduction reads: "This study is an essay on the concept of *ibn al-balad* in Egyptian society and culture. It is concerned with the social manifestations of the group associated with the concept in both historical and contemporary times" (p. 1). The author then explains that to be called an *ibn al-balad* may mean that the person indicated is wearing a *gallābiyya*, comes from a *baladī* quarter, cannot be hoodwinked, is never punctual, or knows a great deal about folk traditions. The concept in folklore, she asserts, "relates to the Egyptian masses but more specifically to the Cairene folk" (p. 4).

Both in her Introduction as well as in her Conclusion the author asserts that the indigenous population was a homogeneous group due to the fact that the country was ruled by a foreign elite in the period before the ascent of Muhammad Ali. After his ascent to power this homogeneous group began to show cracks. An effendi class began to emerge which set itself apart from the *awlād al-balad*. The processes of westernization were intensified by the British occupation. More Egyptians made their entry into the ruling and economic elites. The 'true Egyptian', the Introduction says, was symbolized by *al-Misri effendi* (p. 6, cf. also p. 48) in the late twenties of the century. The 1952 revolution brought a change and since then the *ibn al-balad* became the symbol of Egyptian identity. (p. 6).

The term *Ibn al-balad*, the author writes, is used in a variety of contexts, which "could be divided into two broad contexts implying 1. meaning referring to behavioral characteristics or norms, 2. meaning referring to a specific group that could denote either the collectivity of Egyptians in general or a specific group of Egyptians" (p. 7).

Faced with the absence of a precise delineation, the author has set out "to investigate its historical origins, the way other people think of the group and the self-definition of the group itself" (p. 7). In order to avoid *a priori* assumptions, she has started "with the 'common sense' meaning that the members of the culture share" (p. 7). Her first approach centered itself on the stereotype form, which "does not conform in all aspects with actual behavior yet is part of the social reality of that group" (p. 7).

This subjective level of meaning is then complemented by her by an objective interpretation. The specific questions raised are: "Is there a class or category of Egyptians who are identified within the country as *awlād al-balad*? If so, who are they and what is their role and status in the larger society?"

The first chapter (p. 9-35) deals with the historical development of the concept *Ibn al-balad*. First the author discusses the question of who should be excluded, then who should be included and third who were the *awlād al-balad* at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The second chapter (p. 37-55) is titled: How others view *Ibn al-balad*, with the subdivision: 1. Elements that consti-

tute the image of *awlād al-balad*, and 2; The typification of *awlād al-balad*. The author first investigates "various elements of the typification of the *awlād al-balad* in relation to the different classes in the society, i.e. residence, education, religion, occupation etc. Then she attempts "to reconstruct the various elements of the typification of *awlād al-balad* in order to ascertain the standard prevailing image, as conceived by the majority of the persons interviewed" (p. 37). Seeing the virtues such as gallantry (*shahāma*), conservatism, cleverness (*fahlawa*), masculinity and joviality mentioned as markers (p. 49), one is likely to ask how other the others are who conceive of the *ibn al-balad* as possessing these virtues. A second question is if there are any persons who are considered not to be *awlād al-balad* because of their apparent deficiency in the virtues just mentioned?

Chapter three deals with the Community of *Ibn al-Balad* (57-71), 1. Physical and demographic features, 2. Culture of *Awlād al-balad* as *awlād al-hitta*, 3. Roles of *awlād* and *banāt al-balad*. As regards this question one could ask if the author has done any systematic research in the modern popular quarters? Do people in these quarters consider themselves *awlād al-balad*, or do they, instead, deny this, and if the deny it whom do they consider to be *awlād al-balad*? The other features she mentions in this chapter, such as the wearing of the *milāyya laff* by women, the visiting of holy men's tombs and the reliance on folk medicine are not restricted to what she calls *awlād* or *banāt al-balad*. Other traditional groups share these features¹⁾.

As regards the *Futuwa*'s (p. 64-71) two remarks must be made. The first remark is that the treatment of the subject seems to me a little out of proportion with regard to the main subject. The author could have referred to her article "The changing role of the Futuwa in the social structure of Cairo"²⁾ after which she could have contented herself with a summary treatment of the subject. The second remark is that the subject is deserving a more ample treatment. The novels and short stories of Nagīb Maḥfūz, for example, show the *Futuwa*'s acting in a greater variety of roles than described here³⁾. One should like to know in how far these roles have a basis in reality, or if Maḥfuz has used the name to denote a variety of functions, such as those assumed by the Amirs in the quarter where they happened to live⁴⁾.

¹⁾ As regards the Egyptian fellāh cf. Hamed Ammar, *Growing up in an Egyptian Village*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954, Chapter three: 'Folk Life and social change in the village' (pp. 67-84), and Winifred S. Blackman, *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*. Their religious, social and industrial life with special reference to survivals from ancient times. London, Frank Cass & Company, new impression, 1968.

²⁾ In Ernest Gellner and John Waterbury, *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies*. London, Duckworth, pp. 239-253. She mentions this article in other places but not once in the discussion of the *Futuwa*.

³⁾ Cf. my "Some Notes on Futuwa's in Modern Egypt", *al-Abḥāth*, forthcoming.

⁴⁾ For his role see 'Alī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-tawfiqiyya al-gadida*. I. Bulāq, 1304 H., p. 79, which describes life in Cairo before the French invasion of 1798. The effective rule of the quarter or the alley was exercised by the Amir living there. The ruler had no power at all. If he or the Pasha objected against a reversal of their ruling the war was on and strife was rife (lit. the sea of strife was flowing over). The rifaḥ could exert influence through their association with an Amir. The people had hardships to endure.

As regards the term '*mu'allim*' (pp. 47, 60, 64) one wishes that the author had given a more precise historical meaning, such as the one in G. Baer, *Egyptian Guilds in Modern Times* (Jerusalem, 1964, pp. 52, 62-65). The title '*mu'allim*' is best translated with "master of a trade or craft". It is not clear, to be true, if the title was ever restricted to the members of a guild or if popular usage extended the circle of those so named beyond the guilds, or if there were and may be still are guilds or guild-like organizations which have not received our attention so far⁵⁾. Uncle Yahya, the snake-charmer in Nagīb Maḥfūz's novel *Awlād haritnā* (p. 155, 3rd edition, Beirut, 1973) is called a *mu'allim*. His profession does not occur in Baer's list of guilds, nor does the profession of exorcist on the strength of which Rifā'a was called *mu'allim* (*Awlād Haritnā*, p. 365). Hashish-dealers, mentioned by Sawsan el-Messiri (p. 47 and 64) do not occur in the lists of Baer, but the above-mentioned examples show that they do not stand alone. The *Futuwa* also is called *mu'allim*, and that on no other grounds, apparently, than his being a *Futuwa* (*Awlād Haritnā*, pp. 221, 255, 276, 279, 280 and elsewhere).

Chapter Four (73-99) deals with the self image of *Ibn al-balad*, 1. The typification of *Ibn al-balad* among dwellers of medieval Cairene quarters, 2. *Ibn al-balad*'s image of self in comparison to other strata, 3. *Bint al-balad*'s image of self and her comparison to other women.

In her conclusion the author says that the dichotomy in the social structure which existed between foreign rulers and indigenous population in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was succeeded by a social dichotomy within the ranks of the indigenous population lasting to the 1952 revolution. After the revolution the gap between the two 'classes', the *effendis* and the *awlād al-balad*, began to narrow but then it became apparent that the gap was narrowed only at the 'ideological level of socialist slogan' whereas it kept widening at the other levels. She ends her argument with the following sentence: "When and how the traditional past will meet the modern present to produce an authentic identity is the dilemma of the *awlād al-balad*, and perhaps this is also the main crisis of Egyptians in the twentieth century (p. 105).

The book closes with 'note on methodology' (p. 106), a 'glossary' (107-110), a 'bibliography' (111-113), and an 'index' (115-116).

The 'note of methodology' could have been more informative. The author could have added information about the number of interviewees, their sex, age, occupation and dwelling-place etc., and the answers they gave divided over the various categories. It would not be irrelevant to know how far the interviewees were removed from the '*awlād al-balad*' as regards family-ties, acquaintance-ships, dwelling-place, education etc.

⁵⁾ G. Baer, *Egyptian Guilds in Modern Times*. Jerusalem, 1964, pp. 35-37, gives a list of guilds described in the 17th century in the *Kitāb al-dhakhā'ir wa'l-tuḥaf fi bir al-sanā' wa'l-ḥiraf*. Gotha, no. 903, and Evliya Celebi in his *Seyehatnamesi*. Baer gives a list of all the guilds mentioned by him in his book on pp. 166-176. One might also consult 'Alī Mubārak's *al-Khiṭaṭ al-tawfiqiyya*, I, 99, for the 19th century situation.

What remains to be said is that I read this study with great interest and that the remarks I made must be seen in this light. The author is to be thanked for her efforts and ingenuity and I, for my part, hope that this study will be followed by other studies on related subjects.

Leiden, October 1980

C. NIJLAND

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Robert ELGOOD (Ed.), *Islamic Arms and Armour*. London, Scolar Press, 1979 (33 cm., IV + 252 pp.). Price: £ 75.00. ISBN 0 85967 470 3.

The study of Islamic arms and armour, the editor of this lavish, expensive book justifiably complains, is very backward. For even the commonest weapons there exist few typologies or chronologies. The 19th and 20th century catalogues of the great collections are long out of print and inaccessible and are, anyway, obsolete in many respects. Yet, he continues, Islamic arms and armour are not only of importance in themselves; they are essential to the study of Islamic metalwork. The neglect of the subject in Islamic art history, if one may hazard a guess, goes with current lack of interest in that quarter in the history of technology. But, whatever the reason, any attempt, like the book under review, to remedy this state of affairs deserves praise.

The present volume demonstrates, however, that work has to begin at a very basic level. As more than one of the contributors remarks, the incessant import and export of weaponry in the Islamic world, in peace and war, and the prevalence of composite workmanship — "Persian" steel forged in India and mounted or set at Bukhārā, inlaid in Russia or misleadingly copied by Armenians at Lemberg/Lwów — complicates even the barest distribution map out of all proportion. Thus, Torben W. Flindt in "Some nineteenth century arms from Bukhārā" [21-29] argues, on the basis of material in Copenhagen and Stockholm, even objects of known Bukhārā provenance may not have been manufactured there. Bukhārā at this period was forced to import raw steel, if not forged blades; and the gold for their inlay (when local craftsmen did not have to make do with brass) came, ironically in view of the legendary rivers of gold which had prompted Peter the Great to despatch Bekovich-Cherkassky's ill-starred expedition to Khiva in 1719, from Russia. Silver mounts worked with niello were Caucasian, and much of the enamel work was Qājār imports, or imitations of them. The manufacture at Bukhārā of "antique" weapons for indiscriminating European collectors further confuses the issue. In these circumstances the typology he proposes is praiseworthy indeed.

Not surprisingly, the coverage of the book is somewhat uneven. Firearms are ignored, doubtless because they raise enough problems for treatment in a separate volume. Technology has a small say, notably in Wilhelm P. Bauer's "A scientific examination of the applied decoration of two Indian swords" [2-4], the metal inlays of which are beaten on to a rather laboriously described hachured ground. The conclusion is unexceptionable; but the point of such

examinations must surely be the possibilities they suggest of distinguishing manufacturing centres; hence they are best made comparatively, not in isolation. More immediately useful is Edward McEwen's reasoned comparison of Indian and Turkish composite bows, "The *chahār khān* or 'four-curved' bow of India" [80-96].

Other contributions (but, conspicuously, not Zdzisław Żygulski's entertaining and informative account of three hundred years of Polish collecting in peace and war, "Islamic weapons in Polish collections and their provenance" [214-38]) are devoted to the inscriptions which Islamic arms so abundantly bear. L.P. Elwell-Sutton's "Persian armour inscriptions" [6-19], on pieces in the Royal Scottish Museum, includes a pair of vambraces bearing the name Nādir Qulī, very possibly Nādir Shāh's own. The inscriptions, even so, have not been completely read, but any reviewer must sympathise when Anatolii Ivanov's "A group of Iranian daggers of the period from the fifteenth century to the beginning of the seventeenth" [65-77] shows them up as drearily empty conceits (in a variety of languages), with only one signature, Mahmūd b. Mas'ūd and not a single date. Ivanov's article, which in many respects is the star of the volume, significantly advances the criteria for attributing and dating Persian arms in general, and is a valuable contribution to the documentation of a virtually unknown period of the minor arts in Iran. This article is complemented by Y.A. Miller's "Iranian swords of the seventeenth century with Russian inscriptions in the collection of the State Hermitage Museum" [139-47] a surprisingly small group as the author observes, given the vast holdings of the Hermitage armoury (formerly at Tsarkoye Selo) and the Moscow Kremlin. They are mostly blades of Persian origin (most probably from Iṣfahān), with mounts, some of the decoration and inscriptions added in Russia. He reads one attribution, on the blade of a *shamshir* dated Old Russian 7160 (= 1652 AD), the work of *Asazaman*, as *Asad Zamān*. A more probable suggestion would be the one he briefly considers, *Asad Allāh al-Iṣfahānī*, (of which *Asazaman* is an obvious garbled contraction) the most reputed swordsmith of the 17th century, whose name was frequently taken in vain, at home and abroad.

A.S. Melikian-Chirvani has contributed three articles, first [98-111] "Bucklers, covers or cymbals? A twelfth century riddle from Eastern Iran", settling for the first alternative. Whatever the conclusion it is proper to consider the metal as crucial, and this has not so far been done. Cymbals depend for their resonance upon high quality tin-bronze, similar to the Persian alloy, *haft jūsh*. The standard leaded brasses of the period¹ would give only a dull thud, not even a tinkle. Now these objects do clash: why then use tin-bronze for *bucklers* when steel or even bound osiers would have been cheaper and more suitable? Second "The tabar of a Turkish dervish" [113-115], which attributes an axe in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs (No. 3214) bearing a Mevlevī quatrain to a 15th century Turkish *Ṣūfī ʿarīqa*: this is particularly important since it

¹ For a comprehensive account of these alloys see P.T. Craddock "The copper alloys of the Mediaeval Islamic world — inheritors of the classical tradition" *World Archaeology* XI/1 (June 1979) 68-79. I owe this reference to the author.

then represents a unique survival. Third is the publication of a group of saddle axes of a certain Luṭf 'Alī all dated to the 1730s [117-35, and Appendix 240-41]. There are references to such *tabarzīns* in literature from the *Shāhnāme* onwards but nothing earlier in the way of material evidence. Their decoration is also valuable for the light it casts on the arts of the later Ṣafawids. He in addition rejects one "signed" and dated axe as an (early 19th century) Indian forgery, ingeniously concluding from this not only the fame of Luṭf 'Alī in India but his fame in Persia as well. This needs more argument, but the forgery does pose remarkable problems.

This last article raises a more general point. The "signatures" on the four signed axes Melikian-Chirvani has published here are all different, the best being in *muḥaqqaq* and the less good in *nasta'liq*. Why should they differ, he reflects, if the same craftsman is involved: surely his signature, at least, should not vary? He concludes that probably the "signature" was the work of a calligrapher and the differences result from successively copying the specimen. Yet, though two of the heavily inscribed pieces bear the same *āyas* (*Qur'ān* LXVII 51-52), cf. Figs. 128, 250, the verses are not similarly lineated; there are different letter forms; and the pointing varies considerably, including even (inappropriate) *tanwin*. These *āyas* were thus evidently extemporised to order, and the same is true, therefore, of the "signatures", which are probably not the writing of a single craftsman but the trade marks of a workshop: they vary because different craftsmen executed them. They have exceptionally careful pointing — consonantal dots/*tashkil*, vowelings/*ḥaraka* and even some of the breathing marks characteristic of *thuluth* and *muḥaqqaq* Qur'ānic scripts. This last must explain, incidentally, the miniature 'ayn below that of 'Alī, which Melikian-Chirvani, rather far-fetchedly, interprets as a contraction of the abbreviation 'ayn-sin (i.e. 'alayhi al-salām), which conventionally follows the mention of a Prophet's name, at least in later manuscript practice, and which could, he suggests, be seen as appropriate to the citation of the name 'Alī in a Shī'i cultural context. The author's observation are of great interest and show an admirably minute concern with the inscriptions: however, the reader is not helped by being faced with the Persian equivalents for the standard Arabic technical terminology of writing. Progress will be facilitated if scholars can agree on a single set of terms.

This group is completed by Helmut Nickel's discussion of a Mamlūk axe in the Metropolitan Museum of Art [150-61], bearing a composite three-field blason (top to bottom): a pair of napkins and two separate chalices. This was borne by emirs at the court of Barqūq², *inter alios* by Nawrūz al-Hāfīzī (executed 1414) whose blason is recorded at Damascus, and on the basis of this and the emir's known biography he attributes the axe to Syria. Since not even Topkapı houses axes of this type datable before 1450 this acquisition gives the Metropolitan Museum the edge, though the evidence for attributing it to Syria

² Cf. M. Meinecke "Zur mamlukischen Heraldik" *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Abteilung Kairo* XXVIII/2 (1972) especially 259-63. This article, which has evidently escaped Nickel's attention, effectively replaces Mayer's Saracenic Heraldry for the later Mamlūk period.

is slender. The article suffers from not giving any more than rough translations of inscriptions and there is an unfortunate concentration of misprints.

The remaining articles are of more general import. G. Tantom's "Muslim warfare: a study of a mediaeval treatise on the art of war" [188-201], à propos of the *Nihāyat al-Su'l* of Muḥammad b. 'Isā b. Ismā'il al-Hanafi al-Āqṣarā'i, earliest dated manuscript British Library Add. 18866, copied 10 Muḥarram 773/25 July 1371, forms an interesting complement to G. Rex Smith's study of the manuscript, *Medieval Muslim Horsemanship. A fourteenth century Arabic cavalry manual* (British Library, 1979), which appeared evidently after the present volume had gone to press. Tantom demonstrates the debt to Aelian's *Tactica* which is cited unacknowledged and sometimes with glosses which show that the Mamlūk author has not properly understood the original. This raises the interesting question whether the *Tactica* was suddenly rediscovered in the Mamlūk state or whether there is an earlier, mediaeval Islamic tradition which further textual scholarship will succeed in tracing. Equally useful is 'Abdel Rahman Zakī's "Mediaeval Arab arms" [203-212] which combines a summary of his earlier work on the swords in Topkapı from Mecca and Medina traditionally associated, with some plausibility, with the early Umayyads and some of the later 'Abbāsīd Caliphs, with a review of al-Kindī's and al-Bīrūnī's evidence on the forging and welding of steel in the early Middle Ages.

J.D. Latham and W.F. Patterson base their "Archery in the lands of Eastern Islam" [79-88] on their annotated translation of the Mamlūk *Ghunyat al-Tullāb* of Ṭaybughā al-Ashrafi al-Baklamishī al-Yunānī, with its detailed prescriptions of the archer's movements and follow-through. They torpedo a number of illusions, Oriental and Western: archer's thumb-rings though popular as jewellery and symbolising, perhaps, the standing of archery as proof of manly virtue/*muruwwa*, were of no practical use. And the notion that free-style archers rode without reins, directing their horses by thigh pressure is the reverse of the truth: the horses had to be specially trained not to respond to thigh-pressure, otherwise the archers could never have got their shots home.

The two surveys which remain deserve brief consideration, since both contain good ideas partially frustrated by inadequate captions. David Nicolle's "An introduction to arms and warfare in classical Islam" [163-86] is a wide-ranging account, somewhat along the lines of Ayalon's "Aspects of the Mamlūk phenomenon. A" (*Der Islam* LIII/2 (1976) 196-225; reprinted id. *The Mamlūk Military Society* (London 1979). Though he goes beyond Ayalon, and the evidence, in assuming that the 'Abbāsīds' *mamlūks* were freedmen (cf. "Ghulām" *ET*²) he usefully establishes that the *Arabs* contributed most to the infantry: the Beduin cavalry, when not totally ignored by commanders, was never a crack unit. What lets the article down are the captions to the drawings and photographs which illustrate it. Fig. 181 in the Freer Gallery, described as "an inlaid silver bottle" is actually the Eumorfopoulos brass canteen inlaid with silver which, *pace* Nicolle, does not show crossbowmen. Among other inadequacies are "Patzinak" for Pecheneg (Fig. 41), "Avalokiteśvara" misspelled and, worse, misunderstood (Fig. 37), and a ghost work, Ḥarīrī's Travels, for which read the *Maqāmāt*.

However, this is a much less frustrating performance than Michael Gorelik's "Oriental armour of the Near and Middle East from the eighth to the fifteenth centuries as shown in works of art" [30-63], the longest and most lavishly illustrated contribution in the book and a laudable attempt to supplement the very deficient archaeological material for this period with pictorial evidence. Indeed, he is able to conclude that a crucial innovation in armour appears in late 14th century Iraq — plate armour which combined maximum flexibility and protection. Conclusions from the pictorial evidence, however, have the drawback (which Nicolle's dismissal of the conservatism of the illustrations to the *Nihāyat al-Su'l* manuscripts mentioned above also underestimates) that painters were not generally journalists and that their work in large libraries copying earlier paintings often leads to long and misleading time-lags in introducing new features. It is, admittedly, possible to make some allowance for this. However, the long series of drawings which illustrate Gorelik's text and upon which he bases his arguments are sparsely captioned and virtually unusable. The present locations of the originals are badly out of date, descriptions are inadequate and sometimes botched, and the cumulative effect of so many details divorced from their context is that of a visual test in which a score of 80% would be excellent; but for an article like this that would not be good enough. Gorelik's difficulties in checking all his material evoke sympathy (he works in the Russian Academy of Sciences); but he has evidently misconceived the scope of his task. To be fully of use such pictorial adjuncts require not only the utmost detail but indications of readily accessible publications against which the copies may, if necessary, be checked. And this is so space-consuming that, understandably, few authors or publishers embark upon it.

There is a point in cavilling about inadequacies of production and realisation of detail in a book which costs £ 75. The photographs are of uneven quality and too many of them take up too much room: the ration of text to illustration is quite low. The translation from the Russian (the editor has been particularly enterprising in obtaining so many Russian contributions) is competent but makes no concessions to the Anglo-Saxon reader — Peter I and "a Voronezh governor", for example, in Miller's article, for Peter the Great and "governor of Voronezh"; "skate-skin" in Ivanov's for shagreen. The bibliography contains nothing after 1976 and thus fails to include some important recent works which have done something to redress the balance in favour of Islamic arms, notably A.A. Ivanov's *Iskusstvo Kubachi/The Art of Kubachi* (Leningrad 1976) and I.I. Vishnevskaya's recent exhibition catalogue, *Treasures of 16th-18th century Persian and Turkish, applied art, from the collections of the Moscow Kremlin* (text in Russian) (Moscow 1979). These criticisms reflect not on the contributors or the editor but on the publisher's judgement — evidently, that a luxurious format was the only way to sell a collection of articles on Islamic arms and armour. But there were many cheaper and quicker ways. It is unfortunate that the price will considerably restrict the circulation of this book, for it contains much that is new, true and worth saying twice.

Department of Oriental Antiquities
British Museum, August 1980

J.M. ROGERS

Sami Khalil MAR'I, *Arab Education in Israel*. Syracuse N.Y., Syracuse University Press, 1978 (grossoktav, xvi, 209 S.). Preis: \$ 15.00. ISBN 0 8156 0145 X.

Im Erziehungswesen konkretisieren sich die sozialen, kulturellen und politischen Entwicklungen eines Volkes, so dass die Probleme deutlich ablesbar werden. Das vorliegende Buch über die Bildungssituation der arabischen Minderheit im Staat Israel ist zugleich ein Dokument, das über den allgemeinen Zustand dieses Teils des palästinischen Volkes Aufschluss gibt.

Die arabische Bevölkerung wurde nach der Errichtung des jüdischen Staates in das Schulpflichtgesetz von 1949 einbezogen. Das Gesetz wird zwar für die arabischen Bürger nicht mit derselben Konsequenz durchgeführt wie für die jüdischen (während mehr als 99 Prozent der jüdischen Kinder die Grundschulen besuchen, sind nur 82 Prozent der arabischen Kinder erfasst; S. 19f.), doch ist der Fortschritt gegenüber der Zeit des britischen Mandats über Palästina, in der es keine Schulpflicht gab, offensichtlich. Besonders aufschlußreich ist, daß auch die arabischen Mädchen von der Schulpflicht profitieren; immerhin gingen 1973 78 Prozent von ihnen zur Grundschule, und inzwischen dürfte sich die Situation weiter verbessert haben. Nicht nur in den Städten, sondern auch auf dem Land hat das Verständnis der Eltern für den Nutzen einer Schulbildung deutlich zugenommen. Die jüngere Elterngeneration erkennt, dass dadurch den Kindern aller Schichten gleiche Chancen für Bildung und sozialen Aufstieg geboten werden, und macht — vor allem für ihre Söhne — gern davon Gebrauch (S. 45). Das ist zugleich ein Symptom und ein Bestandteil der stattfindenden gesellschaftlichen Veränderungen: durch die fortschreitende Einbeziehung der arabischen Minderheit in die Wirtschaft und das Wertsystem Israels lösen sich alte Abhängigkeiten auf. Während die Sippe (*hamūla*), die entscheidende soziale Einheit der traditionellen Dorfgesellschaft, ständig an Bedeutung verliert (S. 156ff.), zieht selbst in die Kleinfamilie ein „demokratischerer“ Geist ein; den Kindern werden mehr Freiheiten und Entscheidungsbefugnisse gelassen (S. 140f., 153, 162, 164, 175).

Trotzdem ist die Lage der Araber in Israel natürlich in keiner Weise befriedigend. Was das Schulwesen betrifft, so klagen sie sowohl über Vernachlässigung in der Ausstattung wie über die strenge Kontrolle, die die israelischen Behörden ausüben. Die gravierendsten Beschwerden des Verf. aber betreffen die Bildungsziele. Von 1948 bis 1972 gab es überhaupt keine definierten Ziele für die arabischen Schulen; sie wurden im wesentlichen nach pragmatischen Gesichtspunkten betrieben, unter denen der der Sicherheit eine hervorragende Rolle spielte. 1972 brachte dann das sogenannte Yadlin-Dokument eine Ausrichtung der Erziehung auf Frieden, Loyalität zum Staat, Erleichterung der wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Absorbierung der Araber in Israel und Selbstbestimmung der Frau (S. 52), also eine überwiegend an fremden Werten orientierte Zielsetzung, die offenbar auch von jüdischen Fachleuten als fragwürdig empfunden wurde. Ein gemischtes jüdisch-arabisches „Committee on Arab Education for the Eighties“ wandte sich gegen das Yadlin-Dokument und forderte 1975, daß die staatliche Erziehung im „arabischen Sektor“ Israels auf der arabischen Kultur beruhen müsse (S. 53f.). Ob diese Forderung Ergebnisse gezeitigt hat, vermag der Verf. noch nicht zu sagen. Seine Wiedergabe der zur Zeit der

Niederschrift des Buches gültigen Lehrpläne für Geschichte, Sprachen, Literatur und Religion zeigt jedenfalls eine bestürzende Vernachlässigung der nationalen arabischen und islamischen Elemente (S. 70ff.). An den Sekundärschulen werden zum Beispiel der hebräischen Sprache und Literatur insgesamt mehr Stunden gewidmet als der arabischen; 256 Stunden werden auf Bibel, Mischna und Haggada verwendet, nur 120 auf den Koran (S. 82, 85). M. kann die Feststellung eines jüdischen Experten zitieren, dass der Lehrplan der arabischen Schulen in Israel „der Tendenz zum Opfer gefallen ist, die arabische Nationalität zu verwischen und den arabischen Schüler dazu zu erziehen, daß er sich gegenüber der jüdischen Majorität selbst geringerschätzt“ (S. 87). Nimmt man die Tatsache hinzu, daß der arabischen Jugend in Israel viele der begehrteren Berufsmöglichkeiten verschlossen sind, so wird leicht erklärlich, daß die Schulbildung — insbesondere auf der sekundären und tertiären Ebene — vielfach zu Frustration und Entfremdung führt (S. 112, 137f., 144).

M. ist selbst ein Produkt der arabischen Schulen Israels; er ist als Erziehungswissenschaftler weiter dort tätig. Seine Arbeit macht auch anschaulich, wie die gebildete Jugend der arabischen Minderheit entgegen den Absichten der israelischen Erziehungspolitik erst ein allgemeines arabisches Identitätsbewusstsein und später — nach dem Krieg von 1967 — ein spezifisches palästinisches Nationalbewusstsein entwickelt hat (S. 54, 64, 122f., 125ff., 174f.). Doch ist dieses Nationalbewusstsein für ihn keineswegs notwendigerweise mit einer antijüdischen Einstellung verbunden, wie er auch nicht etwa die jüdischen Stoffe aus den arabischen Lehrplänen verbannen will (S. 89, 179). Seine Idealvorstellung ist eine „multikulturelle“ Erziehung, die den Menschen zu Kompetenz in mehreren Kulturen erzieht (S. 177ff.). Damit bejaht er die Existenz einer arabischen Volksgruppe in Israel unter der Voraussetzung, dass dessen jüdische Bürger ihrerseits die arabische Kultur anerkennen und sich um Kompetenz in ihr bemühen. So ist M.s Buch nicht zuletzt bemerkenswert als Beleg dafür, dass es palästinische Intellektuelle gibt, die auf sehr positive Weise um eine Überwindung des Konflikts mit dem Zionismus ringen.

Berlin, August 1980

FRITZ STEPPAT

* *

TURKIJE

Wolfgang MÜLLER-WIENER, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbul*. Byzantion-Konstantinupolis, Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts. Unter Mitarbeit von Renate und Wolf Schiele, mit einem Beitrag von Nezih Firatli. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Tübingen, Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, 1977. (4° pp. 534, 631 illustrations). Price: DM 198.—. ISBN 3 8030 1022 5.

This majestic publication will give fundamental service to Classical, Byzantine, and Turkish studies. It is a handsome volume with superbly reproduced illustrations. In terms of scholarship, organization, and editorial efficiency

the book is a stupendous achievement, of which the author, the publisher and the German Archaeological Institute as sponsor can be justly proud.

The volume represents yet another step in the interesting evolution of topographical compendia. That pragmatic American, Samuel Ball Platner saw that people can learn topography faster by consulting a dictionary, and his collaborator and heir, Thomas Ashby made "Platner-Ashby" (*A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Oxford, 1929) a Bible of Roman Studies based on literary sources and topographical research but having very few illustrations. It was a stroke of genius on the part of the late Ernest Nash to conceive and carry out the pictorial counterpart to Platner-Ashby in his *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Wasmuth, Tübingen, 1961). Nash's Rome introduced the series of *Bildlexika* sponsored by the German Archaeological Institute. His format was based on pictures accompanied by thumbnail sketches as texts and selectives, updated bibliographies.

A somewhat different balance of picture and text was struck by John Travlos in the second volume of the series, *A Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, E. Wasmuth, Tübingen, 1971. Not having a Platner-Ashby to backstop him, Travlos made his texts longer and more descriptive.

For Istanbul, Müller-Wiener has adopted yet another pattern. He begins with a terse history of the city which sketches the urban fortunes of Byzantion, Constantinupolis, and Istanbul. With realistic logic, he has divided the topographic material into Part II, Konstantinupolis, and Part III, Istanbul. The really radical departure is the abandonment of alphabetical order within the two major divisions. Instead, Müller-Wiener divides each part into "functional groups". Part II includes Anonyme Bauten (a very important collection with material from recent excavations), Bäder, Denkmalsäulen, Häfen, Hippodrom, Kirchen und Klöster, Milion, Nekropolen (with a contribution by N. Firatli), Paläste, Platzanlagen, Strassen, und Wasserversorgungseinrichtungen. Part III, the Turkish Istanbul, has Bäder, Burgen, Handel und Gewerbebauten, Medresen, Moscheen, Paläste, Türben, und Wasserversorgungseinrichtungen. Under each of these sections, the entries are alphabetical. Turkish designations are preferred in principle, though not always in practice.

Because of the long history and the radical change from the Byzantine to the Turkish capital, it is very difficult to devise a suitable topographical scheme for Istanbul, and Müller-Wiener's is perhaps as good as any. Users of the *Bildlexikon* should understand, however, what to expect and how to find their way around.

Let us suppose you are interested in the column of Theodosius. If you know German, you will look under "Denkmalsäulen" — and will not find it. If you read the entry carefully, you will find a statement that some columns are so intimately linked to *Fora* that they are treated under *Fora*. Now you go to the admirable Register (p. 521-524), where you will find Forum Theodosii and then, in the Section entitled "Platzanlagen" brief references to the sources and three illustrations of the most recent finds of the fragments of the Theodosian column (p. 250-265, ills. 299-301). Again, if you are looking for Kahriye Cami, the Register will refer you to Kariye Cami and thence to Section "Kirchen" (pp. 159-163). The Register is the saving grace and on numerous tries has not failed

me once — though you must know the Turkish or the ancient name; the Greek-Byzantine names are less complete — you could find anything starting Hagia or Hagios but not *Moni tou Christou tes Choras* (Kariye Cami).

It is also necessary to understand the format Müller-Wiener has proposed for the contents of individual items. His texts give brief histories of the buildings arranged by periods and include brief references to historical-topographical sources. "Hippodrome", for instance, has fourteen brief historical paragraphs from "Late 2nd/Early 3d Century A.D." to "Twentieth Century". Architectural description of monuments is kept to a minimum. It does not always fully explain what you see in the splendid photographs and the excellent plans but the lengthy captions help. In short, Müller-Wiener tells you what a building is, where it is, and what happened to it from its beginning to present time (ca. 1962-1970). For more detailed information you have to go to the items listed in the fantastically complete and up-to-date bibliographies placed after each entry.

The very concept of the *Bildlexikon* puts a premium on pictures. In this department, Müller-Wiener is unsurpassed and indispensable. The large multicolored fold-out plan of the modern city with indication of historical monuments on a scale of 1:10,000 is superb. Plans and sections liberally used throughout have been drawn or revised and updated by the author, often after very obscure sources. As samples of such goodies I pick arbitrarily a plan of the excavations around the Theodosian Forum, a new *Lageplan* of the Great Palace — both by the author, Verzone's little known reconstruction of columns with the Tetrarchs of San Marco in the Philadelphion, and a plan of Kapalı Carsi. The excellent choice and quality of photographs, too, is the result of collaboration of the photographers for the German Archaeological Institute with a personal "Archiv Müller-Wiener". Rarely has one author contributed so effectively to text, architectural presentation, and photography.

There would be little point in discussing individual items among the nearly two hundred entries, which divide almost equally between Ancient-Byzantine and Turkish. Despite self-imposed limitations, Müller-Wiener has given us a number of important factual essays on such topics as Harbors, Hippodrome, Hagios Polyuktos, Ancient Cemeteries, Augusteion, Great Palace, Beyazit, Kapalı Carsi, Topkapi Sarayı and many others. And if the abandonment of alphabetical order makes individual items harder to find, the grouping into functional types presents us with a sequence of coherent, chapter-like units, which make the book easy to read, as the lucid texts and striking pictures lead you on. All lovers of the great city on the Bosphorus will want to own this great *pictus orbis* of Istanbul.

Harvard University
August 1980

GEORGE M. A. HANFMANN

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IRAN

Wilhelm EILERS, *Deutsch-Persisches Wörterbuch*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1959ff. (Bd 1: xu-620. Bd 2: 288ff.). Lieferungen 1-5 je DM 32. Lieferung 6 DM 68. Lf. 7 und 8 je DM 38. Lf. 9 DM 42.

Seit 1959 erscheint bei Otto Harrassowitz Wiesbaden das grosse *Deutsch-Persische Wörterbuch* von Wilhelm Eilers in Lieferungen von je 96 Seiten. Bis heute (1980) sind 9 Lieferungen ausgegeben worden. Das Wörterbuch ist damit bis zu „Eponym“ gediehen. Noch ein weiter Weg bleibt zurückzulegen bis zum Ende des deutschen Alphabets. Das erscheinen mag dem Laien zu langsam vorkommen. Der Kenner wundert sich eher, dass es so schnell vorwärts geht, wenn er die Grösse der Aufgabe und die gewaltigen Schwierigkeiten vor sich sieht, die der Verfasser dabei zu bewältigen hat. Man fragt sich staunend, wie es W. Eilers möglich war und ist, alle die vielen Einzelheiten für jeden Abschnitt so umfassend und sauberlich zusammenzutragen, in eine so vorzügliche Ordnung und zu so klarer Darstellung zu bringen, so regelmässig der Leserschaft vorzulegen — und dabei noch andere gewichtige und gedankenreiche Abhandlungen zu veröffentlichen. Auch der Druck lässt an Übersichtlichkeit und Präzision nichts zu wünschen übrig. Ohne Zweifel ist hier ein unentbehrliches Standardwerk im Entstehen.

Das Wörterbuch behandelt das geschriebene und gesprochene neupersische Irans ohne scharfe zeitliche Anfangsgrenzen und ohne deutlichen Schnitt zwischen hoher und niedriger Ausdrucksweise, aber mit unverkennbarer Betonung der höheren Gemeinsprache, wie man sie in der Tagesliteratur lesen und im gebildeten Umgang auch hören kann. Damit erhalten die Perser, die Deutsch lernen oder etwas aus dem Deutschen ins Persische zu übertragen haben, einen guten Leitfaden und die Deutschsprachigen, die den aktiven persischen Wortschatz brauchen, ein wertvolles Hilfsmittel, die persischen Äquivalente ihres Vokabulars und ihrer Fraseologie aufzufinden. Über seine Quellen und seine Arbeitsweise spricht sich W. Eilers nicht näher aus. Man kann vermuten, dass Lektüre der moderneren Gebrauchsliteratur getrieben und persische Gewährsleute herangezogen worden sind. Die persischen Wörter werden in unvokalisierter arabischer Schrift und in (vokalisierter) Umschrift geboten. Die Umschrift unterscheidet glücklicherweise die verschiedenen arabischen Buchstaben, die im Persischen gleich ausgesprochen werden, versucht aber, die Vokale etwa so wiederzugeben, wie sie ausgesprochen werden, bleibt also nicht auf der a-i-u-Basis der arabischen Vokalzeichen. Die Bedeutungen eines und desselben deutschen Wortes sind allseitig ausgeschöpft, werden, wenn nötig, in Ziffern untereinander gestellt und erforderlichenfalls auch mit mehreren persischen Synonymen zur Auswahl übersetzt und — vor allem wichtig — mit Beispielen verdeutlicht. Möglicherweise hat das deutsche Wort da und dort zu gewissen gewaltsamen Gleichungen und künstlichen Übersetzungen geführt: altar *mih-rāb* (schon bei Daqīqī *qibla*); „altjüngferlich“ gibt es wohl im Persischen nicht. Aber jede Wortlücke wäre bedauerlich.

Ich weiss, wie gesagt, nicht, wie W. Eilers bei der Arbeit vorgegangen ist. Ich hätte wahrscheinlich aus mündlichen Auskünften und anhaltender Lektüre geschöpft, dauernd übersetzt und mir dann aus den Übersetzungen die

deutschen Stichwörter herausgeholt. Das Lesen hätte aber bis heute kein Ende genommen, und die Übersetzungen hätten den deutschen Wortschatz noch immer nicht abgedeckt und noch immer nicht auf alle deutschen Fragen alle persischen Antworten gegeben. Zusätzlich hätte ich wohl auch die bestehenden persisch-persischen Wörterbücher, auch die Redensartensammlungen, ausgezogen und die persisch-europäischen Wörterbücher auf deutsch-persisch umgekehrt, um zu vermeiden, dass persisches Wortmaterial ungenutzt liegen bleibt. Für *rū-dar-bāyisti* findet man im *Farhang-i luḡāt-i ʿāmmiyāna* *Ġamālzādas* (1963) und bei Junker-Alavi (1965) „befangenheit“, bei W. Eilers (1961) findet man für „befangenheit“ kein *rū-dar-bāyisti*. Hier haben, weil Eilers der Ältere ist, Lektüre und mündliche Erkundung versagt. Wenn W. Eilers für Wörter wie „entelechie“ im Persischen eine Definition gibt, so ist das zwar sehr hilfreich, aber es entsteht der Eindruck, als hätten die Perser nie mit aristotelischer Philosophie hantiert und nie den arabischen Fachausdruck *kamāl* verwendet. Wir wollen froh und dankbar sein, dass W. Eilers einen Weg eingeschlagen hat, der ihn rasch zu den greifbaren Ergebnissen geführt hat, die uns nun zu Gebote stehen.

Die Arbeit am deutsch-persischen Wörterbuch wird allerdings auch nach dem Erreichen des Buchstabens z nicht abgeschlossen sein, weil die persische Sprache noch manche andere Möglichkeiten bereithält, deutsche Wörter und Wendungen wiederzugeben, mehr als in einem einzigen Arbeitsgang eingefangen werden können. Einige Nachträge und Berichtigungen hat Heshmat Moʿayyad in seiner schönen und beherzigenswerten Studie *Zum Problemkreis und Stand der persischen Lexikographie*, Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, NS XII, 1962, geliefert. Ohne mich auf sie abzustimmen, gebe ich hier einige weitere Nachträge. Sie sind rein zufällig, beim Lesen und Hören, zusammengekommen, erheben nicht den geringsten Anspruch auf systematische Vergleichung oder gar Vollständigkeit, wollen Eilers auch nicht verbessern, sondern nur zeigen, dass sein Wörterbuch nicht als *wahy-i munzal* „evangelium“, wie man im Deutschen sagt, missverstanden und nicht mit falschen Erwartungen benutzt werden soll. Ich behalte meine nicht auf Klänge Rücksicht nehmende, nur an der arabischen Schreibweise orientierte Umschrift bei.

I 7 aberglaube *mawhūm-pardāzi*. 13 von all dem abgesehen *az hama inhā ki biḡudarim*. 15 abhängen von *ba-č.bastagī dāstan*. 17 e.hinterhältiges Spiel abkarten, e.komplott schmieden *dūz u kalak ʿidan* (*Ġamālzāda*: *Farhang-i luḡāt-i ʿāmmiyāna*, im folgenden abgekürzt *Ġamālz.*). 19 den Weg abkürzen *rāh-i miyānburr raftan*. 22 abnehmen, zurückgehen *taqlil yāftan*. 29 abscheulich *mušmaʿizz kunanda*. 31 abschütteln (e.unerwünschten Menschen) *dak zadan* (*Ġamālz.*). 34 absolvieren/603 durchmachen *ṭayy kardan*. 38 ohne den geringsten Abstrich *bi kam u kāst*. 43 abweisende Miene *qiyāfa-i nāmuwāfiq*. 44 kann man an den Fingern abzählen *ba-šumār-i angūštān-i dast ham namī rasad*. 45 in Abzug bringen, absehen von/315 nicht in Betracht ziehen *dar ḡisāb nayāwurdan*. 48 Achtung der Freiheit des andern *saʿa/siʿa-i šadr*. 50 keine Kaufmännische oder haben *sar-rišta az tiḡarat nadāstan*. 53 ich ahnte schon, mir schwante schon, dass *ba-dilam barāt šud ki* (*Ġamālz.*). 53 ähnliches *nazāʿir-i in mawrid*, in ähnlichen Fällen *dar nazāʿir-i in mawrid*. 55 fehlt: akribie; mit äusserster Akribie *ba-ḡadd-i waswās-i ʿilmī*. 60 ganz

allein *tak u tanhā*. 60 allerdings *muntahā*. 61 fehlt: allfällig *ihtimālī*. 61 allheilmittel *tiryāq-i akbar*. 71 annageln *mih-kūb kardan*. 72 anbringen *taʿbiya kardan*. 73 vielleicht ein andermal in *šāʿ allāh bāqī bāšad*. 74 anderswo *dar niqāt-i digar*. 75 anerkennen *iḡʿān kardan*. 75 anerkennenswert, verdienstlich *qābil-i taqdīr*. 75 das Feuer anfachen *ātaš-rā dāman zadan*. 76 gleich von Anfang an, von allem Anfang an *az hamān āḡāz/ibtidā*. 78 sich anfreunden, miteinander vertraut werden *bā-ham ḡwadmāni šudan*. 78 angeben, nennen *taʿrif kardan*. 79 Angebot und Nachfrage *ʿarḡa u taqāḡā*. 79 für Angebracht/erforderlich halten *muqtaḡā didan*. 82 sich auf j. angewiesen fühlen, sich j. verpflichtet fühlen *az k. minnat kašidan*. 87 auf... kommt es nicht an... *maṭraḡ nist*. 89 anlegen (schiff, intr.) *pahlū giriftan dar*. 90 Anmerkung *rādda*. 91 fehlt: sich einer Sache annehmen *ba-č. sar-u-sāmāni dādan*. 91 nimmt die Bedeutung... an *maʿni-i ... ba-ḡwad mi girad*. 93 Anpassungsfähigkeit *quwwa-i sāziš bā*. 99/461 sich die schönen Damen ansehen *čašm čarāndan/čašm-čārāni kardan*. 101 Ansprüche/244 Bedürfnisse *niyāzmandihā*. 102 und häufig traf er alle Anstalten, ihn zu töten *u basā ki asbāb u wasāʿil-i kuštanaš-rā farāham mi kard*. 102 „anständig“/238 beachtlich *ḡisābi* (*Ġamālz.*). 103 etwas anstellen (verbosens)/586 Dummheiten machen *dasta-gul ba-āb dādan*. 104 auf Anstiftung von *ba-iḡwāy-i*. 104 anstoss *muḡarrik/angīza/dāʿiya* (*dāʿiya* vorhanden 329 Beweggrund). 110 j. anweisen, zu *taklīf kardan ba-k.ki*. 110 anwendbar auf, zutreffend für *qābil-i inṭibāq bar*. 113 Anziehungskraft (reiz) *ḡāḡiba/ḡāḡibiyyat*. 117 mit seiner Hände Arbeit *bā ḡāsil-i dastraḡ-i ḡwad*. 118 wissenschaftliches Arbeitsgebiet *qalam-raw-i baḡt*. 119 arbeitsweise *tarz-i kār*. 124 fehlt (oder wird bei L noch kommen) *Lʿart pour lʿart hunar ba-ḡātir-i hunar*. 125 fehlt: arztrezept *nušḡa-i pizišk*. 131 auch wenn es so sein sollte *bar farḡ ham gar čunin bāšad*. 137 auffassen als *talaqqī kardan*. 149 aufpassen, sich hüten (gesundheitlich) *parḡiz kardan*. 149 aufpassen auf *diqqat/murāqabat kardan az*. 150 fehlt: aufprallen *ba-č.barḡward/iṣābat kardan*. 152 aufreibend *tawān-farsā*. 152 aufreihen *qīṭār kardan*. 157 aufsehenerregend *pur-sar-u-šadā* (schon Moʿayyad). 157 unangenehmes aufsehen *ḡaḡāl* (vgl. *Ġamālz.*). 163 auftreten *rūy-i kār āmadan*. 167 an den Augen vorbeiziehen lassen *az barābar-i didaḡān ḡudarāndan*. 167 an seinem geistigen Auge vorbeiziehen lassen *az madd-i naḡar ḡudarāndan*. 167 vor Augen haben *dar barābar-i ḡwad dāstan*. 167 ins Auge fallen/136 auffallen *ba-čašm ḡwardan*. 171 ausbeuterisch *istiṭmārgar*. 176 fehlt: ausdruckbar *qābil-i bayān*. 179 ausfindig machen *gir āwurdan* (vorhanden 162 aufreiben), *surāḡ kardan*. 181 die Lücke ausfüllen *kasr-rā ḡubrān kardan*. 183 ausgehoben, auch sg. *mašmūl*. 184 ausgiebig (adv.) *ba-tawr-i wufūr*. 187 sich auskennen in *maʿnūs ba-č.būdan*. 192 wenn es Ihnen nichts ausmacht *agar az nazaritān iškālī nadārad*. 196 nicht ausreichend *nārasā*. 199 aussaugen (übertr.) *bar k.luft-u-līs kardan* (*Ġamālz.*, Amīrḡulī-i Amīnī: *Farhang-i ʿawāmm*). 201 ausschliesslich für Sie *maḡd-i ḡātir-i šumā*. 201 ausschmücken (e. bericht) *ba-č.šāḡ u bargḡāʿi bastan*. 203 das Herz ausschütten *sufra-i dil-i ḡwad-rā ḡuṣādan*. 204 das aussehen *qiyāfa*. 207 etw. an j. aussetzen (tadeln) *č.rā bar k.ḡurda giriftan*. 207 aussicht, panorama *manāḡir-i aṭraf*. 217 ausweis *madrak*, pl. *madārik*. 221 Autorität (konkr.) *marḡāʿ*, pl. *marḡāʿi*; (abstr.) *marḡāʿiyyat*. 225 freie Bahn geben *maydān dādan*. 238 beabsichtigt *maṭlūb-i naḡar*. 242 entsprechend seiner Bedeutung *darḡwar-i šāʿn-i ḡwad*. 242

bedienen Sie sich (bei tisch) *mayl bifarmā'id*. 244 bedauerlich, zu bedauern, schade *mūḡib-i afsūs*. 245 beeinträchtigen *muhtall sāhtan*. 248 beflissen *ṣāhib-himmat*. 250 befugt zu *muḡāz barāy-i*. 251 e. fest begehen *ḡāšn ... barguzār kardan*. 251 die bezeugungen (zwischen uns) setzten sich fort *didārḥā mutawālī gardid*. 242 oder 254 fehlt: begossen, wie ein begossener pudel (kommt vielleicht bei pudel). 253 j. zu etwas beglückwünschen *č.rā ba-k. tabrik guftan*. 257 behandeln (e. gegenstand) *matrah kardan*. 262 klein beigegeben *kūtāh āmadan*. 265 ein beispiel dafür *miṭāl-i in mawrid*. 272 belassen *ba-hāl-i ḥwad guḡāstan*. 268/II 17 ist zu bekannt, als dass weitere erklärungen nötig wären *az šiddat-i ištihār u rawšanī niyāzi ba-tawḡih nadārad*. 272 belange, interessen *ḥifz-i manāfi*. 272 in allen sozialen belangen *dar kullīyya-i šū'un-i iḡtimā'i*. 272 belastung für j. *tahmil bar*. 274 beleidigt *rangīda-ḡāfir*. 275 ... beliebten zu scherzen *qašd-i muṭāyaba dāšta and*. 282 bequemlichkeitsliebend *tan-āsān*. 284 bereitstellen *tadāruk kardan*. 285 lässt einem die haare zu berge stehen *mūy bar andām-i ādamī rāst mī kunad*. 289 beruhigen, überzeugen *mutaqā'id/qāni' kardan* (vorhanden 249 befriedigen). 291 hat nichts zu besagen *mafhūmī nadārad*. 249 besagt, dass *muš'ir ast ki*. 291 besatzung, garnison *pādgān*. 293 bescheidenheit gegenüber j. *ḡafḡ-i ḡanāḥ dar barābar-i*. 295 beschlagen (scheibe) *mih-ālūd*. 299 beseitigen *bar taraf kardan*. 300 besetzt (ich bin ...) *giriftār*. 300 besichtigen *az č. bāzdid kardan*. 301 im besitz von j. *dar milkiyyat-i*. 302 besonders s. hiernach zu II 33 eigentlich. 302 besonnen *ḡakimāna*. 302 besorgt über *nārāḡat az*. 303 etw. mit j. besprechen *č.rā bā k.dar miyān guḡāstan*. 304 aufs beste *ba-naḡw-i aḡsan*. 305 unter bestätigung des empfangs (brief) *ḡimn-i i'lām-i wuṣūl*. 309 bestrafen *ba-sazā rasānidan*. 315 betrachten als *talaqqī kardan*. 316-317 was ... betrifft *dar mawrid-i*. 319 betrügen (in der schule mit zetteln) *ḡuzwa kašīdan*. 323 beurteilen nach *bā mī'yār-i ... sanḡidan*. 325 bevollmächtigt *tāmm ul-iḡtiyār*. 327 fehlt: bewahrt vor *maḡfūz/maṣūn az*. 337 beziehung zu, zusammenhang mit *tanāsub/irtibāt bā*. 340 biegsam/II 186 elastisch *qābil-i in'iṭāf*. 342 bigott (vor allem frau) *ummul* (Gamālz., Farhang-i 'Amīd). 342 ins bild setzen *dar ḡarayān guḡāstan*. 356 trübsal blasen *ḡwadḡwārī kardan*. 357 steht auf einem andern blatt *ḡisāb-i ḡudāḡāna dārad*. 365 blinken, schimmern (licht in der ferne) *sūsū zadan* (Gamālz.). 366 blöd, blödsinnig (ärgerlich): dieses blöde fenster *in paḡara-i kaḡā'i* (Gamālz.). 377 auf den boden hinfallen *naḡš-i zamīn šudan*. 388 brachliegen (keine beachtung finden) *āṭil u bāṭil māndan*. 411 bruchlos *raḡna-nāpaḡir*. 439 büste *paykara-i bī qawwāra*. 444 charakteristika *ḡaṣā'is* (vorhanden II 34 eigentümlichkeiten). 452 argumente pro und contra *dalā'il-i lah wa 'alayh*. 453/556 da und dort *dar čandīn ḡā*. 454 dabei *darīn miyān*. 466 dank dem warmen wetter *nī'mat-i ḡawāy-i garm*. 472 etw. darstellen als *qalam-dād kardan* (vorhanden 335 bezeichnen), erscheinen lassen als *ḡilwa dādan*. 478 dauern *idāma dāstan*. 482 debattieren über *mawrid-i mudāḡqa qarār dādan*. 482 fehlt: de facto *'amalan*, de jure *rasman*. 497 wo denkst du hin? *ḡiyālat kuḡā-st*. 504 fehlt: dergleichen tun, als ob *in ṭawr wānu-mūdan ki c. indic*. 512 j. etw., und zwar seine eigene vorbildlichkeit oder die vorbildlichkeit anderer, deutlich machen *č.rā ba-ruḡ-i k.kašīdan* (Gamālz.). 524 dickmamsell *ḡipil, ḡip(i)la* (Dihḡudā, Gamālz., Junker-Alavi). 529 dienstalter *arṣadiyyat* (vorhanden 72 anciennität). 543 diszipliniert *bā-inḡibāt*. 557 dortig *-i ān diyār*. 566 mit

einer drehung von 180° *bā 180 daraḡa 'aqabgard*. 573 dringlich sein *darūrat dāstan*. 585 dumm (wohl auch „dummdreist“ wie im arabischen) *safih*. 593 durchbrechen zu *ba-č.raḡna kardan*. 594 (geistige) durchbrüche *band-šikaniḡā*. 586 das durcheinander *ḡarḡ-u-marḡ*. 599 die durchführung dieses kongresses obliegt *wazīfa-i barguzārī (-i umūr)-i in kungra ba-'uhda-i*. 600 (etwas schriftliches) durchgehen *č.rā murūr kardan*. 615 die zeit dürfte wohl ... *ḡāy-i ān dārad ki ḡangām ...*

II 3 in seiner eigenschaft als *ba- šifat-i/dar mawrid-i*. 5 echt *tamām-'iyār*. 16 j. in hohen ehren halten, für j. eine hohe verehrung haben *ba-k.i'tiqādi wāfir dāstan*. 17/1 268 ich hatte nicht die ehre, mit herrn ... bekannt zu werden *iftihār-i tašarruf ba-ḡudūr-i āḡāy-i ... nadāšta am*. 29 sehr eifrig/135 übereifrig, einseitig *saḡt-kūš*. 29 eifrige kunden (einer ware) *muštariyān-i par-u-pā-qurṣ-i*. 32 eigens zu ... dasein *ba-č.iḡtiṣāš dāstan*. 33 ist nicht eigentlich zu empfehlen *čandīn ta'rifi nadārad* (ta'rif für empfehlung u. verwandtes vorhanden II 205). 38 zu ein und derselben zeit *dar ān-i wāḡid*. 45 eindruck *ta'aṭtur*. 49 einen tiefen eindruck hinterlassen *ta'ṭir-i 'amiḡ ba-ḡā guḡāstan*. 52 einer der freunde *ḡuz-i dāstān*. 59 wachsender einfluss *tawsi'a-i nufūd*. 78 einhelligkeit *waḡdat-i naḡar*. 78 einhellig *yakṣadā*. 91 auf solche dinge lasse ich mich nicht ein *ba-č.unīn kārḡā pā namī guḡāram*. 95 einleuchtend *muwaḡḡah*. 97 noch einmal, von neuem *muḡaddadan*. 103 in etw. einordnen/110 in etw. einreihen *ḡamīma-i ... kardan* (vorhanden II 158 einverleiben). 109 bei j. die dissertation einreichen *risāla-rā bā k.guḡārāndan*. 128 mit einschluss von *ba-šumūl-i*. 148 positive einstellung *ḡusn-i niyyat*. 185 eklektisches verfahren *rawiṣ-i iltiqā'i*. 207 reizbar (für empfindlich) ist *raqīq ul-qalb* nicht, sondern zartbesaitet, zu rührung und mitleid geneigt, gutherzig. 207 empfindlichkeit gegenüber auch *ḡassāsiyyat nisbat ba-*. 213 ende monats (geldmangel) *āḡir-i burḡ*. 218 energie *šiddat-i 'amal*. 222 engstirnig, mit scheuklappen *yakdanda/laḡūḡ* (Gamālz.). 235 kommt dem geschmack entgegen *ba-dawq časbandaḡi dārad*. 246 entlang *ḡanb-i*. 258 entschädigung für (e. mühe-waltung) *ḡaqq uz-zahma ba-ḡihat-i*. 261 entschieden (adv) *ba-ṭawr-i ḡazm*. 267 sich entspannen *lam dādan/lam zadan* (Farhang-i 'Amīd).

Nach diesen, in manchen teilen vielleicht verfrühten zusatzbemerkungen sei dem verfasser W. Eilers der dank für seine entsagungsvolle arbeit und die hoffnung ausgesprochen, dass sein werk einen glücklichen fortgang nehme.

Basel, juli 1980

FRITZ MEIER

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ASIA CENTRALIS

Ludwig W. ADAMEC, *Historical and Political Gazetteer of Afghanistan*. Vol. 5. *Kandahar and South-Central Afghanistan*. Graz, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1980 (28 cm., xx + 669 S., LIII S. Karten). ISBN 3 201 01125 8.

Die Veröffentlichung des „Historical and Political Gazetteer of Afghanistan“ nähert sich ihrem Abschluss. Nach dem Erscheinen des vorliegenden 5. Bandes, der im

wesentlichen die alte Provinz Kandahar ohne die Gebiete am mittleren Hilmend umfasst, steht nur noch der letzte Band mit der Beschreibung von Kabul und Ostafghanistan aus. Der hier behandelte Raum deckt sich mit den heutigen kleineren Provinzen Uruzgan, Zabul und Kandahar und enthält die folgenden landschaftlichen Einheiten, die auch in topographischen Karten 1 : 300.000 wiedergegeben sind: das zentrale Bergland südlich des oberen Hilmend und der Dasht-e Nawar, die Tarnaksenke, die Gebirgsrand-oasen von Kandahar und am Arghendab sowie den grössten Teil der Wüste Registan. Der Zweck der Materialsammlung, die seit der Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts von Britisch-Indien aus durchgeführt wurde, ist schon in früheren Besprechungen anderer Bände des „Gazetteer“ charakterisiert worden, hier braucht nur kurz wiederholt zu werden, dass militärische Informationen im Vordergrund gestanden und die Auswahl der Daten bestimmt haben. Das muss bei der Auswertung des Materials bedacht werden, beeinträchtigt jedoch kaum seine wissenschaftliche Bedeutung für die Orientforschung, insbesondere für Historiker, Ethnologen und Geographen. Neben zahllosen Ortsnamen, die nur mit Lagebezeichnungen, seltener auch mit Angaben über die Zahl von Häusern oder Einwohnern, über Wasserversorgung und landwirtschaftliche Nutzung versehen sind, sind einige ausführlichere Berichte wichtig: Über einige paschtunische Stämme der Durrani und der Ghilzai sowie die Beludschien, die das Gebiet bewohnen, über die Städte Kandahar und Kalat-e Ghilzai, über die administrativen Einheiten und die bedeutenderen Flüsse des Gebietes. Besonders hervorzuheben ist die zusammenfassende Darstellung der Durrani von 1841, die im Anhang wiedergegeben wird und die viele ethnosozologische und agrarwirtschaftliche Informationen enthält. Der Historiker wird sich vor allem für die Ereignisse von 1839-1843 und von 1879-1881 interessieren, als grosse Teile der Provinz Kandahar von englischen Truppen besetzt waren. Die Parallele zur heutigen Okkupation Afghanistans durch sowjetrussische Truppen liegt auf der Hand. Der Herausgeber hat sich bei diesem Bande darauf beschränkt, die bis 1914 geführte Materialsammlung durch geographische Koordinaten sowie durch einzelne statistische und administrative Hinweise bis auf den Stand von 1978 zu ergänzen. Unter den in der Einleitung zu findenden Literaturangaben hätte man sich eine Erwähnung wichtiger neuer deutscher Arbeiten gewünscht, insbesondere D. Wiebe, Stadtstruktur und kulturgeographischer Wandel in Kandahar und Südafghanistan, Kiel 1978, und E. Grötzbach, Städte und Basare in Afghanistan, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Wiesbaden 1979.

Saarbrücken, Juli 1980

C. RATHJENS

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Manfred LORENZ, *Lehrbuch des Pashto* (Afghanisch). Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1979 (22 cm., 303 pp.). DDR 42,- M. Lizenznr. 434-130/194/79 — LSV 0874.

The appearance of a Lehrbuch for Pashto is to be warmly welcomed. Iranian studies continue to be hampered

by the lack of sufficient textbooks suitable for teaching purposes. The present *Lehrbuch* has enabled several students at the University of Hamburg to take up the study of Pashto with enthusiasm. It is in the light of two terms' work with those students using this *Lehrbuch* that the following observations are made.

Those who are familiar with the *Lehrbuch der persischen Sprache* published in 1967 by the same publishers and written by the same author, Manfred Lorenz, together with Professor Bozorg Alavi, will have no difficulty in using the *Lehrbuch des Pashto*. The *Lehrbuch* for Pashto is not only similar in format and general appearance to that for Persian but its basic structure and conception are the same. The *Lehrbuch der persischen Sprache* has been in regular use in Hamburg since 1971 and has stood the test of time.

The *Lehrbuch des Pashto* contains 44 *Lektionen*, of which the last two are recapitulations of the foregoing lessons. The first 42 lessons are subdivided into numbered paragraphs, each of which contains information on grammar illustrated with examples. The grammatical part of the lesson is followed by a vocabulary and exercises. The exercises involve translation from Pashto into German and from German into Pashto. Two exercises in translation from Pashto are given for each lesson, one being a connected passage of prose, the other a conversation, usually a series of questions and answers. The passages for translation from German into Pashto are provided with a key on pp. 254-263 (not free from misprints!). The book is concluded by a Pashto-German glossary — an improvement over the *Lehrbuch der persischen Sprache*, which contains no glossary — and by three grammatical tables. The glossary contains references to the lessons in which the words are given. A disturbing misprint in Tabelle III is ځا for چا under 'Interrogativpron. Obliquus'.

A useful feature of this *Lehrbuch* as of that for Persian is the 'Index zur Grammatik' on pp. 11-13.

The absence of a German-Pashto glossary is a severe disadvantage only partially compensated for by the provision of a key to the exercises. Despite the fact that the student is expected to learn every word given in every example in the grammatical part of the lesson as well as a hefty slice of vocabulary before being in a position to cope with the meagre exercises, Lorenz still finds it necessary to include words in the exercises that are not given until later in the book. In the case of translation from Pashto it is possible for the student to use the glossary provided but in the case of translation from German he has to use the key to find out which word to use thus defeating the purpose of the exercise. Thus, exercise 4 in lesson 5 requires the student to translate 'Was macht Ihr dort?' but the Pashto for 'dort' is not given until lesson 8. In the same exercise the student is supposed to translate 'Wer bringt mir heute die Bücher?' but the Pashto for 'mir' is not given until lesson 6. Nor are these isolated lapses, they are characteristic features dogging virtually every exercise, especially those from Pashto into German, where the grammar of subsequent lessons is frequently anticipated. Thus, already in the exercises of lesson 8 one is expected to know the oblique forms of demonstrative and interrogative pronouns given for the first time in lesson 14.

Regrettable in a *Lehrbuch* are the excessively large number of misprints both in Pashto script and in transcrip-

tion. They make it extremely difficult for the book to be used by a student working without a teacher. More alarming still, they further the impression that the publication of this book was rushed through with undue haste.

Not only are the exercises meagre in relation to the large amount of vocabulary and grammar which is to be practised with their help but they often disregard a large proportion of the vocabulary and grammar altogether. Thus, the first ten words given in the vocabulary to lesson 13 are not needed for any of the exercises of lesson 13. As for the quality of the exercises I prefer to make no comment but let two sentences set for translation into Pashto in lesson 15 speak for themselves: 'Die Union der Sozialistischen Sowjetrepubliken, die Volksrepublik Polen und die Deutsche Demokratische Republik sind sozialistische Länder. Alle helfen einander'.

A *Lehrbuch* must not necessarily contain a reference grammar although that is sometimes the case (e.g. M. Hahn, *Lehrbuch der klassischen tibetischen Schriftsprache*, Hamburg 1971, which contains more grammatical information than any of the previous grammars). Nevertheless, it should contain adequate grammatical information to account for the forms used in the exercises. This is decidedly not the case with this *Lehrbuch*. Thus, lesson 10 contains an exercise concerning *melmä* 'guest', which is duly given in the preceding vocabulary, but no rule is given to enable the student to form its plural (*melmānā*) let alone to account for the oblique plural *melmānō* occurring in the third line of the exercise.

Some of the grammatical statements in the *Lehrbuch* are unclear or simply wrong. Thus, the definition of the 'Casus obliquus' on p. 46 as a special case 'für alle nicht-nominativen Fälle' cannot be regarded as clear. It is presumably intended to mean that the casus obliquus is used for case relationships other than those usually referred to as nominative and accusative. The following rule (5.1.1.): 'Maskuline Substantive auf Konsonant ... bleiben im Obliquus unverändert' is also unsatisfactory as it must be specified that this applies only to the singular.

Beginners may be understandably confused by a rule such as in 16.2.1. 'Unbelebte maskuline Substantive, die auf Konsonanten enden, können nach Zahlen über «ein» im Obliquus II (auf -a) stehen'. since the first example given to illustrate this rule is *dwa halāka* 'zwei Knaben', although it is nowhere explained in what respect *halāk* 'boy' is 'unbelebt'. I presume it goes back to the kind of tradition represented in H. Penzl's *A grammar of Pashto*, p. 60 (63.1a): "'Inanimate" masculine substantives ending in a consonant, i.e. those belonging to the first (and second) masculine classes (m 1, m 2), can take a special weak-stressed direct plural ending a (e) after a numeral ...'. Here at least 'inanimate' is within inverted commas and the category involved is precisely designated. Incidentally, the form in question is regarded as a 'short plural form' also by D.A. Shafeev, *A short grammatical outline of Pashto*, (translated by H. H. Paper), p. 29 and by E. Trumpp, *Grammar of the Pāṣṭō*, p. 319 rather than as 'Obliquus II' as Lorenz has it.

Concerning the accentuation of the Pashto verb Lorenz says (p. 37): "Einige Verben betonen die Endung. Andere betonen den Stammvokal ... Auf Besonderheiten der Akzentuierung wird gegebenenfalls hingewiesen". In fact, there is no way at all of determining how the present

stems of the majority of the verbs in this book are accented as Lorenz provides guidance only for the five present stems listed on p. 37 under 3.3.

In the first lesson *dagā* 'dies' is given with the final syllable stressed whereas *dāga* 'dies' with reference to the first lesson is found in the glossary on p. 279. The difference between *dagā* and *dāga* is not explained until 14.2 (p. 93).

The idiosyncratic system of transcription adopted by Lorenz calls for comment. For no apparent reason Lorenz represents retroflex consonants by underlining them instead of by placing a dot under them as is the usual convention even in Russian publications where the dot is placed under the appropriate Cyrillic letter. However, not all retroflex consonants are transcribed in this way by Lorenz. In two cases he uses instead an acute accent: *ḡ* for usual *ḡ* and *ḡ* for usual *ḡ*. The reason for this appears to be that he wished to follow the Russian practice of writing *ḡ* and *ḡ* respectively but he could not underline *ḡ*.

Finally it should be noted that Lorenz nowhere reveals the source of his information concerning Pashto. We are not told what kind of Pashto it is that the student will learn from this book.

All in all, the *Lehrbuch des Pashto* provides a useful introduction to Pashto although it suffers from defects which make it difficult to use without a teacher.

Universität Hamburg, July 1980

R. E. EMMERICK

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Basil GRAY (Ed.), *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia, 14th-16th Centuries*. London, Serindia Publications/Unesco, 1979 (32 cm., xiv + 314 pp.). Price: £ 40.00. ISBN 0 906026 02 4 (Serindia), 92 3 101677 6 (Unesco).

The origin of the present work was a symposium held at Samarkand in 1969 on the arts of the Timūrid book. Its publication, after many vicissitudes, is a feat which owes virtually everything to its editor: although the essays are by different hands it is in a real sense his book. The delay has not entirely been a disadvantage. Contributors have been able to bring their work up to date, incorporating a particularly fruitful decade of work on Islamic painting, and the result, apart from certain deficiencies which must be considered below, is a remarkable conspectus of the arts of the book in 14th-15th century Iran, as well as "Central Asia" (sc. primarily Herāt). Much of the material, particularly that on calligraphy and illumination, is entirely new. And although further publication by Turkish colleagues, notably Nurhan Atasoy, Zeren Akalay-Tanındı and Filiz Çağman, has amplified and will continue to amplify some conclusions much in this book will remain of permanent validity.

Many of the contributors draw upon their earlier work, to which we are indebted for the now generally accepted account of the history of painting in Persia and parts East. Among them, Basil Gray is outstanding. In two of the most important chapters in the book, on 14th century painting [93-120] and on the school of Shirāz from 1392 to 1493 [121-45] he has distilled his life's work. Basically,

the expense of making illuminated and illustrated manuscripts presupposed organised ateliers; and these in their turn made regular, not just occasional, patronage the rule. Hence the need to consider the subject in terms of geographical-political centres, with the proviso that they shared a common Persian literary and artistic heritage, the importance of which, arguably, was intensified by movements of craftsmen from centre to centre. Thus, despite the vast political change of the later 14th and 15th centuries, the manuscripts of the period may be viewed as the products of a single cultural tradition. Not, however, that this implies the notion of a Timūrid cultural renaissance which is fostered by Bartol'd's still unsuperseded works on 15th century Persian and Central Asian history. Following Aubin, Basil Gray locates the catalytic developments in Western Asia (Baghdad-Tabriz) under the Jalā'irids in the later 14th century, and that in spite of the repeated pillage of both these capitals in the course of Timūr's Western campaigns. The contrast with Samarkand and its concentration of Timūrid architecture is only apparent. Timūr conscripted so many craftsmen, and droves of prisoners, from his various campaigns that stylistic continuity with the architecture of that city at the time of his seizure of power was broken. If Timūrid architecture in Samarkand has distinctively Central Asian features these become manifest only in the 15th century: the historical and epigraphic evidence, even more than the extant monuments, demonstrates the crucial importance of the pre-Timūrid architecture of Shirāz and Khurāsān. Certainly some of Timūr's buildings in Samarkand (mostly ephemeral palace architecture) contained large-scale wall paintings; but Basil Gray rightly abstains from the inference of some of his contributors from this to the existence of a Samarkand school of miniature painting.

On the contrary, the most important early centre was Baghdad, and the most significant dynasty the Jalā'irids. The evidence for the continuity of Baghdad as a centre of painting throughout the 14th century is very strong. There is still a gap, between the death of the Īl-Khān, Abū Sa'īd in 1336 and the capture of Tabriz in 1360 by the Jalā'irid Shaykh Uways, spanned only by "Ustādh Shams al-Dīn" known to us only from the account of Dūst Muḥammad. But, Basil Gray demonstrates, his testimony is in other respects so reliable that it is justifiable to regard Ustādh Shams al-Dīn as a historical figure.

The Demotte *Shāhnāme* project, Basil Gray presumes, was abandoned with the death of Abū Sa'īd, though some pages may have been executed somewhat later; the Hazine *Shāhnāme* miniatures from a dispersed manuscript must then be dated to circa 1370. All these pages show perceptible elements of a pre-Mongol Mesopotamian style, as do some of the Berlin *Shāhnāme* pages (incidentally, wide as the selection of hitherto unpublished or poorly known material chosen for illustration is, the Diez albums are rather left in the shade). Moreover, the 1314 manuscript of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-Tawārikh*, formerly in the Royal Asiatic Society, remained influential, though the Topkapı manuscript of that work [Hazine 1654 with a colophon dated 717/1317; Illustrations 66-67] has illustrations which foreshadow those of the copy commissioned by Shāh Rukh and therefore must be dated between 1350 and 1390. The persistent influence both of the *Jāmi' al-Tawārikh* and pre-Mongol Mesopotamian painting is ex-

plicable enough. Rashīd al-Dīn and his son, Ghiyāth al-Dīn (died 1336), were both bibliophiles. Their libraries must have incorporated substantial parts of the Juwaynis' libraries, both that of the vizier, Shams al-Dīn (executed 1284), and of his brother, 'Aṭā Malik, the historian (died 1281), who was vizier of Iraq under the Īl-Khāns Abāqā and Arghūn and who on his own account acquired much of the Assassins' library, including, doubtless, part of the astronomer, Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's, at the fall of the fortress of Alamut to Hūlegū. The sigillography is defective, so that this transmission remains partly speculative; but it is highly probable.

The fate of the library at the Rab'-i Rashīdī after Ghiyāth al-Dīn's death in 1336 is so far unknown. But part of it certainly came the Jalā'irids' way. Basil Gray follows Dorothea Duda and Nurhan Atasoy in ascribing the Hazine *Shāhnāme* pages to Shaykh Uways at Tabriz (dating it accordingly post-1360); probably also the *Kalila wa Dimna* pages from the Yıldız library now in the University Library, Istanbul [FY 1422]; and the Hazine *Mirāj-nāme* pages, fantastically ascribed to Aḥmad Mūsā, which have been discussed by Ettinghausen. These were evidently Ottoman loot from Tabriz, possibly in 1534 but more probably in 1548, when the Ottomans again captured the city, since Dūst Muḥammad, who wrote at Tabriz in 1544, would have had them in view: it is not easy otherwise to relate his accounts of painters and paintings to any extant material. The Tabriz origin of the Hazine *Shāhnāme* pages is corroborated by the 1430 *Shāhnāme* of Bāysunghur, who recruited painters from the Tabriz *kitāb-khāne* in 1420, and which includes copies after three of the pages in Hazine 2153.

Though Sulṭān Aḥmad controlled both Azerbaydzhan and Iraq by 1382 Basil Gray presumes that he transferred the library staff back to Baghdad. His reign was broken by the campaigns of Timūr, intestine feuds and the rise of the Black Sheep, Qarā Yūsuf; and evidently Tabriz was no fit centre for a *kitāb-khāne* till the final period of his reign, 1406-1410. The Jalā'irid manuscripts of the later 14th century are appropriately heterogeneous. They include the earliest known illustrations to a *Khamsa* of Nizāmī (British Library Add. 13,297 dated or datable 788/1386: two manuscripts copied earlier, in Teheran (718/1318) and in Topkapı, Hazine 750 (dated 779/1378), have later illustrations). With this Basil Gray associates the earliest dated manuscript in *nasta'liq*, the Bibliothèque Nationale 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt (790/1388); however, *pace* the author [114], this stems not from the Mongol-Mamlūk developments upon the original, written at Wāṣit in 678/1280, but from a pictorial tradition which is partly indebted to Western European marvel-books. In this group belongs a small *Kalila wa Dimna* (Bibliothèque Nationale Suppl. Pers. 913) copied in 794/1392. But then comes a strangely assorted and brilliant collection, including the *Diwān* of Khwājū Kirmānī, copied by Mir Ilyās 'Alī b. Ilyās Tabrizī (798/1396) and illustrated, at least once, by Junayd al-naqqāsh al-sulṭānī. More obviously Mesopotamian, but equally elusive, is the Bodleian *Kitāb al-Bulhān*, more or less datable to circa 1400 and again with evident European influence. The two principal manuscripts of Sulṭān Aḥmad's final years are the Freer *Khusraw* and *Shirin*, undated but copied by 'Alī b. Hasan al-sulṭānī *bi-dār al-saltana bi-Tabriz*, hence circa 1406; and the *Diwān* of Sulṭān Aḥmad

in the same collection (datable *circa* 1406 also). These are no easier to reconcile with the other grand manuscripts, but the latter has various features which seem peculiar to it. The pages show the work of several hands, some being after pounced drawings and some composite. The pages show a surprising variety of line, from light pen drawings to vigorous brushwork and wash-drawings, gilding and even touches of gouache. There is pronounced Western influence, particular on the page [32-33] showing angels sliding down a flame-scroll: their gestures are manneristically varied — arms folded, legs crossed; they wear chlamys-like dresses showing their legs; and they are mostly bare-headed and with Italianate coiffures.

The manuscript evidence is, anyway, important enough to bear out Dūst Muḥammad's judgement that the development of 14th (and *a fortiori* 15th century) painting is principally to be associated with Baghdad, then Tabriz. Even before Sulṭān Aḥmad's death in 1410 Jalā'irid painters were moving to Shīrāz, and to Herāt, though it is unclear whether Baghdad and Shīrāz, Tabriz and Herāt were specifically associated. The attraction of Shīrāz, and probably of other centres in Fārs, was intensified by the patronage of the early 15th century Timūrids, Iskandar Sulṭān and Ibrāhīm Sulṭān. Throughout the 15th century Western Persia, (Baghad-Shīrāz-Tabriz) remained at least as important as Herāt, even if by the 1420s the Herāt library under Shāh Rukh and his successor Bāysunghur Mirzā was the centre of much Royal patronage. Its head was Ja'far al-Tabrizī (al-Bāysunghuri), who had moved from Tabriz to Yazd in 1417. It is doubtless significant that he was a calligrapher: painters were only called upon to supervise the Royal library in the late 15th century.

Basil Gray's account of the Shīrāz school is equally stimulating though the material [120-45] is even more diverse. By 772/1371, the date of a *Shāhnāme* (Topkapı, Hazine 1511) executed presumably for the Jalā'irid Sulṭān Uways, manuscripts showing the style of 15th century Shīrāz painting in embryo were being executed. This is a distinct change from the Injū style of the earlier part of the century, but further development, Basil Gray argues, would not have been possible had the ateliers not been supplemented by one or more of Sulṭān Aḥmad's painters from Baghdad after its sack in 1393. There are signs that the tradition of the miniatures to Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-Tawārikh* was not ignored: for example, Abraham in the flames from the Gulbenkian miscellany made for Iskandar Sulṭān (814/1410) goes back to the 1307 manuscript. The miscellany also reflects a tradition of full-page upright illustrations to sections dealing with the history of the Mongols. These must go back to the mid-14th century, if not earlier, though he excludes them from the 1307-1314 recension on the grounds that the format of the large upright pages (which may, anyway, be after pounced originals) in the Berlin and the Istanbul albums is not consistent with the "house-style" of the Rab'-i Rashidi. Other sources of Shīrāz painting are harder to evaluate, in particular, decorative architectural painting, comparable to that in 14th century monuments at Yazd, of which too little remains to posit its influence in manuscript illumination.

Of even greater importance, however was a new wave of chinoiserie resulting from Timūrid contacts with the Ming from 1387 onwards which established Shīrāz in the

1390s as a major centre of painting, rivalling Baghdad and Tabriz. This makes it unnecessary to postulate a separate Central Asian source for the Herāt school, since at Shīrāz chinoiserie, and direct Chinese influence, remained powerful well into the 15th century, a Chinese embassy arriving there as late as 1421.

Though the continuity of the Shīrāz style is demonstrated in Yazd miniatures of *circa* 1430 which show developed features which first appear in Herāt painting in 1438, the end of the independent Shīrāz style appears in manuscripts of the 1440s. Far more than Tabriz its ascendancy was temporary, and far more directly due to its status as a provincial Timūrid capital.

Among the most interesting contributions to the volume is Priscilla Soucek's "The arts of calligraphy" [7-34]. She copes valiantly with the difficulty that virtually everything so far written on Islamic calligraphy, including the sources, is arbitrary or misleading or the product of illuminism. She starts out from the canonical "six scripts" of literary tradition, concentrating as far as possible upon 14th-15th century usage, takes what the sources say and attempts to identify the scripts in the light of it. Of diagnostic importance in her view is a Qur'ān section written by Zayn al-Ābidīn b. Muḥammad al-Kātib al-Shīrāzī and dated 888/1485 in the Chester Beatty Library [MS 1502] in three, or possibly four, scripts [12] — *muḥaqqaq*; *thuluth* (strangely she identifies this as someone else's hand [14], possibly because of the bizarre signature, which bears not only the scribe's name, but the term *khudima bi-kitābatihī* ... (sense of the passive obscure), followed by prayers for God's pardon upon two people, of whom the second is nameless); and *riq'a*, though nothing on the page corresponds to modern scripts of that name and the reference in the *Fihrist* of al-Nadīm to *riq'a* as a script used for writing decrees/*tawqī'āt* is excessively vague. This she also identifies on a page (Illustration 7) from Hazine 2152 (folio 31b) bearing a *mathal* written by Bāysunghur, whose name appears second from the top in the right hand column, and others of his courtiers, though, despite her conclusion that a defining property of *riq'a* is the many ligatures between letters and words, the only peculiarity here is the *alif-lām* ligature, which is widespread in later rounded hands. The principal interest of the page is its demonstration of the ability of the literati at Bāysunghur's court to copy "parrot fashion". For, assuming that the signatures are not late attributions, one of them could not even get his own name right; and two had to make more than one attempt. If these lines really are in *riq'a*, moreover, another passage (Illustration 5) which is also identified as *riq'a*, the colophon page of a manuscript of the *Ṭabaqāt al-Nāṣiri* (copied Ramaḍān 814/January 1412), must be in a different script.

It is unclear how far such inconsistencies can be resolved without the calligraphers' own identifications, which are only rarely attested: it is possible that one term was used for a group of scripts. And the categories propounded by the theorists, including al-Nadīm, assuming for the sake of argument that their definitions were exhaustive, were not well observed by the calligraphers themselves: just as grammarians preach but people practise. Moreover, perusal of virtually any complete text signed by a single scribe demonstrates how letter forms may vary within a single hand. Sometimes this has given rise to misrepresentations:

for example, the folio reproduced [8 and Illustration 1] from the Bibliothèque Nationale *Mi'rāj-nāme* has stock invocations or Qur'ānic *āyas* in appropriately pointed Arabic; their status, not the fact that they are Arabic, explains why they are not transcribed into Uyghur.

Fundamental to Professor Soucek's account is a distinction between Governmental hands and Qur'ānic scripts, the former [8] governed by rapidity of execution — though their greater illegibility was not accidental and was partly or wholly conditioned by the need to discourage forgery, as Ibn Khaldūn [cited 16] explicitly says (*Muqaddima* II 390). Nor, as a matter of fact, is it clear that *ta'liq* [her identification, which is new and convincing, reproduced Illustration 6] dated 773/1372 in a miscellany in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Suppl. Pers 1630) can have been faster to write than the *naskhī* of the page facing. Yet there is no doubt that between fast scripts and Qur'ānic hands there is a considerable gulf.

The great innovation in fast scripts was *nasta'liq*, which appears before 1400 [the Qāḍi Aḥmad's derivation of the word from *naskh* and *ta'liq*, which may be a folk etymology, is closer than his assertion that it was a combination of *riq'a* and *ta'liq*. It may indeed derive directly from *ta'liq* or some similar "hanging" script, as a copyist's distortion of a Chancery hand]. Professor Soucek argues for its invention by Mīr 'Alī b. Hasan al-Tabrizī [al-sulṭānī], whose most celebrated pupil was Ja'far al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Tabrizī (al-Bāysunghuri), describing it provisionally as an expressive script with letters arbitrarily shortened or elongated to give a sense of forward movement. However, this applies to many rounded scripts equally well: except that the peculiar rules governing *nasta'liq* were ignored by the sources and remain to be deduced. She properly remarks that distinguishing early hands demands the study of further manuscripts. What is clear is a characteristic stressing of descending diagonals, the capricious exaggeration of certain letters and/or variation in the width of the line [compare the page, Illustration 14, by 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Hazine 2153, folio 32a]. Since the rounded scripts also may vary the width of their line it should be added here that the *nasta'liq* line widens out particularly with terminal letters, but towards the end of the letter, *tā*, *nūn*, *qāf* or medial *sīn/shīn*, not the beginning, producing a reverse wedge-shape. The peculiar ligatures of *nasta'liq* demand detailed description. More than the "visual rhythms" to which she alludes [30] but which are common to all scripts since they reflect the commonplaces of Persian literature, visual puns or combinations of letters which can be dotted differently to give a difference of sense, one needs to study how and how far letter forms change within the context of the whole word.

Clearly, *nasta'liq* was not adopted widely without qualms. It was never popular as a Qur'ānic script and was only adopted as an architectural or a lapidary script much later. And in, for example the *Diwān* of Iskandar Sulṭān (British Library Add. 27261), early *nasta'liq* is zealously dotted, unlike many contemporary *naskhī* hands, an indication that the scribes feared misunderstanding. The hold of copyist's *naskhī* is also clear, for example in the Chester Beatty *Gulistan* (830/1426), where the scribe regularly subordinates the naturally diagonal rhythm of the *nasta'liq* line to a rigid horizontality, so that what emerges is much like *naskhī*, but with a certain unwelcome

tension. This long experimental period, which lasts beyond 1500, contrasts curiously with the sudden appearance of *nasta'liq* in late 14th century Iraq and suggests that it was in fact a court fashion imposed from above which met with considerable scribal resistance. It may indeed have been faster than *naskhī* to write; but as a copyist's, not a calligrapher's, script it had no other *raison d'être*; and Priscilla Soucek's description of it [32] as "spiritual geometry" (doubtless inspired by the Qāḍi Aḥmad's euphuistic demand that those who would understand must be mystics) is not appropriate.

Significantly, in view of this argument that *nasta'liq* was a fashion imposed from above, the daily quotas demanded of copyists in some libraries [28] must have been physically impossible, like the five hundred lines per day demanded, according to the Qāḍi Aḥmad, of Mawlānā Ma'rūf by Iskandar Sulṭān¹. This provides a convincing explanation for its rapid spread in the 15th century, quite apart from a passion for novelty — scribes fleeing from centre to centre, Baghdad, Shīrāz, Tabriz, Herāt and doubtless back again — in vain attempts to escape the excessive quotas demanded by exigent patrons. In this respect over-enthusiastic Royal patronage must have done much to stifle *nasta'liq* at its birth. All this is not to carp at Professor Soucek. If carping anyway is possible this is thanks to her own innovatory work. This is all the more praiseworthy in that she was obliged to work at short notice. Her insistence upon the identification of scripts from manuscripts, not from what others have written about them, and the concentration upon letter-forms, ligatures and *ductus* which her conclusions demand must be reckoned solid progress and will be the basis of much future work.

Oktay Aslanapa, who deals with book binding [59-91], has had, perhaps the hardest task, for only exceptionally are bindings dated, and they are consequently only datable or localisable by the texts they enclose. He has chosen to accept the probability that colophons date the bindings associated with them fairly closely, though he has prudently concentrated on later 15th century Herāt, which shows some stylistic homogeneity and for which there is some documentary evidence in the shape of a fragmentary text in Hazine 2153, which includes a break-down of the bindery staff and technical terms for the bindings themselves in an account of the organisation of Bāysunghur's library, though the translation of the terms is inevitably somewhat speculative.

Characteristic of the fully developed Herāt style are pointed oval relief medallions containing chinoiserie animal- or foliate-scroll ornament, and, in Aslanapa's view, stamps for such medallions circulated freely. In this context [Illustrations 56-57] he cites two drawings from Hazine 2152 (folio 72a) and 2160 (folio 61b) which he supposes

¹ An additional frill was that Mawlānā Ma'rūf al-Baghdādī was a scribe of sporadic energy and preferred to write three days' quota in one, resting on the following two days. His recorded work shows his progress eastwards, first for Sulṭān Aḥmad at Baghdad, then for Iskandar Sulṭān at Shīrāz, and then, after 1414, under Shāh Rukh at Herāt and, almost certainly, under Bāysunghur too. He is probably to be identified with the scribe, Ma'rūf b. 'Abd Allāh, whose name appears in the colophon of a recently acquired *Khamsa* in the British Library (Or. 13802). See N. M. Titley "A *Khamsa* of Nizāmī dated Herat 1421" *British Library Journal* IV/2 (1978) 161-86

to be designs for such stamps. They are indeed pointed oval medallions, but one is later, and possibly Ottoman, and the other is unsuitable for a relief design, and if the similarity of form is significant they must be drawings for pleasure after actual binder's stamps. A further leaf [Hazine 2152 folio 54b, Illustration 59], of miscellaneous sketched details was evidently a pattern sheet but bears no indication that it was meant for a bindery, and the motifs it bears are not those in common use on bindings. On the contrary, it is a strange gathering of very different subjects — chinoiserie of various types, including some Ottoman work; *Kalila and Dimna* subjects from a 13th century Mesopotamian manuscript; gryphons and sphinxes from *mināi*-wares (if Anatolian Seljuk then not from pottery or from painting); and motifs of indisputably Byzantine or Armenian origin.

A serious complication is the continuation of motifs and techniques of Mamlūk origin in later 15th century Herāt binding, evidently taking up Mamlūk motifs in Jalā'irid binding [for example, the magnificent binding of the *Diwān* of Sultān Aḥmad Jalā'ir, TIEM 2046; Plate XII—the binding does not appear to be dated, despite the precise date, 809/1406-1407 in the caption], both the filigree work on blue silk and the border motifs. The *Diwān* of Jahān Khātūn [Hazine 867, dated 840/1437, by the text colophon; place and date of binding unknown] bears a medallion with a seated couple presented after a stock motif from enamelled Mamlūk glass. And a Herāt *Khamṣa* [Hazine 781, copied 849/1445 but finished for Uzūn Ḥasan (1466-78) at Tabriz] though bound for Bayazid II and bearing his name on the spine is such a gallimaufry of Mamlūk motifs as to make it inappropriate to speak of Herāt at all in this context. The implications are confusing. Evidently binders worked with stamps which only wore out slowly: these then led independent existences, circulating widely and reappearing in free combinations with stamps of other dates and provenances, so as mostly to preclude any conception of local stylistic homogeneity. In the circumstances Aslanapa has had little option in treating his survey of bindings as an extended catalogue. His article is particularly valuable for its illustrations which present a mass of hitherto unknown material, particularly from the Istanbul collections, and give prototypes for certain novel techniques, including lacquer [*Mathnawī* of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (TIEM 1905), colophon dated 887/1483, copied for Ḥusayn Bāyqarā, Plates XIII-XIV], which foreshadow the taste of the Ṣafawid and the Ottoman courts.

The study of illumination [35-57] by Akimushkin and Ivanov breaks new ground at every step. The authors are modest in their claims but are the first scholars to have studied the development of Persian illumination in the later 14th and 15th centuries. They far outrun Ettinghausen's review in the *Survey of Persian Art* which was largely concerned with Īl-Khānīd illumination, where the material is both more accessible and much more homogeneous, though, inevitably, their article is hard going. So many manuscripts are unknown or have been ignored, particularly in the 15th century when the mass of material is truly daunting. The documentary evidence for specialisation, moreover, is poor before the Ṣafawid period, when the library had reached a degree of organisation which cannot be taken for granted for the 15th century libraries.

First they consider the decoration of folio 1a, which regularly bears a cartouche, generally a roundel/*shamsa*; after 1350 gilt tends to be replaced by blue, the quality of the pigment increasing steadily through the 15th century. To judge from later Timūrid practice such *shamsas* were evidently conceived as book plates, but it is remarkable how often in the 14th century, including the works of Rashīd al-Dīn associated with the Rab'-i Rashīdī, they are left blank. Following folio 1a come folios 1b-2a, often a double-page illumination/*sarlawḥ*, or else a decorative heading for folio 1b/*unwān*. Here the most significant innovation is a reversed triangular "thumb piece", adapted from its use *passim* in early 15th century Shirāz manuscripts but first, in their view, appearing on a *sarlawḥ* in *Khamṣa* dated 839/1435-36 [British Library Or. 12856] though it remains rare till the Ṣafawid period. Here again there is a marked shift from gold to lapis grounds, particularly in Shirāz manuscripts of the later 14th century. The survey then considers the typical decoration of later pages, noting a difference between margins, which are mostly decorated with «sprayed» (read "powdered with") gold, in the absence of more elaborate, pictorial fillings; and «*abri*»² decoration in the text panel. Ultimately, in the 15th century, the margins were prepared separately and the written pages mounted on them.

In the light of the manuscripts they have examined, the authors conclude, the crucial period of innovation and change in styles of illumination is from 1350 to 1390, accentuated in the following decades by a taste for minute designs appropriate to the smaller format of 15th century Shirāz painting. The schools do not seem to have differed much; but the material is still insufficient to distinguish local schools of illumination. The authors also attempt to give the Mamlūk illumination of Egypt and Syria its due: its influence is particularly strong in Qur'ān illumination [for example, though the date is rather early, (Illustration 21) the double frontispiece of a Qur'ān copied at Marāgha in 738/1337-38, Boston Museum of Fine Arts] which was evidently more conservative, continuing to use ansae rather than "thumb pieces" as marginal ornament, long after the latter had displaced them in "secular" manuscripts. Thus, for example, the Qur'ān written by Ibrāhīm Sultān in 827/1424 [Mashhad, Shrine Library 414, folios 1b-2a; cf. M. Lings *The Quranic art of calligraphy and illumination* (London 1976) Plate 89]. However, further work on technique will probably distinguish Mamlūk work from its imitators. The 14th-15th century Mamlūk Qur'āns, for example, tend to use gold as a base, both for translucent colour washes and for opaque pigments: Persian illumination, on the other hand, more economically, tends to use the pigments in lieu of gold. A further detail is that the gold "spraying" through stencils, to which they allude, is actually combined with a resist-dyed waxed pattern; the technique is attested as

² Evidently, Richard Ettinghausen argued, interstitial painting between lines of script, from *abri* "cloud" ("Abri painting" in *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet* edited by M. Rosen-Ayalon (Jerusalem 1977) 345-56). The Qāḍī Aḥmad refers to *abri/abri* as a style of decorative painting, comparable to *islīmī*, *khiṭā'i*, *firangī*, *fiṣālī*, *akrah* and *salāmī* (the reference of these other terms is obscure). Talent in *abri* was ascribed to Mawlānā Muḥammad Amin, a margin-ruler/jadwalkash, *mudhahhib*, tinter and goldsprinkler: this shows the relevance of *abri* to illumination.

early as the *Diwān* of Iskandar Sultān, but is particularly well executed in the *Diwān* of Kamāl Khojandī [British Library Or. 5193]³.

The authors have had to cite an enormous amount of unillustrated material in order to make their points. Their contribution is, therefore, better read with other books in hand. It is bad luck that what is illustrated is sometimes badly out of focus, an unexpected miscreant here being the Bodleian Library.

The remaining articles in the volume deal with later Tabriz, the Timūrid library at Herāt, and its successor in early 16th century Bukhārā. Ernst Grube and Eleanor Sims deal with the first half of the 15th century [147-78]. Much of their account is clear and convincing. Though Shāh Rukh had begun to recruit painters for his *kitābkhāne* at Herat as early as 1414, paradoxically, there are no dated manuscripts recorded for him before 1425, and even then, the best known work, the *Majma'at al-Tawārikh* of Ḥāfiz-i Abru was illustrated with one eye, or more, on the 1314 manuscript of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-Tawārikh*, which bears Shāh Rukh's own seal. The earliest independent manuscript, a *Majma'at al-Tawārikh* [Topkapı Library, Bağdat 282, the autograph] was begun in mid-1425 and finished, they presume, circa 1433. This contains a group of paintings reflecting the well assimilated style of late 14th and early 15th century Shirāz painting. The only surviving poetical manuscript made for Shāh Rukh is a *Khamṣa* dated 1431 in the Hermitage, with illustrations of bewildering eclecticism but introducing a Western Persian format quite out of character for historical manuscripts.

The patronage of Shāh Rukh at Herāt cannot, however, compare with Bāysunghur's, with the creation of a highly specialised library, staffed by scribes, illuminators and painters from Tabriz. There are thirteen manuscripts extant bearing his Ex Libris, all showing great originality of subject matter or inventive reworking of earlier themes. The fineness and flexibility of the drawing they somewhat speculatively attribute to the influence of *nasta'liq*, though there are no objective grounds for assuming that painters were also scribes. They remark that the grandest of his manuscripts, the *Gulistan Shāhnāme* (1430) was surprisingly unimportant, however, and that it might have been expected to influence more Royal commissions than the Houghton *Shāhnāme*, made for Shāh Ṭahmāsp, and the Isfahān copy of 1614 made for Shāh 'Abbās I. They conclude their account with a useful analytical list of manuscripts.

³ Tourkhan Gandjei "Il "Muḥabbat-nāma" di Ḥorazmī" *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* I (NS VI 1957) 131-61; II (NS VII 1958) 135-66. I am grateful to the author for having brought this reference to my attention. The section of the *Diwān* of Kamāl Khojandī containing the *Muḥabbatnāma* was written at Yāst (sc. Yazd) in Rajab-Sha'bān 835/March-April 1432. The illumination is incomplete, since virtually all the "thumbpieces" in the outer vertical margins are left blank. But the very disposition of the script, lines of Persian *nasta'liq* diagonal to central panels of Uyghur script, which are often, apparently, disposed acrostically, partakes more of the illuminator than the calligrapher. The text reads consecutively, including certain sections in Persian *nasta'liq*, the authenticity of which Gandjei does not dispute. However, the scribe was obviously confused. At one point [I 133] he has even begun to transcribe a Persian *ghazal* in Uyghur script.

Though Basil Gray's survey of painting under the Jalā'irids and at Tabriz and Shirāz under the Timūrids conclusively demonstrates the importance of Western Iran in the formation of the Herāt school and though the authors themselves recognise this up to a point they are strongly inclined to suppose that Herāt drew upon more local, Central Asian sources, which leads them to postulate a school of painting in Timūrid Samarkand. However, the sources they cite are evidence for painting at Samarkand, but not necessarily indigenous and not manuscript painting. Nor are the manuscripts they postulate very much more convincing. The allegedly Central Asian features of the Bibliothèque Nationale *Mi'rāj-nāme* (Herāt 1436) are susceptible of quite a different interpretation: for the illustrations follow the text, which derives from an eschatological tradition followed in Western as well as Eastern Islam and which contains nothing specifically Buddhist. They suggest that it was made for Shāh Rukh, though there is no evidence that he could read Uyghur script and plenty that he was not a Buddhist. Nor was Buddhism, as far as the evidence stands, deeply entrenched anywhere in his domains: the evidence for "Mogholistan" further East is not here relevant. As for the Book of the Fixed Stars of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī which Blochet maintained was made at Samarkand in 1436, Ivanov⁴ has shown that the date and the attribution to Samarkand were pure conjecture based on Ulugh Beg's association with the manuscript.

They also suggest a *Khamṣa* in Topkapı [Hazine 786, dated 850/1446-47] as Samarkand work because it combines a Herāt format with certain peculiar stylistic features and because of its cruder workmanship (is crudeness, then, the prerogative of the provinces?): the ease of communication with Herāt, they argue, makes it probable that Herāt painters came to Samarkand. It is certainly possible, but it remains to be proved. If communications were so easy why should not Ulugh Beg have commissioned or acquired his manuscripts in Herāt? All the more so since the date exactly corresponds to the concentration of Ulugh Beg's political interest upon Herāt.

There is a further stage in the authors' argument. If Samarkand was a centre of painting under Ulugh Beg it had presumably local antecedents. On the basis of the scroll fragments in the Hazine albums which have, admittedly [172] some Western Iranian features but which are of very mixed subject matter — "nomads", a wedding procession, demons — they identify a "Central Asian" cultural context: "and all ... prove on analysis ... to have been executed in a world where Far Eastern and Central Asian culture mingled with the world of Iranian Islam. Where else might that have been but in ... Samarkand?" [174] But this is to ignore the battery of counter-arguments. And too little is known of any Islamic style for this to be more than a speculation, or the assumption of a 15th century Samarkand school on the basis of it more than a *petitio principii*.

M. Lukens Swietochowski's "The school of Herat from 1450 to 1506" [179-214] is a refreshingly workmanlike

⁴ A. A. Ivanov "Istoriya izucheniya Maverrannakhrskoi (sredneaziatskoj) shkoly miniatyury" I in *Srednyaya Aziya v drevnosti i sredneyekovye* edited B. G. Gafurov and B. A. Litvinsky (Moscow 1977) 144-59.

deflationary view of the period which is associated *par excellence* with the activity of Bihzād. The period immediately following the death of Ulugh Beg up to the accession of Ḥusayn Bāyqarā in 1470 is, however, virtually devoid of manuscripts. The absence of enthusiastic patrons and the political tensions were doubtless unfavourable to manuscript production and, she concludes, the continuity of the Herāt style in this intervening period must be sought with the Turcomans, the Black Sheep Pir Budāq and his White Sheep supplanters at Tabriz, who attracted Herāt painters to their circles. This brought Herāt painting into contact with new styles, which ultimately had much to do with the work of Bihzād.

The personality cult of Bihzād has, however, obscured the dating of the manuscripts post-1470. Minutely marshalling the evidence, she convincingly argues against the view that the magnificent Garrett *Zafarnāme* (copied 872/1467-68), which contains Sulṭān Ḥusayn's bookplate, was made to commemorate his accession at Herāt in 1470 and proposes a date for the illustrations twenty or thirty years later, the period of most of the manuscripts associated with Bihzād, when he was no longer an apprentice and had acquired a thorough technical mastery. Page by page consideration of these other manuscripts leads her to the inescapable conclusion that Bihzād's style was shared with or imitated by his best pupils and colleagues, for example, Shāh Muẓaffar and Qāsim 'Alī, whom the sources regard as his virtual equals, and that [197] "there is abundant evidence that the Herāt atelier ... worked from master copies, practised copying by means of pouncing, kept notebooks and sketchbooks and that all the artists of the atelier felt free to work with, copy or adapt the available material to their needs". Furthermore, many of the great "Bihzād" manuscripts contain the work of several hands. Throughout there is clear influence of earlier 15th century Tabriz, Shirāz and even Baghdad models, with strong echoes even of the Jalā'irid masterpieces. Whether in the *kitābkhāne* under Bihzād separate pages were assigned to several craftsmen, as, S. C. Welch argues, occurred in the execution of the Houghton *Shāhnāme* for Shāh Ṭahmāsp, is unclear.

To Basil Robinson more than anyone we owe the study of the Turcoman schools of painting in the 15th century. His contribution, "The Turkman school to 1503" [215-47] is a summary of conclusions which, thanks to his work, have become generally accepted. Though there are no recorded manuscripts dedicated to Iskandar ibn Qarā Yūsuf or Jahānshāh the Jalā'irid traditions of Tabriz were revived in a group of manuscripts dated or datable *circa* 1450-60 [for a list see pages 245-46] containing within the same volume miniatures in the Timūrid Yazd or Shirāz style, in an academic quasi- or pseudo-Herāt style, and in a "simplified, commercial Turkman" style. No contemporary Herāt or Shirāz manuscripts are so mixed; the illustrations are evidently contemporary; and since Herāt is out of the question Turcoman patronage remains the only alternative. This group is followed by a series of manuscripts made for Pir Budāq between 1455 and 1465, when he was governor of, successively, Shirāz and Baghdad under his father, Jahānshāh [the known manuscripts are listed 244]. The Shirāz manuscripts are finely illuminated; and at Baghdad there evolved a style, somewhat like a broader version of Herāt, to which

the Gulistan *Kalīla wa Dimna* corresponds and which he accordingly dates 1460-65.

The White Sheep at Tabriz begin obscurely: no manuscripts are known to have been made for Uzūn Ḥasan, though he argues that the double-page hunting scene inserted into the Leningrad *Silsilat al-Dhahab* (956/1549) must be dated *circa* 1470 and may well be from a manuscript ordered by him. For, once Ḥusayn Mīrzā is eliminated Uzūn Ḥasan was the only ruler considerable enough to commission such painting, and the conspicuous rocks with human heads are distinctively un-Herātī features. Also Turcoman is the British Library *Diwān* (Add. 16561) on coloured and gilt Chinese paper made at Shamakha in 873/1468, which in his view was illustrated at Tabriz, not in Transcaucasia. The apogee of the style comes with Ya'qūb Beg, the finest manuscript being the Topkapı *Khamsa* [Hazine 762] (880-86/1475-81), which was begun for Khalīl, and continued by Ya'qūb Beg's court artists, Shaykhī and Darwīsh Muḥammad, with the remaining miniatures added under the Safawids.

Consideration of Ya'qūb Beg's patronage leads Robinson to the Hazine albums which have often been associated with him and which contain many paintings convincingly attributed to Shaykhī and Darwīsh Muḥammad derived more or less closely from Chinese embroideries or representing genre subjects. This brings him to what must be described as a determined flirtation with the Mehmed Siyāh Qalem problem, where, on the basis of the attributions, which he rightly insists may well be the work of a learned hand, he proposes the identity of "Mehmed Siyāh Qalem" with Darwīsh Muḥammad. What conclusions he would accept regarding the chronology of the paintings he does not say, but on balance he rejects the view that the albums were compiled for or under Ya'qūb Beg and settles for a date of 1514 or later. The argument is advanced with humour and is not by any means the least plausible of the hypotheses which have been advanced. In any case, his account of Tabriz in the later 15th century, and his discussion of the "commercial Turkman" manuscripts of the period, demonstrates the continuing viability of Western Iran and Mesopotamia as progenitors of major developments in Islamic painting.

Finally comes a short essay, by M. M. Ashrafi [249-72] on painting in early 16th century Bukhārā. Though the Shaybānids occupied Herāt in 1507, she argues, the library staff remained there till its capture in 1510 by the Safawids made conditions too troubled for the *kitābkhāne* to continue work. She detects traces of a pre-Shaybānid Transoxanian style in a *Fathnāme* by Muḥammad Shādī [Institute of Oriental Studies, Uzbek Academy of Sciences 5369, dated, by Pugachenkova *circa* 1510-20] in a provincial Herāt style; but dynastic and political rivalry with the Timūrids drew the Shaybānids away from this tradition. In the 1520s there is evidence of Herāt scholars, including the historian Wāṣifi, at Tashkent under Keldī Muḥammad/Abu'l-Muẓaffar Sulṭān Muḥammad Bahādur Khān (reigned 1512-23), though it remains unclear how far painters from Herāt were involved in manuscripts made for him at Tashkent or Shāhrukiyya. In any case, on his death the painters evidently moved to Bukhārā under 'Ubayd Allāh Khān (reigned 1512-39), whose culture was oriented on Herāt, and who in the 1520s and 1530s collected more and more Herātī painters in his

library, the ultimate source of their models being Herāt compositions of the 1430s. His patronage was continued by his successor, 'Abd al-'Aziz Khān (1540-49), under whom a distinctively Bukhārā style evolved including portraits or portrait types which broke away from the Bihzād use of "portrait" figures within the framework of larger miniatures. Although more could obviously have been said about the concurrent development of painting and illumination in this period and the general impression given is of excessive caution, it is also an occasion for relief that Dr. Ashrafi has not followed recent moves by her Russian colleagues, Pugachenkova and Dolinskaya to inflate the production of Bukhārā at all costs.

For a work of this price the sub-editing is poor. Cross references would have been useful, since the same problems are discussed by several contributors from different points of view (for example, the status of the scroll paintings in the Istanbul albums 172, 242 and 290-92), though the freedom of opinion the contributors have been properly allowed leads, as in this case to sharp divergencies.

Not all the faults can be laid at the door of the editing, however. Appendix I "Literary sources for the history of the book in Central Asia" [273-80] by 'Abd al-Hayy Ḥabībī, with so many misprints that the proverbial monkeys typing out Shakespeare seem to be achieving success, would be better passed over in silence but for an astonishing misrepresentation. The well known passage from the *Tūzuk-i Jahāngiri* is retailed [276] as follows: "the *Jung-i Sāhibqirān* (collection of Timur) which contained two hundred and forty illustrations of Khalīl Mīrzā Shāhrukhī, the painter, was brought from Iran to India". This is interesting. What Jahāngir unambiguously says [*Tūzuk*, Rogers-Beveridge, II 116] is that Khān 'Alam, his ambassador to Shāh 'Abbās, brought from the Safawid library a picture of the battle (*jang*!) between Timūr and Toqtamish, Khān of the Golden Horde, bearing two hundred and forty figures, each identified by an inscription".

A second appendix, by Emel Esin, "The *bakhshī* in the 14th to 16th centuries" is a return to her well advertised preoccupation with Eastern Turkestan, early Turks, the Uyghur script and the impact of Buddhism following the Mongol invasions which she here presents as related themes [281-94]. The Mongol writers in Uyghur script formed (she asserts) a separate scribal class parallel to the Muslim chancery *kuttāb* in Persian and Arabic. Unlike the Muslims they were permeated with Chinese and (tantric) Buddhist influence which was spread in Timūrid Central Asia from Moghollistān (which she terms Uyghuristān), the eastern remnant of the *ulus* of Chaghatay, by heterodox dervish orders, including the Qalandārs and the Abdāl. Some of this may conceivably be true; but none of it is demonstrable. The Timūrid historians ignore Buddhism⁵,

⁵ She implies [288] that the illustrations to the section on the history of India in Rashid al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-Tawārikh*, the text of which was based on information supplied by a Kashmiri, Kāmalaśrī, "gave models in Islamic art for the depiction of cosmic mountains and for the representation of Inner Asians". She must be referring to the 1314 fascicule, formerly in the Royal Asiatic Society. If so the reference is ill-advised, for this established no tradition, as far as is known; and the illustrations combine at random Hindu, Buddhist and 13th century Indo-Turkish subjects. Since the account by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Naqqāsh of the Timūrid embassy to China, cited by Ḥāfiz-i 'Abd al-

while the revisionist Ming historians of the Yüan dynasty were evidently too prejudiced or too ignorant of developments in Western China for their claims to be taken seriously. Nor is the survival of Uyghur script, used first for Mongolian chancery documents and then (?) revived in the Timūrid period for a series of literary works, well enough attested for the relation between the two to be clear. To take the Bibliothèque Nationale *Mi'rāj-nāme* again, the text is certainly not Buddhist, and its angelology is Judaeo-Muslim as the substantially similar Hispano-Arabic recension⁶ shows. Why then depict a *specifically* Buddhist Heaven or Hell? The style is certainly strange; but stylistic peculiarities are not enough to demonstrate a Buddhist theology. Her own explanation, which she does not follow up, that the manuscripts in Uyghur script are associated with the Timūrids' enthronement of puppet-khāns to reinforce their pretensions to Chingizid descent is more suggestive; but this then makes the role of Buddhism and the presumption that *bakhshīs* and dervishes must transmit it quite superfluous.

These criticisms of detail should not obscure the solid worth of the book. It represents a summary of several decades of work and though, inevitably, the last words on many topics remain to be said and the first words on others have barely been written, it shows how much real progress has been made. This is enough to make it of enduring value.

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* *

ETHIOPIA

E. van DONZEL, *Foreign Relations of Ethiopia 1642-1700. Documents Relating to the Journeys of Khodja Murād*. Istanbul, Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1979 (27 cm., xiv + 306 pp., XI pls.) = Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 46. Price: fl. 58.—. ISBN 90 6258 046 7.

The great merit of this book is that it is impossible to assign it to one discipline only. Van Donzel begins in the

Razzāq Samarqandī is often adduced as evidence for Timūrid interest in Buddhism it is as well to consider his reports. Thus, at Turfan (*A Persian embassy to China. Being an extract from the Zubdatu'l-Tawārikh of Hafizi Abru*, translated K. M. Maitra (Lahore 1934; New York 1970) text 85; translation 13) were many fine idol-temples/*butkhānehā* with a large image in front of a platform asserted by the inhabitants to be Sakyamūni/*ki miguftand ki in šurāt-i Sakamūni ast*. He evidently did not recognise it as such. At Qamul (text 86; translation 14-15) he did not recognise the statues he describes as attacking demons as Dharmapālas. At Qamchu (text 95; translation 38-39) at the Monastery of the Recumbent Buddha he says merely that the statue is a *but*, and there is no indication that it represented Sakyamūni in the state of nirvana. Figures which evidently were painted Bodhisattvas he describes as *bakhshīs*. But is used here in a general sense, "idol", not "Buddha". This ignorance (tinged with disapproval) shows how very far from understanding "the culture of the *bakhshīs* the officials of the Eastern Timūrid courts were.

⁶ E. Cerulli *Il "Libro della Scala" e la questione delle fonti arabi della Divina Commedia* (= Studi e Testi 150) (Vatican 1949).

somewhat philological style of theological text criticism. And at first sight the problem of the external diplomacy of Ethiopia in the seventeenth century would appear to deserve just that. But on page 18 of his study Van Donzel escapes the traditional limitations of his discipline and becomes historian. As a result what was probably begun as an article develops into a book that is of interest to the historian of European overseas expansion, to the scholar of the Armenian diaspora as well as to the political anthropologist. The remainder of the book up to the last page is concerned with the Armenian 'merchant-ambassador' Khodja Murād, analysing his career and status rather than giving just the documents as the subtitle would suggest.

Oddly enough perhaps, there is no return to the concerns Van Donzel set out to present his reader with, i.e. the motives behind Ethiopian foreign policy: his conversion to the historical discipline seems to be total.

The first two chapters deal with the Ethiopian king Fasiladas' attempts to establish contacts with the Muslim powers in Yemen and in Istanbul. The interest here is both the Christian-Muslim and the commercial relationship. In Chapter III enters Khodja Murād. Firstly, his journey to Surat and the Mughal court of Awrangzib in Delhi in 1663-1664 and subsequently, covering the bulk of the book, his three journeys to the Governor-General of the Dutch East India Company in Batavia between 1673 and 1697. These chapters are largely based on the Dutch East India Company records preserved in the *Algemeen Rijksarchief* in The Hague. Van Donzel presents the reader with complete translations into English of his archival sources. He goes even beyond this, furnishing the Arabic text with English translations of three diplomatic letters that had been printed before but were not easily accessible. To my mind, this procedure contributes a certain liveliness and directness, particularly to the character of Khodja Murād who in the course of the book almost completely leaves the shadows of anonymity. He steps forward as a truly fascinating entrepreneur linking the fields of commerce and politics in a way that must have been far more common in seventeenth century Asia than we are perhaps prepared to realize. In a concluding chapter the author sums up this personality of Murād and evaluates the — often most critical — opinions of his contemporaries about his hero.

Contemporary criticism of Murād, both in Batavia and in Europe where a scholar like Ludolf was very much aware of him as a promising source of information on Ethiopia, revolved around his genuineness as an ambassador of the Ethiopian king. Clearly, contemporary European opinion was hardly aware of a concept like royal trade. The argument is indeed not yet settled even to-day. Recently, Pearson (M. N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: the Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century*, Berkeley etc. 1976) has argued for South Asia that merchants and rulers represented two different worlds and lived their own, separated lives. Van Donzel, in contradiction to his title, apparently emphasizes the commercial aspect. He coins the phrase 'merchant-ambassador' without losing himself into conjectures as to the theoretical niceties of the problem. To my opinion, he is on the right side. In Ethiopia itself, i.e. in the country that gave him diplomatic status, Murād seems to have been regarded in

the first instance as a merchant of genius (p. 83). Yet it may also be fruitful to see him first and foremost as a middleman, a broker like so many of his fellow-Armenians. Then it may be easier to understand why he could not, when on his way back from Batavia to the royal court, tolerate a Dutch merchant as envoy to Ethiopia at his side: this would have deprived him of his monopoly as a go-between. Similarly, if he would have arrived at court without the presents of the Dutch East India Company, he could neither have posed as a Dutch envoy of sorts to Ethiopia (as I suggest he would have liked to do) nor even as a successful merchant. This was perhaps an added reason for him to do his utmost to retain his position as the sole link between the Dutch and the king. However this may be, a more decisive interpretation has to be put in the wider context of the merchants vs rulers dispute.

In Khodja Murād we meet a fascinating aspect of the history of European expansion into the Indian Ocean. Murād travels to the Southeast Asian archipelago as a traditional Asian merchant, but he moves along the routes of the new European infrastructure and generally on board European ships. This is a spectacular illustration of the changes brought about in what Wallerstein has called the periphery of the new European world-economy (Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*, New York etc. 1974). For a while Amsterdam seemed to be the capital of this 'économie-monde' and it is, therefore, not surprising that Murād found his way to Batavia relatively easily. Indeed, in the view of at least one Ethiopian chronicler, Holland was now the capital of Rome (p. 84)!

Added to this study are four appendices. The first, giving the duration of various journeys is, however, it seems to me, of doubtful value: the list does not differentiate between the time a messenger, an individual traveller or a caravan generally takes for the journey: route nr. 18, Surat-Agra, does not specify whether the way via Burhānpur or the road via Aḥmadābād is meant, though this makes a difference of two weeks. A second, short appendix deals with the relationship between the English East India Company and Ethiopia. Further research in the London and Bombay records will probably yield more about this subject. Then there is an analysis, which only the orientalist Van Donzel could have given, of the journey of the Armenian bishop Yohannes to Ethiopia in 1678-1680. The fourth appendix lists the commercial imports and exports of Ethiopia about the year 1700.

The extensive and very learned notes are an added source of information, though now and then only for those versed in Latin and Italian. I can only remark that (p. 245, note 117) Mārwaris are not a South Asian caste but a category of merchants consisting of several castes hailing from Mārwar. Then follows an elaborate general index that will rarely disappoint the reader. Added to the book are two loose reproductions of maps, namely of Ludolf's map of Ethiopia published in 1683 and of James Bruce's map of the Red Sea area including Ethiopia of about a century later.

The author has shown what can be achieved when an orientalist takes courage and starts work among the voluminous but relatively accessible Dutch East India Company records. Certainly, to reverse the procedure

would not work half as well: a historian having a go at non-western manuscripts would not get very far. We must, therefore, hope that more scholars versed in oriental languages will follow on the road that has led Van Donzel to a unique, valuable and — which is not least — most enjoyable result.

Leiden, July 1980

D. H. A. KOLFF

* *

HISTORIA RELIGIONUM

Jacques WAARDENBURG, *Classical Approaches to the Study of Religion, Aims, Methods, and Theories of Research*. Volume 2, Bibliography, the Hague, Paris, Mouton, 1974 (8vo, viii + 332 pp.) = Religion and Reason 4.

By a regrettable misunderstanding the review of this work appears much over due. The volume is the second part of the voluminous study which Dr Jacques Waardenburg, Senior Lecturer of Islamics and Phenomenology of Religion at the University of Utrecht, has dedicated to the work of the scholars who may be called students of the „Classical Approaches to the Study of Religion”, because they belong to an older generation which has passed away. As a terminus ad quem the year 1950 has been taken. Thus the work contains a “View of a Hundred Years’ Study of Religion”.

As to the contents and the significance of the first volume I may refer to my review which has been published in *BiOr* XXXII, 1/2, Jan.-March 1975. For a better understanding of Volume 2 it may be recalled, that in the first part of his work after an “Introduction” the author presents an “Anthology” from the writings of 41 scholars who are arranged according to the following principles: 1) The Study of Religion established as an Autonomous Discipline, 2) Connections with Other Disciplines, 3) Religion as a Special Subject of Research, 4) Later Contributions from other Disciplines, 5) Perspectives of a Phenomenological Study of Religion.

From the beginning Waardenburg intended to add bibliographical informations to his argument. As the work proceeded, it became clear that the interest and the value of such a bibliography would be much greater if publications were also included of and about the other 127 scholars who were treated in the “Introduction” of what now is Volume 1. Thus the present Volume 2 which is exclusively dedicated to bibliography, came about.

In the “Preface” the author deals with the composition of the book. It consists of two parts: a short “Introductory Bibliography” (9 pages) and an extensive “General Bibliography” (309 pages) The “Introductory Bibliography” contains publications of a somewhat general nature. The “General Bibliography” enumerates publications of and on those scholars to whom reference has been made in the “Introduction” to the “Anthology”. These scholars who have been put in alphabetical order, fall into two categories. In the first place there are 127 scholars who may be considered characteristic representatives of the

main approaches to the subject of religion. The listings are given under three headings. First, indications are given when the complete bibliography of the scholar can be found. (“Bibliography”). Second, some major studies by others on the work of the scholar are mentioned. (“Biography and Appreciation”). Third, a selection of their publications is listed including those which are of interest to questions of method and theory. These publications have been arranged chronologically (“Main Publications”).

The second category contains the 41 scholars who figure in the “Anthology” and who deserve a special place. Their names are provided with an asterisk. Their listings are given in a more elaborate way. First, indications are given to where a complete bibliography of the scholar can be found. (“Bibliography”). Second, comes an alphabetical listing of the publications which deal with the scholar or his work. (“Biography and Appreciation”) Third, the scholar's own writings are listed chronologically, and that according to two view-points, namely “Method and Theory” and “Main Publications”. The work closes with the “Contents” of both Volume One and Volume Two.

It is evident that a work of such a nature can not be reviewed in the usual way. It is no use to seek for omissions or inaccuracies. One can only admire the courage with which Waardenburg undertook this donkey work, the perseverance which he showed in completing it and the painstaking way in which he collected and arranged his enormous material. With justified pride he can write in the “Preface”, that “although the listings of these 41 scholars, given in the size of the present volume, could not be exhaustive, they may be considered to be fairly complete”. Waardenburg has earned the gratitude of his colleagues who by means of these two volumes can easily obtain all wanted information about not less than 168 students of religion.

Amsterdam, Juli 1980

C. J. BLEEKER

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J. P. VERNANT e.a., *Divination et Rationalité*. Éditions du Seuil, 1974 (8vo, 319 pp.) = Recherches anthropologiques.

There is reason to question the wisdom of publishing books which contain papers held at a conference. The quality is usually uneven and they remain in most cases a collection of disiecta membra which hardly any reviewer is competent to judge. This is also true of the volume in question. A more fundamental problem, however, is raised by the fact that without a clear systematic approach to the complex phenomenon of divination the various contributions hang together ‘like loose sand’ as we say in Dutch.

The first part of the book is formed by an introductory article by J. P. Vernant ‘Parole et signes muets’. To start with he mentions the universality of divination, but points out that the project in hand is restricted to a few chosen examples which function as paradigmatic ones in the quest for the answer to two fundamental problems: divination as ‘attitude mentale’ and as ‘institution sociale’. As the title of the book indicates the first preoccupation

dominates and for the second question the reader is mainly referred to English and American anthropologists.

In the practice of divination the mental attitude and the social function form two aspects of the same phenomenon. This is more than the author says when he speaks of 'une certaine solidarité' and it is perhaps somewhat misleading to suggest that in cultures where divinatory practices are peripheral the social function would be lacking; it is more true to say that the function then has shifted from the community as a whole to one or more subgroups the members of which may be considered peripheral in their attitude to divination, but which in other respects may very well belong to the group as a whole.

Vernant then points out the great difference between divination in Greece and our scarcity of information in this respect compared to the situation in China and Mesopotamia on the other. Though it is true that, e.g. in Greece and in part of our own contemporary culture, we see how rationality may attack divination, it should not be suggested that divination and rationality as such necessarily contradict each other. The concept of a universal cosmic order is as such not of necessity irrational even though the divinatory methods used to discover the connections can be considered as irrational according to our understanding of the world.

The contribution of parapsychology to these problems I leave open as still too controversial to be fully trusted, but its possibility should not be ignored.

It is important that Vernant underlines the connection between knowledge and power, a subject which is not yet sufficiently studied, at least not in the sphere of religion, magic and divination, although it fortunately has begun to catch the attention of scholars of diverse specialisation.

Vernant calls another important view to our attention, when he mentions that the diviner is not only considered to be omniscient as to what will happen, but is also expected to be able to do something about it, if the predicted future should be unfavourable. This point deserves more attention. The African data, for instance, often show us the diviner far more as a pastoral consultant in situations of social friction and anxiety than as a specialist of esoteric knowledge.

What I mainly miss in this book is an analysis of the main structure of divination without which, in my opinion, neither the connection with the mental attitude, nor the social function can be made clear. All forms of divination can be manipulated to a certain extent, but the extent to which this is possible varies greatly. Divination based on the existence of some sort of cosmological order is less open to manipulation than those forms which depend on inspiration received from gods or spirits. In this way it should be possible to distinguish a number of types of divination connected with a certain mental attitude and serving a certain social aim. It is clear, to name two extreme cases, that an omen, a clearly defined thing with a clearly defined significance, and hardly open to manipulation, is something quite different from a dream oracle or any other type of divination dependent on divine or ghostly inspiration. As long as we throw all types of divination on one heap and treat them as one and the same thing our theory will remain in a state of confusion. Only after sifting the material and classifying it in a clear way, can we fruitfully study the existing or supposed con-

nections between divination and systems of writing or of signs and the beginnings of science as propagated — and rightly so — by this book.

After the introduction follow two articles on Chinese divination for which I refer the reader to the long, detailed and closely reasoned review of Maurice Freedman in the *Times Literary Supplement* (February 14, 1975, p. 171-172). J. Bottéro contributes an article on 'Symptômes, signes, écritures' which forms an excellent monograph on the Mesopotamian material. After this follow three articles on Greece and one on imperial Rome. The book concludes with the contribution of Anne Retel-Laurentin on divination among the central African Nzakara titled 'La force de la parole'. Interesting as it is, it remains a 'Fremdkörper' in this book and the reason why it is included is not clear.

To sum up: This book contains much valuable material and insights but its lack of structure is to be regretted.

Groningen, June 1980

TH. P. VAN BAAREN

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Robert HOTZ, *Sakramente im Wechselspiel zwischen Ost und West*. Benziger Verlag Zürich-Köln/Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, Gütersloh, 1979 (342 S.) = *Ökumenische Theologie*, Band 2. Preis: DM 48.—.

Ce livre est un travail de pionnier dans le domaine de l'histoire de l'ecclésiologie et de la doctrine des sacrements. L'auteur prend son point de départ dans la pensée néoplatonique, où l'Eglise primitive a puisé ses conceptions sur l'Eglise et les sacrements. Hotz nous montre d'emblée l'importance de la pneumatologie dans cette théologie des Pères grecs: c'est l'invocation de l'Esprit qui lie l'antitype au (proto)type, l'image (l'icône) à ce qu'elle signifie efficacement. Dès que l'occident va traduire le terme grec de «mystère» par sacrement, une fente se révèle dans la théologie des sacrements, notamment chez saint Augustin: le sacrement signifie une réalité sans lui être identique. A travers cette fente, toute la spéculation médiévale et même postérieure fera irruption dans la théologie occidentale des sacrements. Le terme de «similitude», qui désigne la relation du sacrement avec ce qu'il représente, soulèvera automatiquement le problème de la présence réelle du Christ dans le sacrement. Saint Thomas d'Aquin appliquera très schématiquement les principes (*archai*), catégories de pensée d'Aristote, à la doctrine des sacrements en général. En conséquence, quand Luther critiquera la pratique de la pénitence, ses questions s'étendront bientôt à l'essence même de l'Eglise. Par la suite, la grande vision de Luther sur la Sainte Cène comme sacrement de communion des saints et d'incorporation dans le Christ s'effacera devant la problématique de la présence réelle du Christ dans le sacrement. Le concile de Trente répondra à ce défi de la Réforme par une théorie de l'Eucharistie, dénuée de tout sens ecclésial. Ce ne sera que le concile du Vatican II qui rebrousse chemin sur ce terrain essentiel.

Mais auparavant, le rapprochement des théologies occidentale et orientale, forcé par les événements politiques,

aura entraîné une submersion de la théologie orientale des sacrements par celle de l'occident. Pour l'esquisse de cette période, l'auteur me trouvera partiellement en opposition avec lui, désireuse pourtant comme lui de dépasser les malheureuses contestations entre jésuites et calvinistes (néerlandais) au proche-orient du 17^e siècle. A partir de la recherche récente, il sera nécessaire de refaire à neuf la vision de la personnalité du patriarche d'Alexandrie et de Constantinople, Cyrille Lucar, et de la trace qu'il a laissée dans l'histoire de l'Eglise orthodoxe. Les faits à réviser suivront ici, non pas dans l'ordre du livre de Hotz, mais autant que possible, dans leur succession chronologique.

Cyrille Lucar n'est pas né en 1572 (Hotz, p. 125), mais en 1570. Le passeport polonais de Cyrille, daté le 25 juillet 1594, est le point fixe pour établir cette année de naissance. Ce passeport se trouve dans un recueil de documents de Cyrille Lucar acquis par la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Leyde en 1970. Le 24 février 1594, le maître de Cyrille, Maxime Margounios, lui adresse une lettre «*eis rôsian*». Cyrille a déjà alors quitté l'Université de Padoue, et pas seulement en 1595 (Hotz, p. 125). D'après une communication de Cyrille lui-même, il a étudié à Padoue jusqu'à vingt-trois ans. Cela ramène son année de naissance à 1570. Pour plus de détails de cette recherche, voir mon article «La naissance de Cyrille Lucar», *In memoria di Sofia Antoniadis, Biblioteca dell'Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Post-Bizantini di Venezia*, 6, 1974, p. 261-264. En 1596, la confrérie orthodoxe de Vilna a nommé Cyrille recteur de son école; celui-ci n'a pas fondé cette école (Hotz, p. 126). En Pologne, l'archimandrite Cyrille avait des contacts avec des représentants du catholicisme. En 1598, ceux-ci le chargèrent d'un mandat pour le patriarche d'Alexandrie, Méléce Pigas; il n'est pas question d'un voyage raté (Hotz, loc. cit.). A son retour en Pologne en 1600, Cyrille dut chercher refuge auprès du prince orthodoxe d'Ostrog; il n'est plus resté alors une année à Lvov (Hotz, loc. cit.). Voir pour ces données l'introduction à mon édition, Cyrille Lucar, *Sermons 1598-1602*, Byzantina Neerlandica 4, Leyde, E. J. Brill 1974. Hotz emprunte plusieurs dates fautives au livre de Sir Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, que j'ai corrigé dans *Eastern Churches Review* 2, 1969, p. 462-464: Corneille de Haga devint résident des États Généraux néerlandais auprès de la Sublime Porte en 1611, non pas en 1602 (Hotz, loc. cit.). La traduction du Nouveau Testament en Grec vulgaire parut en 1638, non pas en 1630 (Hotz, p. 127). La nécessité de nuancer le jugement sur l'attitude de Cyrille Lucar vis à vis de l'Eglise catholique me semble s'imposer. Depuis mes recherches des vingt dernières années, les conceptions du patriarche ne peuvent plus être schématisées comme cela a été fait auparavant, tant du côté réformé que du côté catholique. Voici des textes qui doivent être étudiés de plus près: le passage sur l'*ousia* du pain et du vin dans l'Eucharistie, changée en *ousia* du Corps et du Sang du Christ (Cyrille Lucar, *Sermons 1598-1602*, p. 85-86); les annotations sur les sacrements dans le catéchisme de Robert Bellarmine envoyé à David de Wilhem, e.a. la vision orientale sur l'épiclese dans la liturgie eucharistique (voir mon édition «Notes marginales de Cyrille Lucar dans un exemplaire du Grand Catéchisme de Bellarmine, *Kerkhistorische Studiën behorende bij het Nederlands Archief*

voor Kerkgeschiedenis 11, 's-Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff 1963); les passages sur l'Eucharistie et la communion dans le livre de Cyrille contre les juifs, édité sur la presse de Nicodème Métaxas (voir mon article «De drukkerij van Nikodemos Metaxas in Konstantinopel», *Het Boek*, 3^e série 37, 1965, p. 82-94; résumé en Grec par Sofia Antoniadis dans *Thesaurismata, Bollettino del Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Post-Bizantini*, Venezia, 3, p. 157-159). Même quand Cyrille a reconnu la cause de la Réforme comme «*justiorem causam*» (notez le comparatif!), il me semble qu'il pensait toujours à une réforme au sein des anciennes Eglises épiscopales (voir mon article «Patriarch Kyrill Lukaris und seine Begegnung mit dem Protestantismus des 17. Jahrhunderts», *Kirche im Osten* 13, 1970, p. 9-17). En 1629, le catéchisme de Cyrille ne fut pas imprimé à Genève (Hotz, p. 113, 118, 127; voir mon article cité), mais en juin en français à Sedan et ensuite en latin à Paris (voir mon article «De eerste uitgave van de belijdenis van Cyrillus Lucaris», *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, nouvelle série 51, 1971, p. 199-208). A l'origine, la Confession Orthodoxe de Pierre Mogila n'était pas destinée à être une réponse à ce catéchisme de Cyrille (Hotz, p. 14, 114, 118): cela ressort clairement du compte-rendu du synode de Kiev en 1640 (voir pour cette donnée et les suivantes mon article «De Confessio Orthodoxa van Petrus Mogilas», *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, nouvelle série 45, 1963, p. 193-207). Ni Métrophane Critopoulos (Hotz, p. 118), ni des délégués de Moscou (Hotz, p. 133) n'étaient présents au synode de Jassy, qui devait traiter des points difficiles du texte de Pierre Mogila. Celui-ci n'a pas repris simplement la doctrine latine de l'Eucharistie (Hotz, p. 132), mais à mon avis il fit un effort d'unir des points de vue orientaux et occidentaux en une seule formule. Les patriarches orientaux n'ont pas soussigné la Confession Orthodoxe lors du synode de Constantinople en 1643 (Hotz, p. 114, 118), mais seulement par la suite. Méléce Syrigos, traducteur de la Confession, a œuvré pour cette reconnaissance officielle — avec des intervalles, quand des patriarches d'une autre signature siégeaient à Constantinople. L'élève de Syrigos, Panagiotis Nicousios, prit soin enfin de l'impression. (Réponse aux hypothèses de Hotz sur le retard de l'impression, p. 118, 136.) La Confession Orthodoxe parut en 1666 (non pas 1667, Hotz, p. 114, 118, 136) à Amsterdam, chez l'imprimeur Jean Blaeu, aux frais des directeurs du Commerce Levantin. La différence d'une année avec la date de parution hypothétique proposée par Émile Legrand, vient de ce que la première édition fut recouverte par un tremblement de terre à Raguse. Là, le résident nommé auprès de la Sublime Porte, Joris Croock, perdit la vie (voir mon article «Een aanwinst van de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek, Orthodoxa Confessio Catholicae et Apostolicae Ecclesiae Orientalis», *Het Boek*, 3^e série 36, 1963, p. 25-52). La Confession parut uniquement en Grec (Hotz, p. 118) et non pas également en latin (Hotz, p. 114). La conclusion de cette énumération de détails historiques: que la recherche continue à déterrer la couche orthodoxe dans la pensée de Cyrille Lucar, de Pierre Mogila et de leurs successeurs, pour la distinguer plus finement des influences étrangères.

Après cette période, le retour à la Patristique de l'Eglise d'Orient est décrite de façon réjouissante. A mon avis, le rôle du père George Florovsky aurait pu être élaboré

d'avantage dans l'étude de ce retour. Le livre se termine sur l'espoir que représente le second concile du Vatican avec ses accents sur l'Eglise et le Saint-Esprit. L'auteur y joint un avertissement grave: les formules reprises de l'Orient par le concile doivent être suivies d'une réflexion théologique nouvelle, pour ne pas rester superposées. Je ne peux que souligner cet avertissement et cet espoir. Une réorientation s'impose après certains documents émis depuis le concile de Vatican II, qui ont poursuivi une ligne archaïque de pensée. Les pages 235 à 241 de Hotz sur le rôle du prêtre et du peuple lors de l'épiclese méritent une réflexion profonde et intense de la part de toute l'Eglise (voir aussi mon article «Een ander Evangelie? Orthodoxe Traditie en het ambt voor de vrouw», *Ere-dienst* 13, 1979, p. 29-40). Puisse le livre de Hotz servir de documentation et d'inspiration lors du prochain dialogue théologique officiel entre catholiques et orthodoxes.

Quelques critiques minimales doivent terminer ce compte-rendu qui voudrait surtout être un éloge.

— note 227 «der Kampf zwischen den Bilderstürmern» devrait être «gegen die Bilderstürmer».

— La définition du Type I (p. 146) devrait être traduite: «Mustēria werden sie genannt, weil sie unter sinnfälligen Zeichen eine faszbare und verborgene Wirkung haben».

— note 642 la traduction de l'auteur «allgemeine, universale» pour «katholische» contredit le sens du texte de Chomjakov. Toute l'argumentation de celui-ci contre le père jésuite converti Gagarin est destinée justement à démontrer que le mot «catholique» ne doit pas être traduit par «général» ou «universel».

— p. 191 et note 687 le c dans le mot Agnica n'est pas une translittération juste (Agnitsa).

Haarlem, juin 1980

KEETJE ROZEMOND

* *

H.-Ch. PUECH, *Sur le manichéisme et autres essais* (Idées et recherches. Collection dirigée par Y. Bonnefoy). Paris, Flammarion, 1979, 510 p.

Le titre donné à cet ouvrage risque de prêter à la confusion, comme l'auteur fait remarquer au commencement de sa Préface. On n'a pas à faire ici d'une réédition de l'ouvrage fameux *Le Manichéisme. Son fondateur, sa doctrine* (Paris, 1949), avec quelques additions: c'est un recueil d'articles, conférences, rapports etc., parus dans la période 1930 à 1972 et dispersés dans des revues ou des collections souvent peu accessibles. La plupart des articles concernent le manichéisme.

La première étude intitulée «La conception manichéenne» donne le texte original (jusqu'à présent inédit) de trois conférences faites à Ascona en 1936. L'auteur explique comment, pour la Gnose et le Manichéisme, le Salut est l'idée centrale, et de quelle façon elle se réalise en théorie et en pratique. Celle-ci est une contribution fondamentale.

Le problème du mal joue, on le sait, un rôle dominant dans le manichéisme. La seconde étude, «Prince des Ténèbres», scrute à fond l'image mythique que Mani et ses disciples se faisaient du Mal.

Autres titres: «Saint Paul chez les Manichéens d'Asie Centrale», «Péché et confession dans le Manichéisme», «Musique et hymnologie manichéennes».

Sous le titre «Liturgie et pratique rituelles dans le Manichéisme» l'auteur donne un compte rendu d'une très longue investigation poursuivie de 1952 à 1972 au Collège de France. Il a découvert alors que le manichéisme n'était pas seulement une «Gnose», une doctrine du Salut procuré par la Connaissance, en conséquence d'une «illumination» qui fait redécouvrir notre identité véritable, mais qu'il s'est constitué aussi en «Eglise», c'est-à-dire en une société religieuse fortement ordonnée par un canon d'Ecritures, un code de morale etc. (cf. p. II-III de la Préface).

Suit une étude intitulée «Catharisme médiéval et Bogomilisme», dont les liens avec le manichéisme authentique ne sont pas très stricts.

Quant aux trois «autres essais», on y trouve, à part deux petites notes, une étude sur le symbolisme de la mosaïque au baptistère de l'henchir Messaoude, Tunisie, nommée «Le Cerf et le Serpent».

Par l'ouvrage de M. Puech la 'physionomie' du manichéisme est devenue beaucoup plus claire. Ce qu'on admire dans ces études c'est la vue générale qui se manifeste dans les moindres détails.

A tous ceux qui s'intéressent à ce courant spirituel il faut recommander cet ouvrage de grande autorité.

Leiden, July 1980

J. C. M. VAN WINDEN

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VARIA

Heinz KREISSIG, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im Seleukidenreich, Die Eigentums- und die Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse*. Berlin (DDR), Akademie-Verlag, 1978 (133 pp.) = Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur der Antike, 16. Price: 28.-. M. Lizenznummer 202, 100/132/78.

It is good that a book on Seleucid economy and society has appeared. Since Rostovtzeff¹⁾ many articles on the subject have been written, not in the least by Kreissig himself. The book under review is written in a lucid style and presents a general view of the subject. As such it offers a valuable introduction for anyone who wishes to get acquainted with the subject.

In his introduction Kreissig confesses his Marxist starting-point (p. 5-16). In the first section of the book he discusses «the forms of property of the means of production» (p. 17-88), in the second «the forms of dependence of the producers» (p. 89-123). The greater part deals with agriculture.

The title of the book is much too pretentious, or, if the title is to be retained, the book has many shortcomings. Although the author confesses on p. 14 that he intends to write a social and economic history of the Seleucid

¹⁾ M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, Oxford 1941.

Empire, he does not really do so. In reality it is a study on Asia Minor with a few remarks on Syria and other sites. Conditions in Mesopotamia are practically completely overlooked. Moreover, not even one single word is spent on the temples in Babylon and Uruk in the discussions of temple land (p. 50-56), although there are many sources on them. Kreissig could have used the studies of Rostovtzeff²⁾ and Sarkisian³⁾, to mention only a few examples. The reason for this is that Kreissig only used the Greek sources and refused to take into account the cuneiform texts. This is all the more strange in the light of his claims that Droysen was wrong in treating Hellenism as the third Greek period (p. 9-10); he concludes that the Seleucid Empire was an ancient oriental state (p. 124-5).

After these general remarks I would like to discuss a few points in greater detail.

Phorologouménē Chōra

The expression *phorologouménē chōra* occurs in a letter from Antigonos Monophthalmus to Teos, in which Antigonos writes that the cities of Teos and Lebedos can use grain from the «φορολογουμένη χώρα»⁴⁾. According to Kreissig (p. 39) this (royal) land cannot be domain or land given to other persons. I do not agree with this. The only meaning of this expression is that the land in question had to pay *phoros*.

The estate of Mnesimachus in the plain of Sardis comprised villages which had to pay *phoros* to the chiliarchies of Pytheus and Sangarius⁵⁾. That villages in a domain had to pay *phoros* to the treasury is self-evident⁶⁾. From Antigonos' letter we also learn, that *phoros* did not need to be paid in money. It could be corn too⁷⁾.

The Mnesimachus Inscription

On p. 41-45 the Mnesimachus inscription is discussed. This inscription has been the subject of a study by K. T. M. Atkinson⁸⁾. In spite of the fact that Kreissig mentions the article (p. 42, n. 2) he does not seem to have used it. Apparently Kreissig does not believe Atkinson's thesis⁹⁾ that the text is not a single contract, but a series of documents which partly survive in the form of a report of some sort of court proceedings (Col. I) and a contract (Col. II) about which a dispute has arisen between Mnesimachus (or a descendant or son¹⁰⁾) and the temple

²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 494-5; 515-6.

³⁾ G. Kh. Sarkisian, *Cityland in Seleucid Babylonia*. In: *Ancient Mesopotamia*, Moscow 1969, p. 312-331; Idem, *New cuneiform texts from Uruk of the Seleucid Period in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Forschungen und Berichte* 16 (1974) 15-24.

⁴⁾ C. B. Welles, *Royal correspondence in the Hellenistic Period (RC)*. New Haven 1934, Roma 1966, No. 3, 83. Cf. I. Hahn, *Königsland und königliche Besteuerung im hellenistischen Osten. Klio* 60/1 (1978) 11 ff and my review on it in this journal: *BiOr* 37 (1980) 253 f.

⁵⁾ W. H. Buckler, D. M. Robinson, *Greek inscriptions from Sardis*. I. *American Journal of Archaeology* 16 (1912) 11-82; Idem, *Sardis*, VII, Leyden 1932, No. 1; K. T. M. Atkinson, *A Hellenistic Land-conveyance: The Estate of Mnesimachus in the plain of Sardis. Historia* 21 (1972) 45-74; H. Kreissig, *Wirtschaft*, p. 41.

⁶⁾ E. Bikerman, *Institutions des Séleucides*. Paris 1938, p. 179-180; Kreissig, *Wirtschaft*, p. 34.

⁷⁾ *RC* 3, 84.

⁸⁾ See n. 5.

⁹⁾ Atkinson, *l.c.*, p. 51-61.

¹⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

of Artemis. Atkinson argues that the contract in question is not a mortgage or loan («*Anleihe*» in Kreissig's words p. 41), but a sale of *possessio* of royal land. In her opinion the terminology of a sale could not be used, because the conveyance of *royal* land was concerned, therefore the terminology of a depositloan has been chosen. Thus the term *τιμή* is avoided in favour of *παρακαταθήκη*.

In her discussion Atkinson compares the Mnesimachus-inscription with an Assyrian one¹¹⁾. In itself it is not an unacceptable view, that in Assyrian pledge-contracts it is also actually a sale that is envisaged. Atkinson's interpretation of the Assyrian text, however, is less successful¹²⁾.

The reading of ll. 17-18 *a-na ši-pir-ti šakin* in stead of *a-na šuk²-na²-ti šakin* is probably correct. *šipirtu*, however, does not mean «pledge», but «message». *šapartu* is the Assyrian word for pledge. Perhaps it was a slip of the stylus on the part of the scribe.

Further, Atkinson misunderstands ll. 19-21. These lines are only partly preserved, but they are not to be restored in the way she has done. They certainly are parallels of e.g. *ARU* 124, 15-17; 127, 9-11; 635, 8-10, whatever the precise formulation may have been. The meaning of the lines must be that as soon as the silver is paid back, the pledge (the people and the land) is to be released. Thus it is a normal pledge contract.

The interpretation of the last lines (30-31): *ki-šir¹⁴ AŠ + šur-PAB.MEŠ.AŠ XX¹⁵ AŠ + šur* as «the categorisation of the property concerned as 'rent-land' (*kišru*) of Esarhaddon king of Assyria» is not very convincing. The word *ki-šir* is not immediately clear. *Kišru* has many meanings. The *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, K, p. 436¹⁶ sqq. gives thirteen, including 'rent' (not 'rent-land') and 'possessions, treasures' (but not as referring to royal land. NB: Kohler and Ungnad translated '*Eigentum*'¹⁷⁾); further 'team, staff of an institution'. 438¹⁸⁾. Possibly the lines are no more than a part of the date of the tablet and a narrower description of the eponymous magistrate Nabu-bel-ušur (l. 29) as being in the service of Esarhaddon king of Assyria, just as in another text¹³⁾ the eponymous magistrate Dananu is followed by the indication «*ina tar-ši¹⁴ AŠ + šur-PAP.AŠ XX¹⁵ AŠ + šur¹⁶*», «in the time of Esarhaddon king of Assyria». Another possibility is that '*ki-šir*' is a mistake for '*ki-šir-tū*', «tablet, list»¹⁴⁾ or «envelope»¹⁵⁾.

There is another cuneiform text worth mentioning for comparison with the Mnesimachus inscription with regard to the question of proprietary rights of land. I refer to a Seleucid contract, 232 B.C.¹⁶⁾, dealing with the sale of the right of pasturage on 2/3 of an accurately described piece of land by three brothers to their sister Etirtu.

¹¹⁾ C. H. W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents (ADD)*, Cambridge 1898, 1924², No. 64, transcribed and translated by J. Kohler and A. Ungnad, *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden (ARU)*, Leipzig 1913, No. 152 and in her own appendix p. 73-4.

¹²⁾ p. 59-60.

¹³⁾ *ARU* 373, 34-5 (= *ADD* 360 = J. N. Postgate, *Fifty Neo-Assyrian Legal Documents (FNAD)*. Warminster 1976, No. 4).

¹⁴⁾ *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary (CAD)*, K, 436.

¹⁵⁾ Postgate, *FNAD*, p. 121 f.

¹⁶⁾ *TCL* XIII, 239, transcribed and translated by Ellen W. Moore, *Neo-Babylonian Business and Administrative Documents (NBAD)*, Ann Arbor 1935, p. 258 f and Mlle M. Rutten, *Contrats de l'époque séleucide conservés au Musée du Louvre (Babyloniaca 15)*. Paris 1935, p. 161 ff.

L. 9ff: "... for pasturage to Eṭirtu ... in perpetuity (they) have given. As compensation for the pasturage in the 2/3 of that uncultivated land (the three brothers) [x shekels of silver in staters of Seleucus, full value, from the hand of Eṭirtu, their sister, have received. They are paid". The three brothers "for any purpose at all to anyone [else] at all, aside from Eṭirtu ... have not gi[ven] and shall not give" the land. "And if they have given or if they shall give, according to (what) they withheld, they shall make good twelvefold to Eṭirtu in perpetuity. The 2/3 of that uncultivated land to Eṭirtu ... in perpetuity shall belong (a-na U₄-mu š-a-tù š-ú (l. 20))".

This state of affairs actually boils down to a sale of land. The three brothers lose the disposal of the land in question for ever. Yet the terminology of a sale contract, *ana šimi gamrūti* = "at the full price", is avoided, just as the word *timē* is lacking in the Mnesimachus inscription.

H. Petschow¹⁷⁾, when discussing this contract, speaks of "geteiltes Eigentum" of the brothers and the sister. The phrase "according to what they withheld" (l. 16) would then refer to the "bei den Veräusserern verbliebenen Eigentumsrest". What this "Eigentumsrest" involves is not altogether clear. It cannot be very much in practice. In theory and legally the brothers were the owners, in practice their sister Eṭirtu. Likewise Mnesimachus and his descendants were the legal owners (or rather the possessors) of the estate in the plain of Sardis, in practice it was the temple of Artemis. That the legal ownership was not completely meaningless is borne out by the inscription referring to the court-proceedings. In the case of the Mnesimachus inscription we can also think of a sort of shared ownership. Mnesimachus and the temple share the ownership, or rather, the possession. The king remains the owner.

This also appears to be the case from the sales of royal and temple-land from Neo-Babylonian, Persian and Hellenistic times¹⁸⁾. The possessors of royal and temple land were free to pledge, to lease or to sell their land, i.e. to use it as private property. But from some texts¹⁹⁾ it appears that the temple of Uruk could impose certain duties upon the purchasers. Sarkisian, however, suggests that the temple of Anu sooner or later lost its control of the objects granted "for all time"²⁰⁾.

A special *crux interpretum* is the portion of the estate of Mnesimachus that came into the possession of a certain Pytheus and a certain Adrastus. The portion is indicated as *ἐξαίρημα*: Col. I, 13-14: ... τῆς διαιρέσεως γενομένης *ἐξαίρημα* ἔλαβεν Πύθεος καὶ Ἀδραστος αὐλήν. The word *ἐξαίρημα* can only be interpreted in the context of this inscription. The first publishers translate: "P. and A. received as their private property a farmstead"²¹⁾, or: "as separate property"²²⁾. Briant translates "en propriété

séparée"²³⁾, Golubcova "Entnahme"²⁴⁾. In her opinion it was the king or Mnesimachus himself who could "take away" ("entnehmen") the portion. She presumes it was the king, in analogy with Plutarchus, *Eumenes*, 8. The lexicon of Liddell and Scott gives "reserved portion of an estate"²⁵⁾.

Atkinson²⁶⁾ calls it a 'detached portion' of the estate, taken back by the king from the possessor of the estate. In her opinion it was this act of the king that gave rise to the dispute between the temple and (a descendant of) Mnesimachus. Now the temple demanded restoration of the whole of the deposit (= purchase price), while only a part of the estate was taken back by the king.

Kreissig understands the term as "Unterpacht" (p. 44). When the king gave the estate to Mnesimachus, he would have given a part to Pytheus and Adrastus in sub-lease at the same time.

In my opinion, however, the interpretation offered by Atkinson is more acceptable. "Unterpacht" is certainly not a translation of *ἐξαίρημα*. This noun is derived from the verb *ἐξαίρω* = "to take out, to take away". It is most probable that it was the king who took away a portion of the estate and gave it to Pytheus and Adrastus. Furthermore, the contract (*syngraphē*) of Col. II takes into account the possibility that the king will take away a portion of the estate: Col. II, 12-13: ἐὰν δὲ τὰς κόμας ἢ τοὺς κλήρους ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τι τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἐὰν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀφέλῃται κτλ. Again the verb *αἰρέω* (*ἀφέλῃται*) is used, with the king as subject. In Col. I, 13 we also see *αἰρέω* in the expression τῆς διαιρέσεως γενομένης, "when the division took place". The fact that the definite article τῆς has been used indicates that the division had been mentioned earlier, in the mutilated part of the inscription. This corroborates Atkinson's view that it was this new distribution of part of the estate made by the king that was the cause of the dispute.

So in three instances we have words with the stem *αἰρέω*, of which the king in some way is the subject. That three different prepositions, *δι-*, *ἐξ-* and *ἀφ-*, have been used can be explained as follows: *διαίρεσις*, 'division', 'partition', refers to the original complete estate, which has been split into two parts; *ἐξαίρημα* refers to the part that has been taken out of the original estate and has been given to Pytheus and Adrastus; *ἀφαίρω* refers to the king, or his act of taking away a portion of the estate.

Kreissig's claim that *exairēma* has to be understood as "Unterpacht" is based on Col. II, 4-5. He argues that Mnesimachus is responsible for the tribute from the *exairēma* of Pytheus and Adrastus, because in Col. II, 4-5 it is stipulated, that Mnesimachus or his descendants, if they transgress the terms of the contract, will lose the proprietary rights of the villages, the *klēroi*, the plots of land and all the slaves (τοὺς οἰκέτας ἅπαντας). Because

²³⁾ P. Briant, Remarques sur "laoi" et esclaves ruraux en Asie Mineure hellénistique. *Actes du Colloque 1971 sur l'esclavage*, p. 111.

²⁴⁾ E.S. Golubcova, Sklaverei und Abhängigkeit im hellenistischen Kleinasien. In: T.V. Blavatskaja, E.S. Golubcova, A.I. Pavlovskaja, *Die Sklaverei in hellenistischen Staaten im 3.-1. Jh. v. Chr.* Wiesbaden 1972, p. 156.

²⁵⁾ H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford 1968, s.v. *ἐξαίρημα*, p. 582^a.

²⁶⁾ L.c., p. 66.

oiketai are mentioned only in connection with the *aulē* of Pytheus, these *oiketai* must have been meant and they must therefore belong to the possession of Mnesimachus.

This argument fails for two reasons. Firstly Atkinson has shown²⁷⁾ that the *diairesis* took place after the contract (*syngraphē*, Col. II, 4) had been concluded. The *diairesis* itself was cause of the dispute, which is the subject of Col. I. So it is obvious that the *oiketai* are supposed to belong to the possession of Mnesimachus in Col. II, 4-5, the text of the contract, which was drawn up at a time when Pytheus and Adrastus had not yet received their gift. Secondly the fact that τοὺς οἰκέτας ἅπαντας are mentioned does not mean that only Pytheus' *oiketai* are involved. It seems very unlikely that they did not exist elsewhere on the estate, even though they are not mentioned there. This argument, however, has been made superfluous by the first one.

It is my general conclusion that Mrs Atkinson's interpretation of the Mnesimachus inscription is better than Kreissig's, although I do not endorse her entire argumentation. I agree with her that the first Column refers to court-proceedings as a result of a disappropriation of a part of Mnesimachus' estate by the king, and that Col. II is the original contract by which Mnesimachus conveyed the estate to the temple of Artemis in perpetuity. Because royal land was concerned, it could not be sold outright. Therefore it was not possible to draw up a normal sale contract. There are some aspects which call to mind conditions in Mesopotamia, though not in the way Atkinson assumes. In this respect I would point to the notion of "shared ownership", the warranty against eviction, the two-fold, in Babylonian texts twelve-fold restitution of the purchase-price in case of eviction, and the verb *ἐμποιεῖσθαι*, meaning "to be instituted in possession", which Atkinson compares with *ú-še-ra-ban-ni* in the Assyrian text discussed by her²⁸⁾, but which can be better compared with the factitive form (stem II) of the verb *epēšu*, "to make", i.e. *uppušu*, which in Neo-Assyrian sale-contracts means "to acquire"²⁹⁾.

The Polis

Many definitions have been given of a Hellenistic polis. Most often the existence of certain Greek institutions plays an important role in those definitions. For Kreissig the status of the city-land is important: a polis has *chōra politikē*, which has to be distinguished from the *chōra basilikē*, and which consists of individual private property (p. 62).

In my opinion no such definition captures the essential characteristic of the term. A Hellenistic polis is simply a city which has the right to call itself a "polis". So oriental towns can turn into "poleis". Sometimes Greek institutions, a new Greek name or new conditions in the

²⁷⁾ Ibidem.

²⁸⁾ Ibid., p. 57.

²⁹⁾ W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 227^b-228^a; CAD, E, p. 231^a: "to conclude a sales agreement". Postgate, *FNAD*, p. 14 "uppušu + laqā'u constitutes the action needed to give him (= the creditor, who has the possession of a pledge) ownership as well as possession, and so accomplish a sale according to the law". (KAV 143 obv. 1; M. David, *BiOr* 9 (1952) 170ff). *ἐμποιεῖσθαι*: Liddell and Scott, l.c., 547^a: "to lay claim to".

city-land appear, but all this is not necessary. I think, that very often only few changes occurred³⁰⁾.

Kreissig recognises that sales of land in the Babylonian cuneiform sources do not imply that private property of land is concerned. Yet he assumes that he is dealing with three Babylonian contracts concerning the sale of "κληροῖ-Teilstücken", viz. CT XLIX, 137, 169 and 178³¹⁾. In fact, these contracts do not deal with the sale of arable land, but of portions of land within the city destined for the building of a house. The land in question is indicated as "kišubbū" = "fallow, uncultivated field or land; empty lot for building a house"³²⁾. Arable land would have been designated as "še.NUMUN, zēru".

San Nicolò and Ungnad³³⁾ have pointed out that in sale-contracts of arable land ("Feldgrundstücke") the bordering tracts of land are indicated as being situated *ita* (UŠ.SA.DU) = "bordering" on the land to be sold. In sales of house-plots the word *tēh* (DA) is used. The size of arable land is measured by the amount of seed-corn that is needed in the measures of capacity *kurru*, *pānu* and *sātu*. The size of house-plots is measured by the linear measures of the sides *qanū*, *ammātu* and *ubānu*. In Late Babylonian texts there is also a superficial measure *qanū* = ca 22 m².

In all the above mentioned sale contracts of CT XLIX the terminology of house-plot sale is used. Thus they do not deal with κληροῖ. It seems wiser to use the word κληρος only in respect to Greek cities and new-founded Greek cities and colonies.

On p. 61 Kreissig makes a comic mistake. We read there that the Macedonian and Greek πολῖται were divided into "τρίβαι". Presumably "φυλαί" was meant, "τρίβαι" being a self-made Greek plural of the English "tribe".

Coinage

Kreissig spends only a few words on Seleucid coinage. Seleucid Mints in Babylon, Tarsus, Damascus, Aradus, Marathus, since Antiochus VII also in Jerusalem, are known from the third century B.C. (p. 61). I will concern myself here briefly with the Mint in Babylon.

The cuneiform texts often mention Seleucid coins, namely "staters of Seleucus" or "staters of Antiochus". Yet the number of staters is never mentioned, rather the weight of the staters in Babylonian units of weight. Possibly there was in Babylon a fixed rate of exchange, which was called "manūtu ša Babili"³⁴⁾.

In discussing the question L. T. Doty³⁵⁾ explains "manūtu ša Babili" as: "a rate of exchange fixed at Babylon between the Babylonian units of payment, minas and

³⁰⁾ Cf. I. Schiffmann, Griechische und orientalische Quellen der hellenistischen Polisorganisation im vorderasiatischen Bereich. *Klio* 60/1 (1978) 203-216.

³¹⁾ D.A. Kennedy, *Late-Babylonian Economic Texts = Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum (CT)*, Part XLIX. London 1968, Nos. 137, 169 and 178.

³²⁾ CAD, K, 463^a; cf. L. T. Doty, *Cuneiform Archives from Hellenistic Uruk (CAHU)*, Ann Arbor, London, 1977, pp. 142-3.

³³⁾ M. San Nicolò & A. Ungnad, *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden*, I. Leipzig 1935, p. 51.

³⁴⁾ This expression does occur in: ZA 3 (1888) 148, No. 10:1-2; 150 No. 13:1-2; CT XLIX 105:2; 106:2; 114:2; 121:2; 144:6 and 21; 148:1 and 4; 165:16; 178:13; 185:5; 186:13; YBC 4645:10'-11' (cf. Doty, CAHU, 175 and next note).

¹⁷⁾ H. Petschow, *Neubabylonisches Pfandrecht*. Berlin 1956, p. 135ff.

¹⁸⁾ Ibid., p. 143ff.

¹⁹⁾ E.g. BRM II, 20, 23ff; Sarkisian, *Forschungen und Berichte* 16 (1974) pp. 29f, 43f and 66 No. 8, 15-20. Cf. O. Krückmann, *babylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungs-Urkunden aus der Zeit Alexanders und der Diadochen*. Weimar 1931, p. 84f.

²⁰⁾ Sarkisian, *F.u.B.* 16, p. 23.

²¹⁾ Buckler, Robinson, *AJA*, 16 (1912) 15.

²²⁾ *Sardis* VII, p. 3.

shekels of silver, and the Greek coins in which payment was actually made" and he rejects the opinion that the expression refers to the Mint of Babylon. While I agree with him, I feel he does not use the right argument. According to E.T. Newell³⁵) the Mint of Babylon was closed in 275 B.C.

Doty, who only knows the texts published by Strassmaier in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (ZA) 3 (1888) 148 en 150 nos. 10 and 13 and CT XLIX, 185, thinks that ZA 3, 148, no. 10 is dated after 275 B.C., so that *manûtu ša Babili* cannot mean "Mint of Babylon". However, Strassmaier read the date of the text wrongly. He saw in the traces of l. 28 the name of Demetrius, but actually there is to be read: MU 11^{kam} r'a'-lik'-[sa-an-dar] A 'KL.[MIN] = "11th year of Alexander, the son of ditto", i.e. Alexander IV, like Oelsner already indicated in ZA 61 (1971) 163, n. 9.

There are, however, many other texts dating from the time after 275 B.C. = year 36 of the Seleucid Era, viz.: ZA 3, 150, no. 13 (year 94); CT XLIX, 114 (year 43); 121 (year 54); 144 (year 193); 148 (year 153); 186 (year ca. 53).

A philological argument may be added. "*manûtu*" is derived from the verb "*manû*", "to count". This has little to do with the stamping of coins, and more with the computation of a rate of exchange.

Amsterdam, Free University,
June 1980

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* * *

W. KULLMANN. *Wissenschaft und Methode. Interpretationen zur aristotelischen Theorie der Naturwissenschaft*. Berlin-New York, W. de Gruyter, 1974 (x, 419 pp.). DM 138,-.

This fat volume is a major work. It is concerned with a major problem in the interpretation of Aristotle [A.], viz. that of the relation obtaining between, on the one hand, the rigorous theory of science and of deductive *apodeixis* (scientific proof) believed to be the subject of the *Posterior Analytics* [Apo], and the actual method of scientific exposition and research used in the scientific treatises on the other. The latter is often thought to be incompatible with, or at least to fall far below the demands of, the former. There are two main approaches to this question, viz. that from the theoretical treatise to the scientific works, and its converse; ideally, these should be employed as if in a game of shuttle-cock. Throughout his book, it is precisely this sort of play which Professor Kullmann [K.], with dazzling technique, pursues. As the starting-point of his investigations, moreover, he has excellently chosen a treatise which, so to speak, allows him to play both sides of the game simultaneously: the first book of the *On the Parts of Animals* [PA I], an independent piece intended by A. to serve as the introduction to the zoological corpus.

³⁵) *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 30 (1978) 69 n. 4.

³⁶) E.T. Newell, *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III*. New York 1938, p. 99-106.

The first chapter (6-74) of K.'s book is a very good running commentary on PA I. It should now be studied in conjunction with Balme's commentary [D.M. Balme, *A's De Partibus Animalium I and De Generatione Animalium I*, Oxford 1972, 69-125 — intended, as K.'s definitely is not, for the Greekless student —]. K. was not yet able to use this; hence it is all the more gratifying to note that, as a rule, the agreement between him and Balme is substantial. Compared with K.'s learned discussion, Balme's succinct comments enjoy the obvious advantages of lucidity. K., on the other hand, did not set out to compose a self-sufficient commentary, but studies PA I with larger questions in mind, which he tries to pinpoint as they arise in the course of A.'s introduction to zoological study. These far-reaching questions are dealt with in consecutive and extensive chapters. Ch. II (95-153) studies the problem of what, exactly, one should know before any special discipline can be studied (propaedeutic knowledge, in A.'s terms: *paideia*). Ch. III (154-268) and IV (269-341) form the core of K.'s inquiry; III deals with "phenomenology" and "aetiology" or scientific statements of fact and their explanations, IV with aetiology and *apodeixis*. The short final chapter (V, 342-9) compares A.'s definition of "species" with that of the Platonists and broadens into a discussion of A.'s theory of definition. An excursus (350-7), arguing that A.'s methodology cannot have been influenced by — or have influenced — that of the physician Diocles of Carystus forms a splendid finale [see now, however, G. Harig-J. Kollesch, *Diokles von Karystos und die zoologische Systematik*, NTM 1974, 24ff.]. The bibliography is brief and good, and the book, as such a book should be (but how many, today, are?) has been lavishly indexed (356-419).

Since K.'s erudite and detailed arguments are not always easy to follow (he has a knack of hiding his more important points behind a screen of *minutiae*), and since a summary, regrettably, is lacking, readers are advised to begin with an earlier paper — earlier in the sense of having been published before the book — of less than 40 pages: "Zur wissenschaftlichen Methode des A.", in: *Synusia. Festschr. Schadewaldt* (Pfullingen 1965), 247ff., repr. in: G.A. Seeck (ed.), *Die Naturphilosophie des A.* (Darmstadt 1975), 301ff., with a brief supplementary note. The first two sections of this paper to some extent summarize K.'s views on "Wissenschaft und Methode" in A. In this review of what is an immensely learned and inspiring work, which deserves to become seminal, I can only deal tentatively with some of the more important issues.

Since the majority of questions tackled in Ch. I are treated at length in the following chapters, I shall proceed immediately to Ch. II, where K. tries to find out what A. meant by the *paideia* which, as he says, the student of zoology should possess. K. believes [see however below, c. 222, as to his views on research] that the methodology of the *Apo* is primarily concerned with the institutionalized exposition or teaching of science, not with scientific research (103, 133; cf. esp. 134-5, where he refers to, and to a large degree follows, J. Barnes, *A's Theory of Demonstration*, Phron. 1969, 123ff., now repr. in: Barnes and others (edd.), *Articles on A., I. Science*, London 1975, 65ff.) In the first Ch. of PA I, A. argues that the student of zoology should be capable of evaluating the arguments of

someone expounding a theory in this field. K. believes that this refers to a teacher-pupil relationship. Surely, this is a too narrow view, for one should also think of a discussion among colleagues, or even, I assume, with oneself. Now, to be capable of such acts of evaluation, the "listener" should be already possessed of a sort of knowledge, both of a factual and of a methodological nature. A. enumerates several such points of method: (1) should one proceed by individual species or by studying general characteristics common to a plurality of species or even to all of them? A. — ideally — opts for the former; actually, however, he opts for doing both simultaneously as far as possible. (2) Should one first study the phenomena and then look for their causes or go from causes to phenomena? (3) Which are more important, final causes or material ones? His answers are that we should begin with the phenomena and that final causes have precedence. K. is surely right in arguing that a special *paideia* preliminary to the study of zoology is precisely what PA I is about and hence that this *paideia* cannot be identical with knowledge of the *Analytics*. He tends to forget, however, that knowledge of what is in the *Analytics*, although not sufficient as a preliminary to zoological study, is one of its necessary conditions, for the student, if he is to profit from the special zoological *paideia*, must know his *Analytics*, i.e. the theory of the syllogism and its applications. K. correctly argues, for instance, that the 'educated' person is prepared to expect and accept that in the different sciences only varying degrees of exactitude are possible (110, 122); but this is precisely one of the points set out in the *Apo* (cf. K., 126). Surprisingly, he states (99, 110) that the *Analytics* cannot be included in the preliminary *paideia* because "syllogistic is concerned with truth" and is universally applicable to all sciences and thus cannot be constitutive of their differences which cause the special problems for which a special *paideia* is indispensable. But syllogistic, I would say, is not concerned with truth; it is a purely formal discipline. A syllogistic argument is true only if it is logically correct and its premisses are true, and "apodeictically" true only if its conclusion can be derived from "principles", first premisses that are true, underived, and explanative of this conclusion. The varying degrees of exactitude of the different sciences are bound up with the fact that the formal methods of syllogistic and *apodeixis* cannot be equally applied to all of them — which is the same thing as to say that they can yet be applied, to varying extents, to all of them. This in its turn implies that one should know about these methods what there is to be known before commencing the study of a particular science. It is only at this point that a further, i.e. special and additional, *paideia* becomes necessary, through which one may understand the precise extent to which, in the particular case at issue, the universal methods are applicable. To proceed by characteristics rather than by species is such a matter of lesser exactitude (cf. K., 111), and I, for my part, would agree in calling this methodological directive a piece of special zoological *paideia*, irrelevant, say, to the study of ethics. But the decision concerned with the order of priority in the investigation of phenomena and causes is not only of a zoological nature, but, to say the very least (and that this is so fully

follows from K.'s Ch. III), also valid for general physics and its other sub-disciplines.

Furthermore, I would say that whoever is not equipped with such preliminary knowledge is, *pace* A., not only a bad student (pupil), but also a bad scientist (researcher). K. convincingly argues that large sections of PA I, concerned with what "one should already know", are critical of Speusippus' deductive theoretical zoology. Speusippus, however, is a fellow-scientist, who has already 'published' his investigations, not an innocent pupil-to-be or merely a bad teacher; A. argues not against his bad didactic method, but against the things he taught. The main difference between the pupil and the adult scientist, I believe, is that the former investigates problems which are only subjectively problematical; i.e. what he practices is a sort of subjective research, which is fully comparable to the objective research pursued by the scientist. Occasionally, K. admits that what is valid for the pupil is also valid, methodologically, for the independent researcher ("Forscher", e.g. 116). [I shall return to the question of A.'s view of research shortly].

Ch. III, it will be remembered, is about "phenomenology" and "aetiology". K. argues that the dialectic method (or technique) of the *Topics* is concerned with, among other things, the discovery of "principles" (the first premisses of arguments in a particular science), and that, because of its formal, truth-neutral character, it requires a demonstrative, i.e. apodeictic, complement: the *Analytics*. Dialectic "goes up", i.e. proceeds toward the principles; apodeictic "goes down", i.e. from the principles, in a deductive way (165f.). Both dialectic and apodeictic deal with statements, whereas induction (*epagoge*), the scientific complement to deduction, does not in this way deal with sentences, but constructs general statements by deriving these "upwards" from single (or repeated) observations or perceptions (168): *epagoge* would be the primary method of research ("Forschung", 171). K. compares Plato's dialectic and concludes that, in A.'s system, it is only the part analogous to the deductive half of Plato's method which has been preserved (e.g. 200): the theory of the *Analytics*, which is not concerned with the acquisition of knowledge (as induction is) but with the axiomatic foundations of science and with "Wissensübermittlung" (180).

At p. 180-1, however, polemizing against Barnes, K. correctly argues that *Analytics* is not limited to the structuring of the transmission of knowledge; in *Apo*, there are numerous references to "Forschungsproblematik", and the ideal model of a rigorously deductive science "könnte ... mehr die Funktion einer Orientierungshilfe bei der Darlegung einzelner Begründungszusammenhänge haben und brauchte nicht auf die lückenlose Deduktion eines geschlossenen Wissensstoffes fixiert zu sein". Similarly 196: in *Apo*, we also find the "Fragestellung des Forschers ... der einen Satz durch das Auffinden evidenten unvermittelter Prämissen zu beweisen sucht" (my italics; cf. also 192-3). He also acknowledges (171) that according to *Apo* II 19 it is (not dialectic but) *epagoge* which leads us upward to the principles, without however suggesting an explanation [I cannot go into this difficult Ch. here]. *Apo* I 12 is explicitly about the (epigenetic!) growth of a science (cf. K., 195), i.e. about research as — according

to this chapter — it occurs “downward” and “laterally”. For my part, I find the references in *APo* to research both undeniable and important; once their importance is realized, it becomes indeed untenable to limit apodeictic to a method of “Wissensübermittlung” only. I believe that one should even go further than this and seriously question the exclusively deductivist interpretation of apodeictic. The great Ernst Kapp long ago pointed out that the *Prior Analytics* is not so much concerned with the art of drawing conclusions from premisses, i.e. with deduction, as it is with that of finding the premisses from which a given conclusion necessarily follows (*Greek Foundations of Traditional Logic*, New York 1942; I quote from the transl., *Der Ursprung der Logik bei den Griechen*, Göttingen 1965, 20, 84-6, 94). This, I would suggest, is why these treatises are called *Analytics*, not *Apodeictics* or whatever: to analyze a given proposition is to loosen its terms from one another in order to find out what as yet invisible factor binds them together; i.e. is to look for other propositions “above” it which, so to speak, are its elements, and which allow us to interpolate a (middle) term between the terms of the original proposition. Regrettably, both Kapp (*o.c.*, 9) and K. (140, 187, 196 n. 91) fail to bring out to the full the implications of the title A. chose for his logical treatises.

However, let us return to K.’s exposition and let us gratefully acknowledge that his recognition of the importance of apodeictic for “Forschung”, albeit in a limited way, is a major break. K. tries to work out the way the “Orientierungshilfe” is made fruitful in a very interesting manner. From *APo* I 4 he concludes that in the apodeictic syllogism the terms must be “koextensiv allgemein”, ‘commensurately universal’ (181f., 183); predicates are valid of their subject *kath’ hautō hēi auto*. He admits that this interpretation is on uneasy terms with the general definition of the syllogism, according to which the terms, which include one another, do not have the same extension [cf. also M. Mignucci, *L’argomentazione dimostrativa in A.*, Padova 1975, 81ff.], but argues that this determination of the more limited apodeictic syllogism creates the opportunity for investigating, not “vertical”, but, as he calls them, “horizontal” relations (183), viz. those of a number of phenomena and their causes. The ‘analytical’ proof of *APo* I 22, 84 a 7 - b 2, would only pertain to such predicates as are commensurately universal with their subject (189f.). Thus, physics (and zoology) is broken up, i.e. becomes a collection of particular, or even isolated, problems, to be separately investigated (193, 199; e.g., in zoology the species to be studied are independent of one another): syllogisms of fact with commensurately universal terms, which, if possible, must be converted into explanatory syllogisms. For instance, the factual syllogism: “what does not twinkle is near, planets do not twinkle, so planets are near” is to be converted into an explanatory syllogism: “what is near does not twinkle, planets are near, so planets do not twinkle”. The planetary property of “being near” explains their property of “not twinkling” (*APo* I 12; cf. Kapp. *o.c.*, 85; K., 207f.; E. Tugendhat, *Ti kata tinos*, Freiburg/München 1958, 122ff.). According to K., the syllogism of fact is, so to speak, the lengthened arm (“verlängerte Arm”) of *epagōgē*, and thus one of the most important tools of empirical research (“Forschung”, 219), comparable to the “Zeichen-

schluss” (215), which also makes knowledge expand. [For this, see also his paper, cited above, p. 113]. Its conversion into an explanatory syllogism, when possible, shows that the apodeictic syllogism serves only as a model which clarifies states of affairs that are scientifically investigated (200). Physics is full of syllogisms of fact (242f.), and so are other empirical disciplines (244ff.). In zoology, the *Historia Animalium* [HA] is concerned with facts in this way, the other treatises with explanations: the latter, that is to say, are apodeictic (256ff.). Specifically, what is at issue (and can be lavishly illustrated from the zoological works) is to derive characteristic properties from one another: in the case of the planets, their property of “not twinkling”, which, as said of the planets, is commensurately universal both with its subject and with the other property of “being near”, is derived from or explained by the latter. The HA collects characteristics; the aetiological zoological works try to establish which characteristics of a particular species can be reduced to, i.e. explained from, other characteristics, and this apodeictic proof is given for each separate characteristic.

In Ch. IV, K. applies his inferences as argued in Ch. III to the zoological corpus. First, however, he goes into the question of what has priority: the final cause or the motive c.q. material cause? Strictly speaking, only formal causes belong with *apodeixis*, because only these are eternal. K. is able to demonstrate in splendid detail, however, that A. reduces other causes to the formal cause and he shows us how, for this purpose, A. uses the concept of “hypothetical” (or, as I would rather call it, contingent) necessity. *Apodeixis* also deals with what always happens when (or if) certain things occur or when/if a certain result is to be realized (271ff.). These occurrences or circumstances are determined by the form, and not absolutely but only conditionally necessary. The characteristic properties of a particular animal species are absolutely necessary when viewed in respect of the form, and conditionally or contingently so if an individual animal belonging to this species is to complete its development (295). Thus, the physical anatomy, or “parts”, of animals can be explained with regard to the form, i.e. the definition of the species. Parts of a certain structure and with certain functions are characteristic of a given species: the part is necessary for the animal function which follows from the definition of the species (301). Zoological phenomena have been explained as soon as it has been shown which characteristics (involving “parts”) of members of a particular species follow from other such characteristics, i.e. when syllogisms of fact have been converted into explanatory syllogisms. This, again, involves the study of the material conditions (themselves, in the above way, conditionally necessary) which have to be satisfied if such properties are to be realized. Study of the structured form necessitates the explanatory study of the material components; this is as it should be, since physics generally is a study of “the form as in the matter”.

As a contribution to the investigation of A.’s zoological works K.’s book is of supreme importance. His contention that in the empirical sciences in general the unity of each science is sacrificed in order to solve particular problems is, however, unfortunate. Together, such questions in the field of a particular science constitute its *genos*, and certain properties are common to all of them,

if only analogically: all animals, for instance, move, perceive, feed themselves, and reproduce. His suggestion that a “vertical” structure is given up in favour of “horizontal” ones is equally unnecessary: such vertical structure as can be found is far less rigorous than in geometry, but it is still there — in a less exact way. I would say that this also explains A.’s hesitations, in *PA* I 1, as to the question of proceeding by species or by generic characteristics: most characteristics are generic in the sense of belonging to more than one species of animals, and some even belong to all of them. There are also several snags to K.’s use of the “syllogism of fact”. First, the terms used in the major premiss both of the syllogism of fact and of the explanatory syllogism are wider in extension than the same terms as figuring in the minor premiss and in the conclusion. Secondly, among those predicates which are commensurately universal with their subject A. also counts disjunctive pairs (such as odd/even said of number), which together are commensurately universal with their subject, but individually definitely not (*APo* I 4 and 8; cf. K., 272, 338). Third, the place of a ‘term’, in an Aristotelian syllogism, may be filled with a word-group (*APr* I 35, cf. Kapp, *o.c.*, 31). Fourth, a complex of properties figuring in a definition is as such (i.e., as a whole) commensurately universal with the ‘subject’ defined, but each of these properties is, in isolation, of wider extension (*APo* I 23, cf. K., 191, 324, and esp. 348!).

Thus, it is less complicated (or so I believe) to argue that, if only — a necessary part of *paideia*! — one accepts (1) that the model of *APo* is applicable to the various sciences only in varying degrees and (2) that the aim of *APo* is not to teach us how to draw conclusions from given premisses but, in the first place, to teach us how to find premisses for a given conclusion and, ultimately, how to discover principles, — to argue that the theory of the *Apo* is fully compatible with Aristotle’s practice as a scientist and as a scientific investigator. The discovery of explanations and of principles is part of scientific research, and not less so than fact-finding is. The application of the syllogism is not restricted to the teaching of what is already known. K. is right in arguing that the empirical sciences are characterized by a plurality of almost independent problem-situations; within each science, however, the various problems can be shown to involve at least some common assumptions or principles (e.g., in physics, that there is motion), and in the solutions which are sought for these problems the method of apodeictic syllogism as a way of finding the necessary premisses is common to all.

Bilthoven, May 1980

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G. NEUMANN, *Neufunde lykischer Inschriften seit 1901*. Wien, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979 (57 pp., 16 pls.) = Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften, 135. Band. Ergänzungsbände zu den *Tituli Asiae Minoris* Nr. 7.

The collection of epigraphic material published by Neumann in the work under review includes, with several

small exceptions (see N. 305, 318, 319), all the epichoric inscriptions of Lycia which have been discovered since E. Kalinka’s publication of the first major corpus of Lycian inscriptions in 1901 (*Tituli Asiae Minoris: Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti*, Wien, 1901, hereafter cited as TL). Note that the coin legends in the Lycian script fall outside the scope of the present work. A comprehensive treatment of these appears in O. Mørkholm and G. Neumann, *Die lykischen Münzlegenden*, Göttingen, 1978.

To date, the quantity of epigraphic material that has come to light in Lycia this century is relatively small, resulting in the addition of only 24 new inscriptions to Kalinka’s original collection of 150, together with several new fragments of inscriptions already published by Kalinka and a number of graffiti in the Lycian script on ceramic ware. Yet in the years to come one can be reasonably confident of further additions to the Lycian corpus, particularly in view of the modest but continual flow of new material from the Letoon. Neumann himself looks forward to the time when a major new edition of the epichoric inscriptions will be undertaken in the style of TL. For the present, the work under review provides a valuable compilation of the post-TL texts, which so far have appeared only in scattered sources, and sometimes in an incomplete, cursory form. Neumann’s critical edition of these texts incorporates a number of amendments to the original readings, and his textual and linguistic commentaries are complemented by carefully reproduced facsimiles of the inscriptions and remarkably clear photographs.

The system adopted by Neumann in numbering the new inscriptions, beginning with N (= *Nova*) 300, is explained in the preface (p. 7). This system is to be regarded as a purely provisional one, and will obviously be superseded if and when a revised and enlarged edition of TL is eventually published.

The types and content of the inscriptions published by Neumann can be conveniently summarised as follows:

- (a) Additional fragments of inscriptions appearing in TL — namely 11 additional fragments of the Xanthos stele inscription (designated as N 44f), small fragments from TL 46 (N 46), and a third fragmentary inscription belonging to TL 74 (N 74 c).
- (b) A number of sepulchral inscriptions which for the most part conform closely to the types already known from Kalinka’s edition (N 302, 303, 304?, 306, 309 a-c, 310, 314, 315, 316, 317, 321, 322).
- (c) Several dedicatory inscriptions (N 311, 312, 318).
- (d) The Letoon trilingual (N 320).
- (e) Graffiti and inscriptions on sherds and other artifacts (N 300 a-b, 301?, 307, 313 a-m, 323).

The new inscriptions are almost entirely monolingual; the only exceptions are the bilinguals N 302 (Lycian and part Greek) and 312 (Lycian and Greek), and the Letoon trilingual N 320 (Lycian, Greek, and Aramaic). The general procedure adopted by Neumann is to describe at some length the precise physical context of each inscription, to discuss any matters of a textual nature arising from the reading of the inscriptions, and where appropriate to analyse and interpret the subject matter of the inscriptions.

The most obvious, and most important question arising from this edition of the new inscriptions is what precisely

do these inscriptions contribute to our knowledge and understanding of the Lycian language, and Lycian society in general. The categories I have listed above will serve as a convenient frame of reference for discussing this question.

(a) Additional fragments of inscriptions appearing in TL. These fragments are too slight to be of much significance, except perhaps for two additions to lines 1-2 of the Xanthos stele inscription. The two fragments, designated by Neumann as N 44f 3, were first published and discussed by Laroche (*Fouilles de Xanthos V*, Paris, 1974, pp. 144-146), who restored line 1 of the inscription as follows: *ebēni* [: *stta*]ā [: *me*] *naḏē*; ... : *A*]rppa-. According to Laroche, this restoration has a direct bearing on the identity of the author of the inscription. In the past, Kheriga and Kherēi have both been suggested as candidates for the authorship, with a preference for the latter. However on the assumption that line 1 is 29 letters long, Laroche argued that the lacuna, where the author's name originally appeared, must be six letters long, and could therefore only be Kheriga (χeriga). This claim has recently been challenged by W. P. Childs, who posits 28 letters for line 1, leaving a gap of five letters for the author's name — which would once more point to Kherēi (χerēi) (*Anatolian Studies* 29, 1979, pp. 97-101). The question still remains unresolved, although if one accepts Childs' system of determining the length of each line in the inscription, then almost certainly the inscription is to be attributed to Kherēi.

(b) Sepulchral inscriptions.

The majority of new inscriptions, like those in TL, are sepulchral inscriptions whose primary function is to indicate the burial provisions which a tomb owner has made for himself and in most cases other members of his immediate family — his wife, his children, and perhaps in one case his grandchildren (N 302. 5; see Neumann's commentary). In the period of the epichoric inscriptions (5th-4th centuries B.C.), the tomb owner seldom went beyond his immediate family circle in his provision of burial rights, in contrast to tomb owners of the Roman imperial period who frequently made provision for a wide range of family connections and friends (see my article in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 22, 1979, pp. 296-313).

The following are some specific comments on certain aspects of the new sepulchral texts and Neumann's analysis and interpretation of these texts.

N 304: In spite of the fragmentary nature of the surviving text, it is clear that the inscription is concerned, in part at least, with instructions for a sacrificial rite. Indications of this are provided by *k]umezei*[i] or *k]umezei*[e], referring to the act of sacrifice (line 1), and *u]wa* or *wa]wa* ("ox") or *χa]wa* ("sheep") (line 2). *armma* (line 5) may indicate that the sacrifice is to be performed at monthly intervals (see Neumann's comments). The latter half of the surviving text almost certainly contains a penalty clause, referring to the disciplinary agents responsible for ensuring that the tomb owner's (?) instructions are carried out. Line 11 can be restored *mah]āi htem*[i] ("accountable? to the god(s)"; see below the comments on N 306), and for line 12 Neumann suggests *qlab*[i] (= *qla ebi* — "the sanctuary here"; cf. *glebi* in TL 111. 3).

It may well be that the entire surviving portion of the

inscription is concerned with the performance of a sacrificial rite (in honour of the dead?), and not with instructions for burial. If so we can perhaps draw a rough parallel with TL 84. 3-7 (see *dadē* etc.), also from Sura. Here too we have instructions for the regular performance of a sacrifice (in this case yearly), and the penalty clause with which the inscription concludes is in my opinion aimed not at a potential tomb violation, but at the failure to carry out the stipulated sacrifice — as illustrated several times in the Greek inscriptions of Lycia (e.g. TAM II 245, 636). I have discussed the interpretation of TL 84 in an article in *Kadmos* 19, 1980, 41-49.

N 306: 3-4 and 309c. 2-3; *mei māhāi httēm lātāi seheledi* ... *httēm* is apparently an apocopated version of the participial (?) form *httēmi* which occurs twice in TL in contexts concerned with tomb violation (TL 91. 3 and 149. 8). In the new inscriptions Neumann construes *māhāi* as a nom. plur. ("gods") and *httēm* as its predicate with the meaning "angry", "vengeful" (or the like). He interprets *lātāi* (the Lycian name for Leto, according to Gusmani) and *heledi* in N 306 and the additional forms *trbbāmara*, *pddēχba*, and *tesmimi* in N 309c as divine names, constituting a list of deities responsible for punishing the tomb violator.

Such an interpretation is a departure from the common assumption, which Neumann himself supported until recently (*Myra*, p. 154), that *httēm(i)* refers to the tomb violator himself, who will be held "accountable" or "answerable" for his offence. This I believe is still more likely, especially in view of TL 91.3 and 149.8 where no reference is made to a deity or to any other disciplinary authority. Neumann's attempt to extract a deity's name from *meweyesu* in the former case and to identify *ānabayē* as a deity in the latter is not, in my opinion, very plausible. *meweyesu*, for example, is almost certainly to be analysed as *mewe* (a reinforced form of *me*) + *y* + *esu* (3rd. sing. imperative of the verb "to be"), and *meweyesu httēmi* is most plausibly translated "let him (i.e. the tomb violator) be accountable (for his offence)".

On this basis *māhāi* in N 306 and 309c should probably be construed as a genitive form (*māhāi* can be either nom./gen. sing. or nom./gen. plur.) dependent on *httēm* — "accountable to the god(s)". *lātāi* may, as Gusmani suggests, be the Lycian name for Leto, but it could also be an attribute of, or appositional to, *māhāi* as Meriggi one proposed (RHA 72, 1963, p. 11).

Another problem is raised by the context in which *httēm* occurs in N 309c. While in other cases it follows directly after a warning against tomb violation, in this case it is juxtaposed with the opening statement: *ēti kbatra siyēn[i] teli ddepñe[w]eh* — "Herein lies (?) the daughter of Ddepñewe". The actual warning does not come until lines 7ff. *menē* [ni *ñtepihadu* ...], and would normally be followed by the *mei māhāi* ... clause which should probably be taken closely with *sene itlehi* ... (lines 9-11) as in N 306. 4. This problem probably merits further consideration, since it may have a direct bearing on the interpretation of the inscription as a whole. On the other hand it is conceivable that the series of formulae constituting the inscription have been inadvertently arranged in the wrong order — perhaps the fault of the composer or the carver of the inscription.

N 308: Neumann assumes a relatively early date for this inscription on the grounds that it contains an allegedly old

letter form — *b* in place of the more common *B*. The form occurs elsewhere in N 313d in the personal name (?) *tbuwe*, and also in several inscriptions in TL — 5, 35, 39, 62, 93. None of these inscriptions are of demonstrably early date, and in the absence of other evidence I very much doubt whether the letter form can in itself be regarded as a valid dating criterion. Furthermore inscriptions which we can quite confidently date to the 5th century invariably use the form *B* — e.g. TL 43 (referring to the 5th century dynast Kheriga), TL 77 and N 310 (referring to Harpagos, presumably the father of the author of the Xanthos stele inscription), and N 313c (a graffito on a cup dated to the 2nd half of the 5th century).

Even if one could demonstrate that *b* was the older form, it is quite likely that it continued in use throughout the period of the epichoric inscriptions as a (relatively uncommon) variant of the allegedly later form *B*.

N 309b: Neumann suggests that the missing substantive associated with the demonstrative *ebeiya* in line 2 is either *arawaziya* (= heroon?) or *hruttla*. *hruttla* is preferable in this context if *ttadi* in line 3 can be restored as the verbal form [χ]ttadi. TL 131.2-3 provides a close parallel: *se χttadi hruttla ebeiya*. The meaning of *χttadi* can to some extent be determined from lines 34-35 of the trilingual (Lycian version) where the Lycian verb corresponds to μετακινήσειν in the Greek version; the latter refers to the illegal act of erasing/altering the regulations inscribed on the stele in connection with the newly established cult. In TL 131.2-3 *hruttla ebeiya* can be construed as the object of *χttadi*, and the context clearly indicates that the removal/alteration of the *hruttla* constitutes an illegal act.

It seems not unlikely that *hruttla* is the Lycian word for the inscription itself, or else the instructions contained therein. If so, we can compare the prohibition in TL 131. 2-3, and presumably in N 309d, with similar prohibitions expressed in a number of the Greek inscriptions of Lycia — e.g. TAM II 247.8, 357.9-12, 622.3-4, 797.11-13.

N 310: This four line inscription conforms with the standard mode of expression in the sepulchral texts, except for line 3: *χali qehñniteti ebēñnē*. Neumann tentatively translates this as "der diesen Platz (?) gemietet (gekauft? gepachtet?) hat". While this interpretation is feasible, it can be regarded as little more than an intelligent guess. We have no clear instance of the buying, or hiring, of a burial site during the period of the epichoric inscriptions, although we can infer from one or two Greek inscriptions that the buying and selling of tombs occasionally took place in the Roman imperial period (e.g. TAM II 70, 1058).

Moreover the syntax of *χali qehñniteti ebēñnē*, construed by Neumann as noun object (*χali*) + verb (*qehñnite*) + relative pronoun (-*ti*) + demonstrative pronoun qualifying *χali* (*ebēñnē*), is problematical. While as Neumann points out, the demonstrative pronoun does occasionally follow the noun it qualifies, there is no parallel for the actual separation of noun and qualifying demonstrative by another word, as would occur in line 3. Furthermore there is no other known instance of a verbal form *qehñn-*, although Neumann suggests that it may be cognate with *qehñnedi* in TL 44 b 31, which he explains as an instrumental ablative.

The inscription ends with the quasi-dating formula *ē[nē] arppaxuhe χñt[aw]ata*. The Harpagos in question is

presumably the same as the Harpagos referred to in TL 77 2 b, and perhaps also the father of the author of the Xanthos stele inscription. The dating formula is normally associated with Lycian dynasts known also from coin issues (e.g. Kheriga — TL 43, Pericles — TL 67, 83, 103, N 314), but to date there are no known Lycian coins bearing the name Harpagos.

The precise meaning of *ēñē* ... *χñtawata* is still a matter of some doubt. The interpretation of *χñtawata* as an abstract noun — "command", "generalship", "authority" (Neumann translates it as "Regierung") — has fairly wide support, although the appearance of *χñtawata* in the trilingual as the Lycian equivalent of βασιλεύς indicates that the term could also be used as a title — in this case the title of a god. Unless then we assume, as Laroche once did, that *ēñē* ... *χñtawata* is also a title ("subordinate officer of ...?"), it seems likely that *χñtawata* could function either as an abstract noun ("command", "authority" or the like) or as a term indicating a rank or title, depending on the context in which it is used.

The *ēñē* ... *χñtawata* formula occurs also in N 314 and N 315, in association with the names Perikles and Mizrppata respectively. N 314 comes from Kızılca in the Elmalı plain, and perhaps indicates the northernmost limit of the authority of Perikles, a 4th century dynast who some time prior to the outbreak of the satrap rebellion (367/66 B.C.) extended his control from his power base at Limyra over the whole of Lycia. N 315 comes from Seyret, which lies to the north west of Antiphellos. Mizrppata (the name occurs also in the "dating formula" in TL 64, from Isinda) is almost certainly to be identified with Mithrapata, a central Lycian dynast who issued coins in the early 4th century B.C. His power base probably lay at Phellos, which seems the most likely location of the mint where his coins were struck.

N 317: As the opening statement indicates, the tomb is the joint property of two persons, Zuwiqeli and ? (the second name is lost). The epichoric inscriptions in TL provide several instances of co-ownership, especially between husband and wife, and on one occasion between two persons "belonging to the household of Pulynda" (TL 6). By the Roman imperial period, co-ownership of tombs had become relatively common, and the Greek inscriptions of this period indicate various combinations of owners. Prominent amongst these are instances of co-ownership between brothers (e.g. TAM II 35, 37?, 229, 1105, 1128, 1213), and these instances may provide a parallel with N 317 where perhaps also the co-owners are brothers, as Neumann suggests. No explicit reference is made to their parentage, but as Neumann points out, *ēni ebi* in line 3 conceivably refers to their mother.

N 322.3-4: *aladahali ada* // This is an abbreviated version of the formula with which a number of the sepulchral inscriptions in TL conclude. The precise meaning of *aladahali* still remains obscure, although the *ada* tag clearly indicates that a payment of some kind is involved. Although Neumann still entertains the possibility that the reference is to a fine payable for tomb violation, in my opinion there is little doubt that the formula indicates a fee payable to the *miñti* (*mindis*) for some service which the *miñti* has undertaken to provide. I have argued this view at some length in *Anatolian Studies* 26, 1976, pp. 175-190.

(c) Dedicatory inscriptions.

N 311: This is one of three relatively new inscriptions from the Letoon which refer to the dynasts Kheriga and Erbbina. The other two inscriptions are in Greek, and all three have been published by Bousquet (the Lycian only in a translation, provided by Laroche) in CRAI 1975, pp. 138-148. Since Bousquet's publication, Laroche has revised his reading of the Lycian text, and the amended version is that now given by Neumann.

The three inscriptions place beyond doubt the Lycian-Greek equations Kheriga-Gergis and Erbbina-Arbinas, and also the father-son relationship between Kheriga and Erbbina. Very likely Erbbina was the nephew and dynastic successor of Kheri, and the great-grandson of Kuprili, coming to power some time during the early 4th century B.C.

Unlike his predecessors whose seat of power was almost certainly Xanthos, Erbbina seems to have shifted his base westwards to Telmessos near the Carian border, as indicated by his coin issues which seem to have been minted exclusively at Telmessos. I have discussed some of the possible implications of this in an article shortly to appear in *Klio*.

Neumann has expressed some concern about the form of the name *[erb]binayē(-ne)* (*ne* is the enclitic pronoun object). He states that *erbbinaye* appears to be dative rather than nominative. However F. J. Tritsch has pointed out (in conversation with Neumann) that a parallel for a nom. form *erbbinaye* is provided by TL 31. 1, where the personal name *upaziyē(-ne)* appears as the subject of the main verb. Tritsch refers also to the personal name *upazi* in TL 93.1, which corresponds to *upaziyē(-ne)* in precisely the same way as *erbbina* corresponds to *erbbinayē(-ne)*. Neumann has, I believe, accepted the validity of Tritsch's proposal.

(d) The Letoon trilingual (N 320): The trilingual has already led to a plethora of publications, the most important and authoritative of which is *Fouilles de Xanthos VI*, Paris, 1979 (to be added to Neumann's bibliography, pp. 46-47) which contains a detailed treatment of the three versions of the text. There are of course a number of problems still posed by the Lycian version of the text, especially in passages which do not correspond closely with the Greek or Aramaic versions (e.g. lines 20-21 and 40-41; on the former, see the series of articles in *Incontri linguistici* 4, 1978, pp. 89-98, cited in Neumann's bibliography). On the credit side, the trilingual provides valuable new information on religious practice in Lycia, and on the procedures involved in establishing and maintaining a cult in honour of specific deities. The new cult at the Letoon very likely had important political implications, and perhaps reflects in part the new administrative arrangements imposed upon Lycia by the Persians after the collapse of the satrap rebellion.

Unfortunately the date of the inscription still remains in doubt. Of the two dates proposed — 358 B.C. (Dupont-Sommer; see most recently *Fouilles de Xanthos VI* pp. 165-166) and 337/36 B.C. (Badian; see Neumann's bibliography) — the former is, I believe, the more likely in spite of the difficulties to which it gives rise in relation to the Hecatomnid line of succession. Yet at this stage it may be wise to suspend final judgement on the dating question until all arguments dealing with it have been given further consideration.

(e) Graffiti and inscriptions on sherds and other artifacts. The collection of graffiti and inscriptions on ceramic and metal ware are an important addition to the Lycian corpus, mainly because of the examples they provide of the Lycian script on material other than stone. Several of the graffiti (N 300a, b, and 313a) predate the earliest known inscriptions on stone, one by as much as two centuries (N 300b). However the provenance of the first two is Rhodian, and their identification as Lycian is questionable, as Neumann points out. Also questionable is the authenticity of the Lycian inscription on an Egyptian statuette of the god Min, an inscription which Neumann suggests could be a modern forgery.

Of greater importance, and certain authenticity, are the Lycian letters on a silver "double-headed" vase (N 307), also of Egyptian provenance and probably dating to the first half of the fourth century B.C. Details of the vase, which is housed in the British Museum, were first published by D. E. Strong in 1964. The high top of the vessel is decorated with a scene depicting the judgement of Paris. Three figures appear in the scene, Aphrodite, Paris, and Athene, and their names are inscribed next to them in Lycian characters — *pedrita* (= Aphrodite), *aliḫssaḫ* (= Alexander — i.e. Paris), *malḫiya* (= Athene).

The most important information to come from this vase is the identification of the Lycian goddess Maliya with Athene. It seems likely that Maliya was in origin an early Anatolian goddess, later equated with Athene, whose name provides the root of many personal and place names in Hittite and other Anatolian texts of the 2nd and 1st millennia B.C. The goddess is frequently attested in the Lycian texts, in locations ranging from the Xanthos valley eastwards to Rhodiapolis (e.g. TL 44 c 5, 7 etc., 75.5, 76.5, 80.3, 149.2, 150.6).

General comments

The sum total of new information provided by the post-TL inscriptions is relatively small, and with the possible exception of the trilingual, these inscriptions have added little to our knowledge and understanding of the Lycian language or the people who spoke this language. We do have a number of new personal names, including the name of an otherwise unknown Lycian deity Qeli (N 322), and we now know that the goddess Maliya was regarded as the Lycian equivalent of Athene. But the post-TL inscriptions offer few new insights into the longstanding lexical problems posed by the Lycian language. The majority of inscriptions follow formulaic patterns which are already well known from TL, and any deviations from these patterns immediately present new problems of interpretation.

Given this situation, we cannot be too optimistic that further discoveries of inscriptions of the types already well known will throw much light on the obscurities of the Lycian language. We can only hope that further excavations will provide a significant number of new bilingual texts, perhaps even another trilingual. Quite clearly these are the only texts which will enable substantial progress to be made on the Lycian language in future years.

But while the new material compiled in Neumann's edition is disappointingly meagre in what it has to offer, this is certainly no reflection on the author. On the

contrary, Neumann's comprehensive and meticulous presentation of the inscriptions is in itself a valuable contribution to Lycian scholarship. Most importantly, it provides the scholar with the opportunity for an up-to-date stock-taking of current progress on the Lycian language, in preparation, one can only hope, for significant new finds and advances in the future.

University of Queensland,
June 1980

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Hildegard TEMPORINI und Wolfgang HAASE (Hrsg.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung. II. Principat. Neunter Band (2. Halbband)*. Herausgegeben von Hildegard Temporini. Berlin, New York, Walter de Gruyter 1978 (25 cm., VIII Seiten, Seiten 545-1374, 4 Faltkarten, 2 Tafeln). Preis 360,- DM. ISBN 3 11 007175 4.

Der vorliegende zweite Halbband des neunten Bandes des zweiten, dem Principat gewidmeten Teils der Reihe *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, der mit einiger Verzögerung nach dem ersten Halbband erscheint, enthält drei Beiträge unterschiedlicher Länge, die den Beziehungen Roms, besonders den Handelsverbindungen, zu den Ländern Vorder- und Zentralasiens, zu Indien und zu China gewidmet sind.

Der Beitrag von Albrecht Dihle über „Die entdeckungsgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen des Indienhandels der römischen Kaiserzeit“ (S. 546-580) ist in prägnanter Form geschrieben und gliedert sich in Kapitel über die Monsunpassage, die Westküste Indiens, Ostafrika, Ceylon und den Golf von Bengalen sowie Hinterindien. Zeugnisse aus Strabo und Plinius lassen darauf schließen, daß nach der am Ende des zweiten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. erfolgten Fahrt des Eudoxos von Kyzikos die Monsunpassage als wichtigste Voraussetzung für den umfangreichen Handel mit Indien bereits im ersten Jahrhundert v. Chr. und während der Kaiserzeit anzusehen ist. Die Seeverbindung wurde unter Umgehung des südarabischen Zwischenhandels für einen Gütertausch großen Stils mit dem Osten ausgenutzt. Während das frühhellenistische Indienbild den Süden weitgehend unberücksichtigt ließ, erhielt man nun Kunde von der großen Ausdehnung Indiens nach Süden, und die Malabarküste wurde für lange Zeit das wichtigste Ziel des Monsunhandels. Im zweiten Jahrhundert war der indische Subkontinent ein Bestandteil der Vorstellungswelt des griechisch-römischen Kulturbereiches geworden. Mit der Intensivierung der Schifffahrt im Indischen Ozean seit der Augusteischen Zeit erweiterte sich auch die Kenntnis von der Küste Ostafrikas und verschob sich die Grenze der terra cognita nach Süden. Im Vergleich zum Roten Meer war jedoch das Wissen der Gewährsmänner von Strabo und Plinius über die afrikanische Küste außerhalb der Bāb-al-Mandab-Enge ungenau und lückenhaft, wie die zahlreichen Unklarheiten zeigen. Das Nebeneinander von Nachrichten aus verschiedenen Perioden führte zu einer Vermengung alter und neuer Informationen, was sich gelegentlich darin äußert, daß Namen, welche ein und

denselben Ort oder ein und dieselbe Völkerschaft bezeichnen, in verschiedener Wiedergabe doppelt übernommen wurden. Ceylon spielte als Handelspartner zunächst keine Rolle. Wenn die Insel in der Literatur überhaupt Erwähnung findet, so liegen ihr unterschiedlich zuverlässige Kenntnisse zu Grunde, die man vielleicht bei Erkundigungen bei Einheimischen gehört hatte, ehe Griechen in den südlichsten Teil des indischen Subkontinents gekommen waren. Vom vierten bis sechsten Jahrhundert nimmt dann allerdings Ceylon eine zentrale Stellung im Handel ein. Seit dem vierten Jahrhundert scheinen an der Seefahrt von und nach Indien auch in verstärktem Maße Inder und Aksumiter beteiligt gewesen zu sein. Mit fortschreitender Erweiterung der Handelsbeziehungen gab es seit der Mitte des ersten Jahrhunderts n. Chr. auch direkten Seeverkehr zur Ostküste Indiens und in den Golf von Bengalen, wodurch für die Autoren des zweiten Jahrhunderts die durch die Küste Burmas, Malakkas und Sumatras gebildete Linie nicht mehr die Ostgrenze der bekannten Welt darstellte. Der östlichste Punkt verschob sich jetzt vielmehr bis zur Hafenstadt Kattigara, die man allerdings bis heute immer noch nicht genau lokalisieren kann. Die Unsicherheiten und Widersprüchlichkeiten der Geographie Hinterindiens und Chinas, wie sie sich bei Ptolemaios finden, geben einen deutlichen Hinweis darauf, daß der griechisch-römische Direkthandel mit jenen Ländern nur einen sehr begrenzten Umfang hatte.

„China and Rome“ (S. 581-603) betitelt sich der Beitrag von John Ferguson, der in vier Kapiteln in knapper Form die frühen Beziehungen Chinas mit dem Westen darstellt, die Zeugnisse der antiken Geographen zusammenfaßt, den Warenaustausch zwischen China und dem Römischen Reich behandelt und politischen und anderen Kontakten zwischen diesen beiden Reichen nachgeht. Direkte Berührungen zwischen China und dem Vorderen Orient kamen erst gegen Ende des zweiten Jahrhunderts n. Chr. zustande. Auch die geographische Kenntnis Chinas bei den westlichen Geographen war sehr lückenhaft und spekulativ; die wichtigsten Informationen bietet Ptolemaios, der wiederum von den Erzählungen der Händler und Reisenden abhängig war. Chinesische Produkte erreichten aber schon früher den Westen, z.B. Seide, die zur Zeit des Augustus wahrscheinlich über Indien bis in den Mittelmeerraum gelangte. Außer Seide kamen Zimt, Pelze, Metalle und Edelsteine aus China, während Tee nicht erwähnt wird. Die römischen Exporte bestanden in Sklaven, Korallen, Amber, Storax, Glas und Textilien, unter denen sich auch verarbeitete chinesische Seide befand. Die Landroute führte über Kaschghar und das Tarimbecken nach Baktrien und von dort weiter an den Persischen Golf. Im Jahre 140 v. Chr. wird zum ersten Mal berichtet, daß fremdländische Produkte aus dem Westen auf Schiffen nach China importiert wurden, und im Jahre 166 n. Chr. sollen Römer China erreicht haben, und zwar auf dem Seeweg, da die Landverbindung wegen des Krieges mit den Parthern unterbunden war. Im Beitrag von M. G. Raschke wird allerdings auf Seite 645 die Ankunft von römischen Kaufleuten in Südchina im Jahre 166 in Frage gestellt, da die genaue Bedeutung von Ta-Ch' in unbekannt ist. Am Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts brachten chinesische Schiffe Erzeugnisse aus ihrem Land, wie etwa Zimt, bis zum Persischen Golf, und auch zu Beginn des sechsten Jahrhunderts gibt Kosmas Indikopleustes an, daß es neben

der Seidenstraße noch einen Schiffahrtsweg über Ceylon nach Indien gab. Die Beziehungen zwischen China und dem Mittelmeerraum dauerten auch während der T'ang-Zeit (618-907) an, wobei nicht nur Handelwaren ausgetauscht wurden, sondern auch kulturelle Beeinflussungen stattfanden. Das fünfte Kapitel ist überschrieben „A Roman City in Ancient China“, ein Thema, das auch im folgenden Beitrag als Anhang auf den Seiten 679-681 unter dem Titel „The Roman City in China“ behandelt wird; während aber J. Ferguson den von H.H. Dubs entwickelten Theorien über Li-kien keine kritischen Einwände entgegenzustellen hat, lehnt sie M.G. Raschke rundweg ab.

Der umfangreiche Artikel von Manfred G. Raschke sprengt mit seinen 771 (von insgesamt 834) Seiten die übliche Länge der Beiträge zu diesen Sammelbänden. Hinter dem allgemein gehaltenen Titel „New Studies in Roman Commerce with the East“ wird, wie bereits in der Vorbemerkung der Herausgeberin gesagt wird, ein umfassendes Thema behandelt, das neben den Handelsbeziehungen auch die politische Geschichte und den kulturellen Austausch des Römischen Reiches mit dem Mittleren und Fernen Osten erörtert. In der Fußnote zum Titel wird bemerkt, daß dieser Artikel als Vorarbeit zu einem neuen Kommentar zum „Periplus des Erythräischen Meeres“ gedacht ist. Der Bogen der Gebiete, deren Bedeutung für den Handel in diesem Beitrag untersucht wird, spannt sich von Rom über den Nahen Osten, Parthien, Arabien, Indien, Zentralasien und Sibirien bis nach China. Im ersten Kapitel über das Emporkommen des Seidenhandels weist der Verfasser nach, daß weder weitsichtige Planung von seiten der chinesischen Regierung noch ein merkantiler Kapitalismus dafür verantwortlich zu machen sind, sondern daß an den Westgrenzen Chinas ein Bedarf nach chinesischen Waren entstand, wodurch dann jene Handelsgüter von Ostturkestan weiter nach dem Westen gelangten. Das zweite Kapitel beschäftigt sich mit der Seide und der Unausgeglichenheit des Handels; der Verfasser kommt darin zum Schluß, daß wenig Grund zur Annahme besteht, der Seidenhandel habe wesentlich den Abfluß von Gold aus Rom und somit das römische Handelsdefizit verursacht. Das dritte Kapitel über die Zwischenhändler wendet sich gegen die vorgefaßte Meinung, welche diese Händlergruppe als überflüssige Schmarotzer abtut; viele nämlich, auf welche die Bezeichnung Mittelsmänner zutrifft, waren keine gewinnsüchtigen Fremden, sondern Untertanen des Römischen Reiches. Im vierten Kapitel schließlich geht der Verfasser Problemen nach, welche mit dem Handel mit Aromata, im besonderen mit Weihrauch, zusammenhängen, und korrigiert in Umlauf gekommene irrigte Hypothesen, wie etwa die von der Spätdatierung des Periplus, der nach ihm eindeutig in das erste und nicht in das dritte Jahrhundert gehört.

Nach der keineswegs leichten, aber höchst interessanten Lektüre der Studie von M. G. Raschke ist man beeindruckt von der stupenden Gelehrsamkeit, die der Verfasser unter Beweis gestellt hat. Der Text des Beitrags (S. 604-681) wird durch 1791 Anmerkungen (S. 681-1076) in Petit-Druckschrift dokumentiert, nach welchen eine Bibliographie (S. 1076-1213) kommt, die schätzungsweise 4.650 Titel umfaßt. Darauf folgt ein Abkürzungsverzeichnis (S. 1213-1233), ausgewählte Addenda (S. 1234-1243), sowie

17 ausführliche Indizes (S. 1244-1361), die den Beitrag zu einem wertvollen Nachschlagewerk machen. Sechs Karten, auf denen die Orte durch Ziffern gekennzeichnet sind, welche auf beigefügten Listen entschlüsselt werden, beschließen den stattlichen Band. Es dürfte schwerfallen, der Abhandlung von M. G. Raschke aus den letzten Jahren ein vergleichbares Werk an die Seite zu stellen, dessen Verfasser auf weit auseinanderliegenden Gebieten mit einer ebensolchen Belesenheit und Kenntnis der Quellen und des wissenschaftlichen Schrifttums aufwarten kann. Literarische und epigraphische Dokumente, und zwar nicht nur griechische und lateinische, sondern auch hebräische, aramäische, ägyptische, altsüdarabische, indische, chinesische, tibetische und iranische, wurden ebenso ausgewertet wie archäologische und numismatische Zeugnisse, die letzteren sogar in unerwartet starkem Umfang. Man gewinnt durchaus den Eindruck, daß der Verfasser das unglaublich umfangreiche Schrifttum, das er in seiner Bibliographie aufführt, für seine Untersuchung auch vollständig verwertet hat. Bei einer solchen Fülle von verwendeter Literatur wäre es kleinlich, wenn man nach Lücken suchen wollte. Auch kann man nicht voraussetzen, daß der Verfasser, wenn er einen epigraphischen Text heranzieht, sämtliche Bearbeitungen der betreffenden Inschrift aus neuerer Zeit kennt und berücksichtigt.

In den Nachträgen werden zwar zahlreiche Veröffentlichungen aus dem Jahre 1977 zitiert, es kann jedoch nicht erwartet werden, daß bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt auch nur einigermaßen Vollständigkeit erreicht wurde, besonders bei Artikeln, die an entlegeneren Stellen erschienen sind. Sicherlich dürften dem Verfasser inzwischen die beiden Berichte von Maxime Rodinson, „Le Périphe de la mer Érythrée“ (École Pratiques des Hautes Études. IV^e Section. Sciences historiques et philosophiques. *Annuaire* 1974/1975, S. 210-238, und *Annuaire* 1975/1976, S. 201-219) bekanntgeworden sein, sowie die Arbeit von Yüzö Shitomi, der in seinem Artikel „On the Date of Composition of the Periplus Maris Erythraei. A Study of the South Arabian Epigraphic Evidence“ (*Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 34, Tokyo 1976, S. 15-45), zu dem Schluß kommt, daß dieses Seefahrerhandbuch etwa zwischen den Jahren 60 und 70 n. Chr. abgefaßt wurde. Als jüngste Monographie zu diesem Thema ist noch zu erwähnen *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea by an unknown Author*. Translated and edited by E. G. B. Huntingford, London: The Hakluyt Society, 1980, worin leider auf die Wiedergabe des griechischen Textes verzichtet wurde, obwohl die vorhandenen Ausgaben seit Jahrzehnten vergriffen und auch antiquarisch kaum erhältlich sind. Der inzwischen verstorbene G. W. B. Huntingford kommt nach Überprüfung der vier Stellen aus dem Periplus, welche zur Datierung dieses Werkes herangezogen werden können, auf Seite 11 seiner Publikation zu dem vorsichtigen Schluß, daß das Buch zwischen den Jahren 95 und 130 n. Chr. entstanden sein dürfte.

Der Rezensent bedauert jedenfalls, daß er den Beitrag von M. G. Raschke nicht mehr für seinen Artikel „Weihrauch“ im Supplement-Band XV der Realencyclopädie von Pauly-Wissowa (1978), S. 700-777, benutzen konnte; er ist nämlich bei der Lektüre dieser Studie noch auf manchen zusätzlichen Beleg über Vertrieb und Verwendung jenes Räucherwerks aufmerksam gemacht worden.

Die Herausgeber des großangelegten Unternehmens sind

jedenfalls für das Zustandekommen dieses gesamten Bandes über die Provinzen und Randvölker des Römischen Reiches besonders zu beglückwünschen. Mit Spannung erwarten wir die auf Seite 604 angekündigten beiden nächsten Monographien von M. G. Raschke, die eine über die römischen Münzfunde in Indien und die andere über die Datierung des Periplus Maris Erythraei.

Marburg an der Lahn, Juli 1980 WALTER W. MÜLLER

ONTVANGEN BOEKEN

ALGEMEEN

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Annelies und Arthur Brack, Das Grab des Haremheb — Theben Nr. 78. Mainz am Rhein, Philipp von Zabern, 1980 (23 cm., 107 S., 90 Tafeln davon 8 Faltafeln) = Archäologische Forschungen 35. DAI Abteilung Kairo. Preis: 198 DM. ISBN 3 8053 0436 6.

E. Van 't Dack, Reizen, Expedities en Emigratie uit Italië naar Ptolemaïsch Egypte. Avec un résumé en français. Brussel, Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, 1980 (27 cm., 60 pp.) = Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Jaargang 42, 1980, Nr. 4. Prijs: 350 B.F.

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HOOFDARTIKELLEN

Notes d'onomastique tardive
(Quatrième Série)

C'est un instrument de travail bien utile qu'un petit groupe d'égyptologues allemands vient de nous offrir en complétant les *Personennamen* de Ranke par un troisième volume qui inventorie les noms selon les éléments qu'ils contiennent*).

Pour autant qu'ils n'occupent pas la première place, tous les composants qui ont servi à former des anthroponymes y sont classés alphabétiquement. Qu'il en est sorti un éventail de données, dont tout historien des idées devra tenir compte, est indéniable. Les Égyptiens ont exploité le nom propre sur une très grande échelle; il traduit leurs conceptions par une variété de formules qui s'adaptent aux circonstances du temps et du milieu. Tous ces faits apparaissent, avec une nette évidence, dans le présent répertoire qui est appelé à rendre d'excellents services.

Malgré ce mérite, il s'agit d'un livre dont il faudra se servir avec une certaine prudence. Il est fondé sur les matériaux que Ranke a réunis bien avant la seconde guerre mondiale. Depuis lors, les recherches onomastiques ont connu un développement considérable. Il eût été désirable que, vingt-cinq ans après la parution du second volume des *Personennamen*, les auteurs eussent davantage tenu compte des conclusions résultant de ces recherches. Pour cela, il aurait suffi de multiplier les renvois à des sources plus récentes où des corrections de lecture ou des interprétations divergentes ont été proposées. Je me reprocherais, cependant, de sousestimer l'ampleur d'une telle entreprise et le nombre d'années qu'il aurait fallu pour la mener à bon terme. Réjouissons-nous, après tout, de posséder ce complément indispensable au merveilleux ouvrage de Ranke qui achève son œuvre de la façon la plus heureuse.

Ayant eu la satisfaction de constater que tout au moins mes «Notes d'onomastique tardive»¹⁾ ont retenu l'attention des auteurs, je crois utile de clôturer cette série par un dernier inventaire de trente anthroponymes qui n'ont jamais existé sous la forme que Ranke leur a donnée dans son dictionnaire.

𓆎𓆑𓆒 (i-im) (? : I, 5,5). — Ce nom est emprunté à un des rares ouchebtis de p3-di-nb-nht (I, 124,8; II, 356), signalés avant la découverte de six exemplaires dans la grande cour située au sud de la pyramide de Zoser²⁾. Ceux-ci montrent que la mère de p3-di-nb-nht s'appelait en réalité 3s.t-rs.tj (I, 4,10), les trois derniers signes de son nom se lisant en effet 𓆎𓆑𓆒.

𓆎𓆑𓆒 (i-im) (? : I, 5,5). — Comme l'indique un groupe de stèles du Sérapéum où apparaissent les mêmes personnages, le dernier signe de ce nom présente une déformation de 𓆎³⁾. Nous sommes donc en présence d'une ortho-

* Hermann Ranke, *Die Aegyptischen Personennamen, III. Verzeichnis der Bestandteile*. Glückstadt, Verlag J.J. Augustin, 1977 (4to, 142 pp.). Prix: DM 170,-.

¹⁾ RdE 11 (1957), p. 77-84; 12 (1950), p. 67-74; 14 (1962), p. 45-51.

²⁾ Lauer, *ASAE* 39 (1939), p. 450.

³⁾ Malinine-Posener-Vercoutter, *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum*, p. 151, n° 197.

graphie du nom it (I, 49,7), assez fréquent dans les documents memphites du début de l'époque saïte.

𓆎𓆑𓆒 (ij-m-htp-hr) (? : I, 9,3). — Un certain nombre d'anthroponymes de Basse Époque semblent contenir deux noms divins dont le dernier est invariablement 𓆎. Outre l'exemple cité ici, nous avons relevé dans les *Personennamen*:

imn-hr-ir-dj-s(w)	(I, 20,8)
w3h-ib-r-hr-n-p (?)	(I, 73,11)
p3-f-iwiw-hr	(I, 127,10)
t3-dj(.t)-ijmhtp-hr (?)	(I, 372,18)
twt-hr(.w)	(II, 329,10)
dd-imn-hr-iw-f-nh	(I, 410,2)
dd-pt-hr-iw-f-nh	(I, 410,12)

Contrairement à l'explication de Ranke (II, 227) et comme le montre la stèle du Sérapéum n° 211, où se rencontre le nom dd-dhwtj-iw-f-nh (I, 412,8), le signe 𓆎 se joint, comme déterminatif, au nom divin qui précède au même titre que le faucon sur le support qu'emploient les textes hiératiques⁴⁾.

𓆎𓆑𓆒 (i'h-rs-mn(.w) : I, 13,2). — Sans s'apercevoir de sa première erreur, Ranke a reproduit ailleurs la forme correcte du nom qu'il a extraite de la même source: i'h-rs-mn(.w)-m-inb-hd (II, 261,15). Elle appartient à un type de nom propre basilophore, attesté à travers toute l'époque saïte⁵⁾.

𓆎𓆑𓆒 (iwiw-wr : I, 16,22). — La stèle du Sérapéum n° 98 montre que Ranke a confondu le dernier signe avec 𓆎 et que le nom iwiw-hr constitue en réalité une variante corrompue de 𓆎𓆑𓆒, attesté sur le même document⁶⁾. Ce n'est autre qu'une orthographe quelque peu aberrante de p3-iw-n-hr, déjà signalée dans les *Personennamen* (I, 100,9)⁷⁾.

𓆎𓆑𓆒 (ib-mr) (? : I, 20,1). — Malgré le déterminatif inhabituel qui est nettement visible sur l'original⁸⁾, ce nom se lit ib3; le même personnage est en effet attesté sur une autre stèle où son nom est orthographié sans 𓆎⁹⁾. Écrit de différentes façons que Ranke distingue inutilement (I, 19,12,14,16,18; 20,5,6,9,10), ib est un anthroponyme ancien, remis à la mode à l'époque saïte.

𓆎𓆑𓆒 (iph : I, 24,15). — Récemment rééditée, la stèle du Sérapéum à laquelle ce nom a été emprunté, montre que le dernier signe est non un 𓆎 mais le déterminatif de l'homme agenouillé¹⁰⁾. Il s'agit donc d'un exemple du nom ipw (I, 23,6), attesté à partir du Moyen Empire.

⁴⁾ Malinine-Posener-Vercoutter, *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum*, p. 161, n° 211.

⁵⁾ Voir l'inventaire de Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 54 (1954), p. 89, note 3; ajouter psmk-mn-m-w3s.t (PM II, p. 157; Bietak et alii, *Das Grab des Anch-hor*, I, p. 43).

⁶⁾ Malinine-Posener-Vercoutter, *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum*, p. 80.

⁷⁾ De la même façon, le sarcophage Zagreb 897 confond les orthographes p3-n-iwiw et p3-n-iy (Monnet, *Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb*, p. 175). Comparer aussi PN I, 357, 21; II, 260,28.

⁸⁾ Malinine-Posener-Vercoutter, *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum*, pl. LV, n° 203.

⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 156, n° 204. Le déterminatif abusif se rattache sans doute à la racine b3 «creuser» et à ses dérivés (*Wb.* I, 415, 418-19).

¹⁰⁾ Malinine-Posener-Vercoutter, *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum*, p. 176, n° 230.

☐ (wnb : I, 77,12). — La lecture exacte de ce nom est fournie par les canopes Cincinnati, Art Museum 1947.397 à 1947.400 qui indiquent que le signe ☐ est à remplacer par ☐; le nom se lit donc wbn-n.s-i'h. Comme la statue, citée par Ranke, les vases canopes de Cincinnati proviennent sûrement d'Hérakleopolis Magna.

☐ (p3-b3k-hwj-t3.wj : II, 279,6). — Les deux derniers signes de ce nom se lisent en réalité ☐ et il faut les compléter par ☐. Nous sommes donc en présence d'un exemple du nom p3-b3k-mhr (I, 104,22) que les Personennamen enregistrent aussi sous la forme erronée p3-b3k-t3-dj.t-hr-ib (II, 279,7). Les deux exemples cités par Ranke se rapportent d'ailleurs sinon à la même personne du moins à la même famille ainsi que b3k-mhrt (I, 90,20)¹² où l'article a été omis. Ce dernier nom est en outre attesté sur une stèle du Musée de Bruxelles¹³.

☐ (p3-srj-(n)-hr-(m)-3h.bj.t : I, 419,21). — Comme il ressort de l'inscription du cercueil Caire JE 55193, publiée par Kees, les deux premiers signes font partie du titre «prophète de Khonsou, l'enfant» (p3 hrd)¹⁴; le personnage portait donc un nom très courant, hr-m-3h-bj.t (I, 247,15).

☐ (p3-dj-3s.t-pkn (?) : II, 284,7). — Fakhry a lui-même corrigé son erreur de lecture dans la publication définitive de ses découvertes à Bahria : ☐ se lit en réalité ☐ ou même ☐¹⁵. Le nom di-3s.t-p3-kn «qu'Isis donne la vaillance» rejoint ainsi la liste, déjà longue, des anthroponymes du type di + divinité + substantif¹⁶.

☐ (p3-dj-3s-nt : I, 122,17). — Le signe que Ranke a interprété comme un ☐ est en réalité un ☐ de sorte que ce nom n'est qu'une variante de p3-dj-3s (I, 122,19). La présence du ☐ s'explique par le fait que dans cet anthroponyme 3s représente le nom d'une divinité féminine (II, 284,15).

☐ (p3.s-hrj : I, 128,11). — Ainsi que nous avons pu le constater sur une photographie, ce nom, relevé sur un vase canope du Musée de Turin, se lit en réalité ☐. On ne connaît que quelques exemples de cet anthroponyme (I, 128,12; II, 357)¹⁷.

☐ (ms-šnt3j.t : II, 292,15). — Ce nom est emprunté à un des nombreux ouchebtis de ns-b3-nb-dd.t (I, 174,17), trouvés à Mendès en 1902¹⁸. Ranke n'a pas reconnu l'orthographe assez particulière du nom de leur propriétaire et l'a confondue avec le nom de sa mère, précédé de ms. Celle-ci s'appelait donc, à l'instar de la déesse du même nom¹⁹, šnt3j.t.

¹¹ Sculpture Collection of the Cincinnati Art Museum (Cincinnati, 1970), p. 24.

¹² Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, p. 24.

¹³ Bruxelles E.5287 (copie inexacte chez Speleers, *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes*, p. 93); cf. Limme, *Stèles égyptiennes*, p. 48-49.

¹⁴ Kees, *ZAS* 87 (1962), p. 62.

¹⁵ Fakhry, *Bahria Oasis*, I, p. 59.

¹⁶ De Meulenaere, *RdE* 12 (1960), p. 69.

¹⁷ Ajouter aux références de Ranke : Berlin-Ouest 12/66 (*Aegyptisches Museum Berlin* [1967], p. 84-85); *A Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Possession of F. G. Hilton Price* (London, 1897), p. 297, n° 2519.

¹⁸ Schneider, *Shabti*, II, p. 184-85.

¹⁹ *Wb.* IV, p. 518.

☐ (ns-nfr-tm : I, 177,20; II,365). — Nom à rayer du dictionnaire : dans chacun des cas, signalés par Ranke, le premier signe se lit en effet ☐ et non ☐²⁰. Il s'agit donc d'exemples du nom šd-sw-nfr-tm (I, 331,8).

☐ (n3t-irw : II, 296,7). — Ce nom résulte d'une lecture erronée de Lieblein à qui Ranke l'a emprunté. Ainsi que le montre la photographie²¹, les trois premiers signes, incorrectement copiés, constituent la fin du titre hry-3 n tfr.t qui précède le nom ☐. Le fait que ce nom termine l'inscription explique pourquoi les signes ont été groupés de façon insolite.

☐ (nfr.bjtj (?) : I, 196,2). — C'est sur les nombreux ouchebtis d'un nommé Horkheb que Ranke a relevé ce nom, attribué à la mère du propriétaire; il a malheureusement rendu de façon incorrecte le dernier signe qui représente en réalité une déesse coiffée de la couronne rouge, c.à.d. Neith. La dame en question s'appelait donc nfr-nj.t (II, 299,14)²².

☐ (nhm-s(w) : I, 208,11). — La copie de Ranke, empruntée à Devéria, n'est pas correcte : elle ignore le signe qui précède et qui transforme ce nom en t3-nhm-s(w). Cet anthroponyme semble être nouveau.

☐ (r-iir-dj-sw : II, 302,9). — La lecture erronée de ce nom est due à Piehl qui a copié un signe ☐ à la place de ☐. Le nom, correctement rendu par Spiegelberg²³ et collationné sur photographie, se lit donc i'h-ir-dj-sw (I, 12,14). Il faut cependant remarquer que, dans certains noms propres de Basse Époque, le signe du croissant lunaire correspond à hns²⁴.

☐ (hn-rttj-špsj (?) : I, 230,2). — Quoique l'interprétation de ce nom reste douteuse, la copie de Ranke est de toute façon incorrecte. Ce n'est pas ☐ mais ☐ qu'il faut lire et ce signe se trouve en-dessous de ☐. On est donc en droit de penser à un anthroponyme commençant par le verbe hrw «être satisfait». La partie qui suit pourrait se lire t3j špsj, déterminé comme nom divin.

Nous retrouvons donc ici les trois éléments qui composent le nom t3.s-šps(.t)-hr.tj (I, 376,3) «sa Chepset est satisfaite». L'idée exprimée par le nom propre I, 230,2 est la même quoique l'emploi de la forme verbale soit différent : hr-t3(.s)-šps(.t) «(sa) Chepset est satisfaite»²⁵.

On a récemment attiré l'attention sur le rapport étroit qui unit Chepset et les déesses-hippopotames²⁶. Ce lien est confirmé par l'onomaistique qui les associe volontiers avec le verbe hrw. C'est ainsi qu'il convient d'expliquer

²⁰ Malinine-Posener-Vercoutter, *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum*, p. 55 (n° 60) et 144 (n° 189). Les inscriptions des canopes de Copenhague ont été collationnées sur photographie. Cf. Martin, *The Tomb of Hetepka*, p. 62, n° 214.

²¹ Photo Bruxelles, FERE 15.419.

²² Schneider, *Shabti*, II, p. 191-92.

²³ Spiegelberg, *OLZ* 15 (1912), p. 3; cf. aussi *Staatliche Sammlung Aegyptischer Kunst* (München, 1976), p. 216 (lahirdis).

²⁴ Comme dans *qd-hnsw-iw-f-nh* (I, 409,20), cf. Donadoni-Roveri, *Oriens Antiquus* 6 (1967), p. 116.

²⁵ Pour les noms propres formés avec špst, voir Vernus, *CdE* 52 (1977), p. 290. Ajouter de Rougé, *Mém. de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* 43 (1882), p. 73-94, pl. VII, B; Schiaparelli, *Relazione sui lavori della Missione Archeologica Italiana in Egitto*, I, p. 197.

²⁶ Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shaï*, p. 157.

le nom t3-wr.t-hr.ti (I,XXX; 355,16; II, 394) (26a), assez répandu au Nouvel Empire. Comme Chepset et Touéris accordent leur protection aux femmes au moment de l'accouchement, il n'est pas étonnant que Bès ou son pendant féminin Béset s'installe à leur place dans le nom t3-bs.t-hr.ti^{26b}.

☐ (hrwh (?) : I, 231,7). — Orthographe incorrecte, empruntée à la stèle du Sérapéum n° 234, où le déterminatif de l'homme agenouillé occupe justement la place du signe ☐²⁷. Le nom hrw(3) n'est peut-être qu'une variante de hr (I, 230,5).

☐ (hp.s : I, 238,27). — Sur la stèle du Sérapéum n° 100 à laquelle ce nom a été emprunté, celui-ci apparaît clairement sous la forme k3p.s (I, 342,8).

☐ (hnj.t (?) : II, 305,27). — C'est sous cette forme inexacte que Ranke reproduit le nom de la mère du célèbre Panemerit dont Montet a découvert quatre fragments de statue à Tanis²⁸. D'après ces documents, il n'est point douteux que le premier signe doive se lire ☐; sur le fragment D 109 le même nom apparaît comme ☐²⁹. Bien que Montet ait distingué les deux orthographes en les attribuant à des dames différentes, il est clair que nous sommes en présence du même nom dont la lecture est sdm-n.i.

Pour expliquer l'orthographe des fragments D 26, D 87 et D 88, il suffit de lire ☐ comme ☐ et de considérer ☐ comme un déterminatif des noms féminins, assez fréquent à l'époque gréco-romaine³⁰.

Le nom sdm-n.i est attesté sur une stèle démotique provenant de la région de Tanis³¹ et n'est que l'abréviation d'une forme complète qui comporte un nom divin à la fin. On en trouve des exemples dans sdm-n.i-hnm, assez fréquent dans les documents démotiques d'Éléphantine³², et sdm-n.i-n3-hbw (I, 323,25)³³.

☐ (hd(.t) ? : I, 261,14). — L'interprétation correcte de ce signe a été fournie par Clère : il ne s'agit pas d'un nom propre mais du titre šm'yt «chanteuse», écrit par la couronne de Haute Égypte, qui possède, entre autres, la valeur šm'w³⁴, et attribué à une dame anonyme qui a certainement vécu à l'époque ptolémaïque³⁵.

☐ (s3.t-ih.t : I, 287,2). — Tel que le montre la photographie, c'est un signe ☐ dont la forme évoque celle de ☐ qui occupe la place au-dessus du t final. Ce t doit être

^{26a} Ajouter PM I², p. 735.

^{26b} PM I², p. 587.

²⁷ Malinine-Posener-Vercoutter, *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum*, I, p. 180.

²⁸ Montet, *Kémi* 8 (1946), p. 67-68 (D26), 50-54 (D87), 54-59 (D88); 15(1959), p. 61-62 (D109). Cf. aussi Montet, *Mon. Piot* 50 (1958), p. 1-10.

²⁹ Montet, *Kémi* 15 (1959), p. 61-62.

³⁰ Comparer PN I, 9,5; 231,9,11; 302,21; 370,11; II, 327,9; etc.

³¹ Bresciani, *Studi Class. e Or.* 17 (1968), p. 235.

³² Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus*, p. 279; Zauzich, dans Jaritz, *Elephantine III: Die Terrassen vor den Tempeln des Chnum und der Satet*, p. 78.

³³ C'est la lecture que nous proposons contrairement à celles de Ranke et de Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, p. 302.

³⁴ *Wb.* IV, p. 472.

³⁵ Clère, *Oriens Antiquus* 12 (1973), p. 100.

considéré comme explétif et le nom de la dame se lit s3.t-ih (I, 285,16).

☐ (šw : I, 325,5). — Après avoir collationné l'original à notre demande, M^{me} B. Gessler-Löhr nous informe que l'ouchebti, cité par Ranke, porte actuellement le n° AS 616 et que le nom de son propriétaire se lit ☐ ☐ ☐ (I, 89,3-4);

celui-ci exerça les charges de hm wr šhm³⁶ et de «prophète». C'est le seul exemple, à notre connaissance, où le nom wd3-sw est appliqué à un homme.

Le personnage apparaît dans la liste des hm wr šhm qu'Otto a préparée pour le *Lexikon der Aegyptologie*³⁷ et un ouchebti, portant le même nom et les mêmes titres, a été récemment vendu à Paris³⁸.

☐ (t3-irjj.s : II, 323,27). — Cette orthographe repose sur une interprétation de Lieblein, corrigée par Golénischeff; le premier groupe ne se lit pas ☐ mais ☐³⁹. Le nom n3-irjj.s, dont je ne connais qu'un seul autre exemple, orthographié ☐⁴⁰, est apparemment une forme abrégée de n3-ir.s-nfr (I, 169,14; II, 293,15).

☐ (t3-wp.t-imm-r' : I, 355,9). — Puisque ce nom a été relevé, semble-t-il, sur un ouchebti du fonctionnaire saïte p3-3b.w-mh (I, 99,27)⁴¹, il ne peut s'agir que de la mère de celui-ci. Or nous savons que celle-ci s'appelait t3-wp.t-nfr.t (I, 355,10). Ranke a donc erronément interprété les trois derniers signes.

☐ (t3-mnh.s (?) : I, 357,11). — La même dame, mère de t3-n-hsr.t (I, 387,4), est citée ailleurs, d'après la stèle Marseille 248, sous n3-mnh.s (II, 293,18). La photographie de ce document montre, en effet, que son nom commençait par n3 mais, à en juger par quelques traces assez peu distinctes, l'orthographe reproduite par Ranke doit probablement être corrigée en ☐. On peut se demander si ce n'est pas une forme abrégée de n3-mnh-3s.t (I, 169,19).

☐ (dd.m (?) : I, 401,15). — Ces groupes, dont la dernière partie doit d'ailleurs se lire ☐, ont été erronément considérés par Ranke comme un nom propre. Il s'agit, en réalité, d'un extrait de l'inscription qui n'a aucun rapport avec les anthroponymes relevés sur la statue⁴².

HERMAN DE MEULENAERE

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³⁶ Cf. De Meulenaere, dans *Festschrift zum 150. jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Aegyptischen Museums*, p. 183-84.

³⁷ *LA*, II, col. 1262.

³⁸ Aubert, *Statuettes égyptiennes*, p. 270.

³⁹ Golénischeff, *Ermitage Impérial: Inventaire de la collection égyptienne*, p. 102.

⁴⁰ Caire JE 37205 (inédit; copié sur l'original).

⁴¹ Cf. De Meulenaere, *Le surnom égyptien à la Basse Époque*, p. 7, n° 16.

⁴² Comparer Vandier, *RdE* 17 (1965), p. 96-97, E.LXXI (pl. 5).

Wine Lists and Beyond?*)

J. V. Kinnier Wilson's Nimrud Wine Lists was published on November 1st 1972. The book was extensively reviewed by S. Parpola, with additional collations contributed by J.N. Postgate¹⁾. These remarks are indispensable for anyone who wishes to use the book, but they far from fill the gaps noted by A.K. Grayson²⁾. Comments were published by P. Garelli³⁾, and a short review was provided by W. von Soden⁴⁾.

Though reviewers and commentators have been courteous, they have also been destructive. Though it is clear that the texts are badly preserved, the edition is not complete, and the collations have seriously eroded a number of Mr. Kinnier Wilson's conclusions. The attempt made by Mr. Kinnier Wilson to use his archive as a basis from which to reconstruct the Assyrian court must be questioned. The texts may only be put to such a use when the nature of the archive is clear, and when the question is answered whether conclusions drawn from the documents are valid outside their own limited period. At the very least a complete edition of the texts would be required before any conclusions could be based upon them.

The texts date from the reigns of Adad-nirari III and Shalmaneser IV⁵⁾. Parpola, who improved the reading of the dates, suggests that they cover the years 792-774⁶⁾. As, according to him, there are twenty odd texts, with additional documents dealing with the special circumstances created by the presence of a *šar pūhi* (e.g. ND 6213 + 6227, Winelists no. 33), one might be tempted to the probably erroneous conclusion that there was one text for every year, which could in itself suggest that the texts are 'schedules' for periodic (daily?) out-goings.

The second half of the reign of Adad-nirari III and that of Shalmaneser IV and his successors were probably not prosperous years for Assyria, and what is perhaps of even greater importance, this was probably a period in which the Assyrian monarchy was exposed to pressure from within. One only needs to recall the names of the queen mother Sammuramat, the *turtan* Šamši-ilu, and the palace herald Bêl-Harran-bêl-ušur in order to suggest that the first half of the eighth century in Assyria cannot be compared without at least some hesitation with the Sargonid period.

One of the striking facts about the reign of Adad-nirari III is that so many of the royal grants made by this king have been preserved, or are alluded to in later periods. It would seem advisable to study the Wine Lists in the setting of their time before tackling the wider problems of Assyrian social history, which in my eyes remain as diffuse and intractable as ever. In the ninth century Assyria had expanded rapidly. That expansion cannot have failed to create administrative problems,

which we can hardly grasp at present. The main problem is that of the nature of the ruling "class" in Assyria. Moreover, problems caused by the certainly not unlimited transport and communications facilities caution against the construction of an over-centralized picture of Assyrian society.

The meaning of the texts

Though it seems clear that the texts have not been completely published, it is evident that the Nimrud Wine Lists form part of a disbursing system centered on the *ekal māšarti* in Kalah. It is not clear from the outset whether that organization was the only one of its kind in Assyria or even in Kalah at the time. The idea that the Kalah organization was not the only one might find support in the *ginû*-passage in the Wine Lists, always immediately after the heading of the texts, which contains the date⁷⁾. An amount of at most 17 *qâ* (ND 10061, no. 22) can hardly be regarded as sufficient for all Assyrian sanctuaries, nor can the libations for Marduk (ND 6212, 3 no. 4), Adad (ND 6218, 6 no. 3) and an unidentified deity (ND 6214, 7 no. 5)⁸⁾ and the *maqālutu* again for Marduk (ND 6212, 4 no. 4) be regarded as the only (regular?) special offerings to named gods in Assyria in the year (!) concerned. I can hardly believe that the texts really indicate daily distributions for a certain period for the whole of Assyria. It is very likely that similar disbursing agencies existed elsewhere in Assyria.

When one tries to understand the way in which the texts are constructed, helped by Parpola's division into three groups, one cannot help noting the unsystematic way in which the texts are put together. Even within Parpola's three groups there is no fixed order. Parpola⁹⁾ is convinced that each text was probably valid for a whole year, the total amount of wine available being known at the date of the text and everybody's rations being established accordingly. The first objection is that as the texts turned up out of their archival context it is unlikely that the «twenty texts» really are all the documents which existed for the period 792-774. They certainly deal with expenditure (KU) as Parpola stresses¹⁰⁾. One of the keys to the texts is probably contained in the word *riksu*, translated by Kinnier Wilson (p. 2) and Parpola (JSS 21 p. 170) as «schedule», «table». In my view, however, *riksu* indicates a formal undertaking on the part of the authorities, i.e. the king, to provide a person or an institution with certain commodities.

In this context one might quote the much damaged text ADD 659¹¹⁾, from the reign of Tiglathpileser III which shows that a *riksu* could regulate a periodic assignment based upon a formal document conferring a grant. Kinnier Wilson (p. 2) quotes ADD 1014, which to me is a typical «record of issue», beginning with three groups of animals with a sub-total SIZKUR₂MEŠ^{ITU}NE U₄ 11 KAM, «offerings on 11 V», followed by the heading UZU.GUD.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ

ri-ik-su «(pieces of) beef (and) a sheep according to existing obligations» under which the queen (SAL.É.GAL), a prince and the *rab šarēš* received each one piece of beef and a sheep. There follows the sub-total and the grand-total, with a final remark which I cannot read¹²⁾. Owing to the very specific date for the offerings, this is most likely a list of expenditure. A similar interpretation is the best for the wine lists. As on ADD 1014 ordinary offerings to certain gods (*ginû*) are included in lists of expenditure resulting from fixed obligations.

A direct practical purpose for the texts is indicated by the check marks in front of certain specific posts on ND 6218 (no. 3) and ND 6212 (no. 4): this can only mean that these are the only ones actually paid out at a particular moment. The document could be used only once after it had been compiled before the actual «disbursement». We do not know whether the person concerned had to give a receipt.

If the word *riksu* really indicates a formal obligation then the incidence of the obligation will have been regulated¹³⁾ and the wine lists at most indicate the size of the obligation as it existed at the date of the document¹⁴⁾. Perhaps this helps to explain the lack of system in the order of the entries on the documents, which differ considerably as to size. ND 6219 (no. 6), with one column on each side has 56 lines, ND 6218 (no. 3), not completely published, could have over 100 lines, a number which might be equalled by the obviously crowded ND 6229 (no. 1). These last two tablets have two columns on each side as have ND 6230 (no. 2) and the incompletely published¹⁵⁾ ND 10050 (no. 32), of which, however, only one side is inscribed¹⁶⁾.

The texts are not complete enough to risk the supposition that the inclusion of many persons mentioned by name (and not hypothetically included in certain groups mentioned in the other texts) is the cause of the additional length of the texts mentioned. It should be noted, however, that the only four column text among the ordinary wine lists on which the total amount expended is preserved, ND 6230, no. 2¹⁷⁾, mentions 9 ANŠE 3 (BÁN) 1 SILA₃, whereas the other texts on which summations have been preserved vary between 5 ANŠE 8 (BÁN) 3 SILA₃¹⁸⁾ or 5 ANŠE 1 (PI) 2 (BÁN) 5 SILA₃¹⁹⁾ and 4 ANŠE 2 (BÁN) 3 SILA₃²⁰⁾. ND 6230 (year lost) and ND 6214 (778) happen to date to the same day of the year: 11th of the first month; as the dated texts ND 10031 (785) and ND 10047 (791)²¹⁾ are of the same order of expenditure as ND 6214, it would be hasty to postulate a general

decline of Assyria as the reason for the difference in the amount of wine issued.

The differences in the size of the texts and in the amounts issued indicate to all probability that obligations varied. This variation, together with the probability of the existence of other distributing agencies of similar magnitude, must make us wary when using this type of text for the reconstruction of Assyrian society²²⁾.

The lack of order shown by the texts might perhaps be the result of the use of (many?) different «sources» when compiling the lists. Though not too much weight should be attached to it, cf. Kinnier Wilson p. 122, this might perhaps explain the occurrence of both the repetition sign²³⁾ and K.I.MIN in ND 6218 (no. 3) and ND 10052 (no. 18), and the use of the different forms of the LÚ sign (ND 10055, no. 12 and ND 6219 no. 6)²⁴⁾. If these differences mean anything, they are together with the lack of order, perhaps a sign of a not over-developed bureaucratic machine. But as the texts are probably only a small fragment of the archive and incomplete at that, we must not attach much meaning to these differences.

If our documents are indeed the result of formal undertakings by the king as head of the administration, they would seem to be consistent with other documents apparently characteristic for the period, such as the grants and appointments made by Adad-nirari III, which have been (re-)studied by Postgate²⁵⁾. It is perhaps too easy to generalize from this type of document, and state that they are a sign of that weakening of the monarchy of which the inscriptions of Šamši-ilu from Til-Barsip²⁶⁾ and of Bêl-Harran-bêl-ušur²⁷⁾ with KAV II 26²⁸⁾ are the clearest evidence. But we must realize that a well regulated system of remuneration of functionaries is essential for all bureaucracies: in themselves the grants are not a sign of weakness: the practice continues under later kings.

The options open to an Assyrian king for the rewarding of his retainers or the maintenance of institutions were restricted, as payment solely in money, i.e. in some more or less valuable metal probably did not occur. This meant that either some part of the royal domain was put at the disposal of the person or institution concerned, or that the naturalia which belonged to the royal income (either from taxation, or possibly from direct exploitation) were shared out. It may be assumed that a «grant» from the royal domain did not exclude other grants in naturalia.

We do not know whether Assyrian kings really enfeoffed their officials. Postgate NRGD no. 24 lines 3-4 seems to indicate that Adad-nirari III had granted land and people

¹²⁾ Perhaps the official responsible?

¹³⁾ Cf Postgate NRGD nos 42-44, 5.

¹⁴⁾ Incidentally it also becomes clear why the king is not mentioned in the texts: not "because he had a private cellar in some part of the palace" (Kinnier Wilson p. 6), but because there is no sense in incurring a *riksu*-obligation to oneself: the texts do not list all wine expended. Ordinary consumption is possibly not even included.

¹⁵⁾ Grayson JCS 25 (1973) p. 132.

¹⁶⁾ ND 6213 (no. 33) with four columns belongs to the special *šar pūhi* texts.

¹⁷⁾ Parpola JSS 21 p. 170: between 785-779 (Group II).

¹⁸⁾ ND 10031, no. 14: Parpola: between 785-779.

¹⁹⁾ ND 6214, no. 5: Parpola: between 778-774 (Group III).

²⁰⁾ ND 10049, no. 11: Parpola as in note 19.

²¹⁾ Incidentally a year of shortages, cf. Postgate CTN II no. 15 (ND 203), date.

²²⁾ In order to explain the differences in the amount distributed, Mr. Kinnier Wilson assumes (p. 116), that sometimes one tablet with two columns on each side, and on other occasions two single column texts were made out. As no "second tablets" are available, there is no basis for the assumption.

²³⁾ R. Borger, *Zeichenliste* AOAT 33, 1978, no. 363.

²⁴⁾ The use of differently shaped LÚ signs occurs in other NA texts, e.g. S. Langdon, *Babyloniaca* 7 (1913-1923) Pl V-VI (K 4395).

²⁵⁾ NRGD nos. 1-6; 27-30?; 42-45; 46-48? 49 etc., cf. also 54, and the Nineveh stela re-edited by Postgate, NRGD p. 115ff. and the Rimah-stela published by S. Page *Iraq* 30 (1968) p. 139-53.

²⁶⁾ F. Thureau-Dangin, *BAH* XXIII (1936) p. 141-151. He is also mentioned with the kings Adad-nirari III and Shalmaneser IV on two unpublished stelae, cf. J.D. Hawkins, *AnSt* 29 (1979) p. 161.

²⁷⁾ E. Unger *PKOM* III (1917).

²⁸⁾ Cf. W. Schramm *EAK* II (1973) p. 121.

*) Notes on J. V. Kinnier Wilson, *The Nimrud Wine Lists: A study of men and administration at the Assyrian capital in the Eighth Century B.C.* British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1972.

¹⁾ JSS 21 (1976) p. 165-174.

²⁾ JCS 26 (1974) p. 130-2.

³⁾ RA 68 (1974) p. 129-140.

⁴⁾ ZA 64 (1974) p. 129-130.

⁵⁾ Kinnier Wilson p. 2.

⁶⁾ JSS 21 p. 170.

⁷⁾ Note, however, ND 10061, line 7'.

⁸⁾ Cf the collations by Parpola and Postgate, see note 1).

⁹⁾ JSS 21 p. 171.

¹⁰⁾ JSS 21 p. 170.

¹¹⁾ Postgate NRGD no. 31.

on account of (his) *ša rēšūtišu* (his position of *šarēš*) to the (a) *barakku* of Aššur, but granting of exemption from taxation and other duties was perhaps a more usual reward. The Nineveh stela of Adad-nirari III²⁹) suggests by its phrasing that Palil-ēriš, the governor of Rašappa, stood to gain personally by the addition of Hindana to the area he administered. At a probably lower social level the gift of an estate could be made subject to the obligation of providing certain goods or services³⁰).

The difficulties experienced by the king in rewarding his officials must have been matched by those felt by the officials themselves with regard to their own subordinates. The «triangles of administration» introduced by Mr. Kinnier Wilson³¹) seem of dubious value. The important question is whether it is possible to show that e.g. the (or a?) scribe of a provincial governor was appointed by the king or by the (direct) superior. Though the function is not included in any of Kinnier Wilson's triangles, one might quote the case of Bēl-issiya, *rah ālāni*,³² SAG of Bēl-tarši-iluma³²): clearly a retainer of his superior.

It is much more likely that "superiors" received extra allowances in order to satisfy the needs of their subalterns, rather than in order to consume together with equals. Attempts to figure out the number of persons belonging to the court are therefore doomed to failure. The "grace and favour" aspect should not be underrated, especially if one assumes that many members of the hierarchy were possibly unfree — which does not mean "without influence or power" — as will be suggested below.

The introduction of the concept "mess" in the sense of a group of persons of more or less equal rank habitually dining and drinking together³³) is not warranted as far as I can see by anything in the texts, and it is also at variance with my (limited) oriental experience. Though there usually is some observable table order, there is nothing against people of very different rank eating together. Filling the rooms of an Assyrian palace, every evening with a great number of groups separated according to rank eating separate meals, does seem unlikely.

As Garelli has suggested, ND 6213 (II,1) which is quoted by Kinnier Wilson in support of his mess-theory, refers to a ritual occasion in which the *šar pūhi* participated. Kinnier Wilson's apodictic statement that this entry of 120 *qā* of wine *a-na nap-te-ni* «being a daily issue, the reference can scarcely be to the *naptanu* festival" must be rejected together with the idea of "messes": the texts probably do not record daily expenditure rather than expenditure "on a certain day". Their use is strictly limited.

By introducing weakly based concepts like "messes" and "emirs"³⁴), Mr. Kinnier Wilson has made the already intractable problems of Neo-Assyrian social history even more involved than they are.

²⁹) Postgate NRGD 115-117.

³⁰) Cf NRGD no. 32, lines 21 ff referring to an obligation originating from the reign of Adad-nirari III.

³¹) Wine Lists p. 95 ff.

³²) Postgate CTN II 33, 34.

³³) Kinnier Wilson, *Wine Lists* p. 5-6 and 32 ff; cf. the remarks made by P. Garelli RA 68 (1974) p. 132¹. Note in passing the difficulties into which Kinnier Wilson runs on pp. 72 and 74-5 of his book.

³⁴) Sometimes Mr. Kinnier Wilson's ideas are weird, to say the least, so when he explains Samsuiluna year name 34 as an indication that that king built an "emir's palace" (*Wine Lists* p. 45).

The problems

The main problem is and remains that we cannot place the members of the higher echelons of Assyrian society in a well-defined context in the Neo-Assyrian period. The general "unwillingness" on the part of the higher officials ever to mention their ancestors creates a vacuum which hampers the study of Assyrian society. Must we accept the fact as a sign that the Assyrian monarchy had effectively eliminated all countervailing powers? Disputed successions indicate otherwise, as do the remarks about revolts in the eponym chronicle. Even the important 8th century officials who left inscriptions of their own fail to show that pride in descent that belongs to a formal aristocracy, and that was present in Assyria in the Middle Assyrian period³⁵). On none of the 9th and 8th century stelae are the names of ancestors mentioned³⁶), only the titles of the official are indicated.

It is difficult to envisage Assyrian society in the 9th and 8th century. Did an Assyrian monarch live in one palace or did he travel (with his court?) from palace to palace, consuming local products? Up to what degree was staff attached to one palace? What can be said about the position of the high ranking officials? What were the effects of the rapid expansion in the 9th century, how were the conquered areas absorbed? It is essential to know who carried out policies.

Answers?

The first questions cannot be answered, the later ones can be studied in a limited way by looking at the royal inscriptions, though there is a constant risk that too much value is attached to what are no more than standard phrases. Yet there are perhaps some signs of changes in policy, and signs of the continued existence of people who did not derive their wealth from the king of Assyria, a group we cannot locate in Assyria proper, but who probably existed there too. As the Euphrates — Habur area, with adjoining countries to the North is best documented, we will give this area a closer look.

a. Katmuhi

Aššur-dan II (934-912), Annals 33³⁷), tells us that he went to Katmuhi³⁸), took the town of Da-ra[-], appointed a ^{LU}*da-gal pa-ni ša ra-ma-n[i-a]*, "a dependent of my own", and flayed the former king. Adad-nirari II (911-891) on the other hand claims that he ^{KUR}*kat-mu-ḫi a-na pat gim-ri-ša i-pi-lu-ma a-na mi-šir KUR-ti-šu ú-te-ru* "conquered Katmuhi in its totality and annexed it"³⁹); in the next reign there was a governor of Katmuhi⁴⁰). In

³⁵) Cf. the stelae from Assur latterly studied by C. Saporetti, *Assur* I/2, Malibu 1974.

³⁶) Stela 49: 895; 50: 873; 42: 864 or 851; 47: 838; 41: 831; 44: 814; 38: 804; 39: 799; 34: 768; 37: 738. The last instance the father of an eponym is mentioned seems Nazimarutaš father of Uprutu, in an inscription of Aššur-dan II: Andrae *FwA* I p. 166.

³⁷) E. Weidner *AJO* 3 (1926) p. 154-5 (henceforth *Assur-dan II Annals*).

³⁸) Not identical with Kummuhu, cf A. K. Grayson *BiOr* 33 (1967) p. 143-4.

³⁹) KAH II 84, obv. 26.

⁴⁰) W. Schramm *BiOr* 27, p. 155, date (quoted henceforth Tukulti-Ninurta II Annals). This *Na-a-di-ilu* is also mentioned in the eponym list STT 47 I as the 3rd name after Tukulti-Ninurta II.

880 (Annals II 87 = Kurkh Monolith 35-7) Assurnasirpal II built a palace in Tilule.

b. Tušhan, Bit-Zamāni and Damdamuša

Though Ungnad⁴¹) does not accept that stèle 49 is that of the eponym of 867, there can be little doubt that Tušhan had been an Assyrian stronghold against Nairi/Urartu and Kašjaru from 883 onwards, when a palace was built there⁴²). Aššurnasirpal II built it remarkably enough "to serve as his own seat"; the place was colonized with Assyrians who had fled to Šupria⁴³). The occupation of Tušhan in connection with Assyrian activities in Bit-Zamāni, where Tukulti-Ninurta II had recognized Ammeba'ali "son of Zamāni"⁴⁴) after military intervention. Aššurnasirpal II received tribute from this person in Tušhan⁴⁵). Ammeba'ali was killed in a revolt in his town of Sinabu and his brother Ilanu was appointed as his successor by Aššurnasirpal⁴⁶). The next stage was the conquest and annexation of Damdamuša, fortress of Ilani "son of Zamāni", whose capital Amedi escaped the same fate, however⁴⁷). This conquest probably took place in 866, but already in 882 Damdamuša is mentioned as an Assyrian royal city⁴⁸), which had been menaced by rebellious Assyrian settlers from Halziluḫa, whose leader Hulaḫa (who is called a (*bēl ālī*) was executed in Damdamuša. This Assyrian was probably not a royal official. In 879 Damdamuša, together with Tušhan, Sinabu and Tidi, served as an Assyrian supply base⁴⁹). It is obvious that a stage is missing here: Assyrian losses are kept silent, and the trouble with Assyrians who had been settled in this area since Middle Assyrian times is another sign of political fragmentation; Sinabu and Tidu had been their centres in Nairi⁵⁰), but their loyalty obviously lay more with their Aramean neighbours than with the fresh Assyrian conqueror. Sinabu occurs in stelae 47 (838) and 39 (799) as part of a province Nairi. For Shalmaneser III Bit Zamāni is no more than a stage on his marching route⁵¹), but both Tidu and Amedi belonged to the 27 towns and districts which rose against the king towards the end of his reign⁵²). When Amedi had become Assyrian is not known.

c. Našibina and Huzirina

In the area called Hanigalbat, Našibina had been Assyrian since 896 (eponym Adad-dan⁵³)) and Huzirina since 899 (eponym Ninuaja⁵⁴)). Huzirina belonged to the rebels at the end of the reign of Salmaneser III. In this area the date of occupation of Harran is a major problem; the only thing that can be said is that the town belonged to the province of the *turtan* in 814, together with Huzirina.

⁴¹) RLA II p. 449 s.v. Ištār-emūqāja.

⁴²) Cf Henshaw JAOS 87 (1967) p. 532.

⁴³) Aššurnasirpal II Annals II 2-12.

⁴⁴) Tukulti-Ninurta II Annals 23.

⁴⁵) Annals II 12.

⁴⁶) Kurkh Monolith rev. 46-7 = Annals II 119.

⁴⁷) Annals III 105.

⁴⁸) Annals I 103.

⁴⁹) Kurkh Monolith rev. 48.

⁵⁰) Kurkh Monolith rev. 45-6.

⁵¹) Kurkh Monolith 3 R 8, 41.

⁵²) Šamši-Adad V, Nimrud Stela I R 29-31, I 47 and 49.

⁵³) KAH II 84, 63 ff.

⁵⁴) KAH II 84, 45 ff.

It should be noted that the temple of Sin in Harran was (re)built by Shalmaneser III according to Aššurbanipal⁵⁵). The Assyrian policy of occupation and direct rule in key-towns only is illustrated by the fact that the ^{LU}EN URU.MEŠ-te (*bēl alanāte*) of Qipani brought their tribute in Huzirina in 866⁵⁶).

d. Guzana

The date of the annexation of Guzana/Tell Halaf is not certain either. It had paid tribute to Adad-nirari II⁵⁷) and though Aššurnasirpal II does not name the town, he mentions a tribute brought by DUMU *Ba-ḫi-a-ni*, who also had to contribute a contingent to the Assyrian army⁵⁸).

Tadmor's suggestion that Guzana was occupied later in Assurnasirpal II's reign⁵⁹) need not be true, as Shalmaneser III received tribute from ^{PA}*A-su-u* ^{KUR}*Gu-za-na-a-a*⁶⁰). Probably the second year of Adad-nirari III is the likeliest date for the annexation of Guzana. A full campaign in the eponym chronicle can hardly mean less. A revolt in 759 had to be suppressed by an official campaign in 758⁶¹).

e. Šadikanni

One of the best examples of survival of local political "independence" is the case of Šadikanni, as has been argued before. The inscription of Bēl-ēriš, who uses the title SANGA, acknowledges Aššurrabi (II, 1013-973) and Aššurrešiši (II, 972-968) as overlords⁶²) by dating events to their reigns. It is in this way one of the very few signs of Assyrian influence in the area discussed before Aššur-dan II. Adad-nirari II was received as overlord⁶³), as were Tukulti-Ninurta II⁶⁴) and Aššurnasirpal II, who mentions a Samanuḫa-šar-ilāni "of Šadikanni"⁶⁵), who according to the seal of his grandson who used the title of SANGA himself, was SANGA⁶⁶). This grandson built a palace with a façade decorated with winged bulls⁶⁷) probably during the second half of the reign of Shalmaneser III or even later. Later information about the area is wanting, but there is here an unmistakable vassal-dynasty of priests of the local god Samnuḫa, which seems to have been able to retain at least enough economic power to construct a temple (Bēl-ēriš) and a palace (Mušeš-^dNinurta)⁶⁸). In this context ADD 499 is a tantalizing fragment probably of a contract dealing with the sale of a village (edge!). It is sealed by a certain ^{PA}SUHUŠ-^d[] who is called ENURU ^{URU}*sá-di-kan-ni*, seller (of the village?): a sign perhaps of

⁵⁵) Streck VAB VII p. 158 ff, rev. 38.

⁵⁶) Aššurnasirpal II, Annals III 93.

⁵⁷) KAH II 84, 100.

⁵⁸) Aššurnasirpal II Annals III 57-8.

⁵⁹) Ed. Goedicke-Roberts, *Unity and Diversity*, Baltimore-London (1975), p. 392⁷.

⁶⁰) Kurkh Monolith I 28. Objections against the identification can be found in *AJO* Beiheft 6 p. 1⁶. Parpola lists the reference with other references on Guzana in Neo-Assyrian Toponyms (1970) p. 138-9.

⁶¹) RLA II p. 428-9 ad 808 p. 430, 758.

⁶²) E. Nassouhi MAOG III 1/2 p. 7.

⁶³) KAH II 84, 157.

⁶⁴) Annals Rev. 30-2.

⁶⁵) Annals I 78 cf. III 3-4.

⁶⁶) E. Unger BASOR 130 p. 16 ff.

⁶⁷) A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, (1853) p. 276.

⁶⁸) In this light Kapara's palace building at Tell Halaf/Guzana cannot be used in itself as "proof" that he must predate Assyrian domination.

his not being a royal official, but a «lord of the town» in his own right. The text is dated to the first month of 670, which excludes real political independence⁶⁹).

f. Bit-Ḫalupê

Further downstream Assyrian policies towards local rulers were in the end perhaps less tolerant. Bit Ḫalupê with its capital Sūru (not to be mixed up with Sūru in Suḫi) disappears from our sources, it seems, during the reign of Aššurnāširpal II. Adad-nirari II received tribute from a certain Barātara son of ^{SAL}Ḫalupê in a place of which the name cannot be read with certainty (KAH II 84, 113-5), but for Tukulti-Ninurta II, Sūru was the capital (Annals rev. 20). Aššurnāširpal II made a change in his plan of campaign when Ḫamataja "their governor" (^{LU}GAR-^{šū-nu}) was killed and replaced by an usurper from Bit-Adini.

Aššurnāširpal appointed Azi-ilu, who is identified as ^{LU}GAR-nu ša ra-me-ni-a "my own governor". These persons were certainly semi-independent rulers, not officials (Annals I 89). According to Annals III 7, Bit Ḫalupê paid *maddattu* and during the later "revolt" of Laqê, Ḫindanu and Suḫi Sūru in Bit Ḫalupê served as an Assyrian base where ships were built. The situation is complicated by an *A-zi-ilu* ^{KUR}La-qa-a-a who is mentioned in Annals III 30. He finally fled to Bit-Adini (III 42). The remarkable fact is that Bit Ḫalupê, contrary to the areas both North and South of it, is not included in the province of Palil-ēriš of Rašappa. Does this indicate a more or less independent development similar to that of Šadikanni, or was Bit Ḫalupê no more than a part of Laqê, occupied by the (Bit-)Ḫalupê-tribe?

g. Laqê, Ḫindanu and Suḫi

In the inscriptions of Adad-nirari II and Tukulti-Ninurta II, we find three rulers (without title) in Laqê: Ḫarāni⁷⁰, Mudadda⁷¹ and Ḫamadaja, mentioned by Tukulti-Ninurta II only⁷². Aššurnāširpal II mentions "kings" of Laqê who bring *maddattu* and have to pay an increased tribute⁷³. At an unspecified moment, Aššurnāširpal II carried out another campaign in this area⁷⁴ against a revolt of Laqê, Ḫindanu and Suḫi, during which the first of these⁷⁵ could not be dislodged from his capital, but bought the Assyrians off. In this occasion ^{PII}ā, *nasiku* of ^{KUR}Laqê was deported to Aššur with his troops. Though the "towns" of the people of Ḫindanu were taken⁷⁶, nothing is said about their political fate⁷⁷.

Though Suḫi, or rather Māt Suḫi, is said to have been involved in the revolt (Annals III 27), it is mentioned only in connection with the plundering of townships

(Annals III 32 and 37) and small-scale fighting (III 34-35) which means an unchanged political situation, as can be more or less reconstructed from the inscriptions. This has been done by J. A. Brinkman⁷⁸, who has collected the material regarding the almost independent position of the area between Assyria and Babylonia. This position continued in the reign of Shalmaneser III. The claim of submission lodged by Šamši-Adad V probably does not mean much; Suḫi played an independent role in the final struggle of Assyria against Babylonia.

In general we are badly informed about the Ḫabur-Euphrates area during the reign of Shalmaneser III, but by the time of Adad-nirari III there are clear signs that policies had changed.

Palil-ēriš

In 797, Ḫindanu was transferred to Palil-ēriš, governor of Rašappa⁷⁹, *limu* in 803 and 775. The area belongs to his territories on both the Rimah-stela⁸⁰ and the Saba'a stela⁸¹. As the area participated in the revolt against Shalmaneser III, we must assume that it had been annexed before⁸². The Rimah-stela adds Laqê and probably [^{URU}]An-[at] ^{KUR}Su-ḫi and a placename which can be read as ^{URU}Aš+šur-DIB-at on the Saba'a stela, which adds in this same general area Qatnu, Durkatlimmu, Kar-Aššurnāširpal and Širqu (^{KUR}Laqê). If the Aš+šur-DIB-at of the Saba'a stela is identical with *Aššur-ut-tir-aš-bat*, as is suggested by line 14 of the Rimah-stela, that town formed an outlier in the far West. Perhaps a trace of earlier administrative arrangements?

Does the list of areas governed by Palil-ēriš indicate a total clean-up of local dynasts in the Euphrates-Ḫabur area? Or must we suppose that only Anat in Suḫi and Terqa in Laqê belonged to the area governed by Palil-ēriš? Absorption of the whole of Suḫi down to Rapiqu is not likely at any rate. Durkatlimmu is now localized⁸³. It was annexed by Adad-nirari II as a former Assyrian settlement⁸⁴. Qatna was a stage even more to the North, it had been the seat of local rulers⁸⁵.

The interpretation of the list of "towns" with small agricultural settlements (probably no more than farms) belonging to them on the Rimah-stela is not without problems. Three (or four? cf. note 89) areas seem to be indicated in which the "towns" were situated: ^{KUR}a-sa-al²-li² (line 18), Laqê (19) and Qatni (20), the last two with certainly only one town each. Were the other towns all in Ašallu, or only the last group of farms mentioned? Grayson has read in line 16 ^{URU}Dūr-DUG²-I²-LIM⁸⁶) as the first name of the line, for which he refers to the Saba'a stela line 24. The situation is different, there, how-

⁷⁸ AnOr 43 note 1127 and p. 183ff.

⁷⁹ Postgate NRGD p. 115ff.

⁸⁰ S. Page *Iraq* 30 (1968) p. 139-153.

⁸¹ E. Unger PKOM 2 (1916); also Rimah Stela, line 14.

⁸² IR 29, 50.

⁸³ W. Röllig, "Dürkatlimmu", OrNS 47 (1978) p. 419-430.

⁸⁴ KAH II 84, 112-3.

⁸⁵ Adad-nirari II (KAH II 84, 109) mentions a ^{PII}U-IM, Tukulti-Ninurta II, Annals rev. 27 received tribute and Aššurnāširpal II records an Ilu-Adad (Annals I 78; cf also III 5). As to KAH II 99 (cf Parpola NAT p. 285) the ascription to Shalmaneser III is not accepted by Grayson *BiOr* 33 p. 143.

⁸⁶ JNES 31 (1972) p. 218.

ever, as the name occurs in the list of Palil-ēriš' territories. As all the other artificial names in the list of towns on the Rimah stela seem typical for new creations, the inclusion of Dur-Katlimmu is not likely. (A/I)z/šalla/i cannot be located precisely, but in the reign of Aššurnāširpal we find three different "princes" connected with this country, all giving tribute⁸⁷; twice it is mentioned in connection with Bit-Baḫiani, which probably means that we must look to the Guzana-Ḫarran area, or somewhat more to the North. It figures as ^{KUR}Ša-al-lu on Assur Stela 44⁸⁸). If Palil-ēriš really constructed his farms in this area, we have a new instance of estate-building by a high-ranking person⁸⁹ outside his direct political sphere of influence.

It seems clear that Palil-ēriš was established as governor in a number of towns which had at least up to the reign of Aššurnāširpal II their own local rulers, but we are not compelled to believe that he actually held all the towns within the area under his direct control. Information on local rulers is only forthcoming when a series of campaigns in an area is held in fairly rapid succession. From Shalmaneser III onwards, campaigns were not held anymore in the Ḫabur and Middle-Euphrates areas. If it took from Adad-nirari II to after Aššurnāširpal II to eliminate the main local princelings, Assyrian interest in removing smaller men cannot be rated high; probably the Assyrians were most interested in a steady flow of income⁹⁰. Direct rule probably made transfer of property to non-locals easier, changes could come through administrative measures rather than military intervention.

A *bêl āli* of Šadikanni has been introduced above, as have been the *bêl ālāni* of Qipani. The AHW (p. 119 D 2) translates "Stadtherr" and notes that the term is used for both enemies and subjects. During Shalmaneser III, the towns of the Baliḫ-area killed their EN-URU, a certain Giammu, when the Assyrians approached, probably in order to escape punishment⁹¹. CAD A (I p. 388-9) differentiates between "ruler of a city" and (in NA- and NB-periods only) "an official", though it should be noted that in several of the passages quoted, the EN-URU concerned probably comes from outside Assyria proper. Both AHW and CAD equate the function with that of *ḫazannu*. The few cases in which the *bêl āli* is shown in function within Assyria do not tell us much. In ADD 171 (date lost), the ^{LU}EN-URU⁹² of Šarrapu (Parpola NAT p. 321) and of Ḫubaba act as witnesses in a process. In ABL

⁸⁷ Annals II 22, III 59-60 and III 94.

⁸⁸ The place cannot be identical with the *A-za-al-li* mentioned by Aššurbanipal (Prism A I 119 etc), but Parpola NAT p. 177 suggests a combination with Išalla; he is followed by Postgate *RLA* 5 (1977) p. 227 (ref. M. Stol).

⁸⁹ Cf *BiOr* 27 (1970) p. 169. — Or should one explain concentrations of properties belonging to high officials (cf, e.g., NRGD no. 27) as the result of royal colonization schemes to which a number of officials had to contribute and of one of which the Rimah-stela shows the part of the governor of Rašappa? Postgate *JESHO* 17 (1974) p. 238 reads *ina ku-tal* ^{KUR}Sa-an-ga-ri in line 18 of the Rimah-stela. In that case Palil-ēriš built only 28 farms in Ašalli, and his main colonizing activities took place in the area (North?) of Jebel Sinjar, in the core area of the province of Rašappa.

⁹⁰ Further to the North-West, Gargamiš and Sam'al are good examples of the survival of small states during the next stage of Assyrian expansion.

⁹¹ Cf especially IM. 54699 in *Sumer* 6 (1950) p. 109ff.

⁹² CAD K 77b "translates": "*ḫazannu*".

317, the writer of which was appointed by the king in the otherwise unknown place Qunbuna, certainly within Assyria, he stresses that he is not the *bêl āli* but a slave (*unzarḫu* and *urdu*) of the king. Local rulers in the Assyrian sphere of influence certainly needed royal approval. The possibility that there was a difference between a hereditary *bêl āli* and an appointed *ḫazannu* should be envisaged.

For the present we do not know anything about the background of Palil-ēriš. As he also was governor of Nēmed-Ištar and Apku⁹³), we can assume that he was a native Assyrian. In the second transaction listed in NRGD 5, he sells land in (the otherwise unknown town) Bit Šaššeri. He is mentioned in KAV 117, 1 (NRGD 28)⁹⁴). The seal Guimet nr. 354 is that of Aššur-bêl-ušur, ^{LU}SAG ša Palil-ēriš, governor of Rašappa. We do not know anything about Palil-ēriš' ancestors or family.

^{LU}SAG's

Since the three reigns after Adad-nirari III are badly documented, the importance of the inscriptions left by some high-ranking persons can be easily overrated. Bêl-Ḫarran-bêl-ušur stayed on as *nāgir ekalli* during Tiglathpileser III, he was eponym in 741. It is doubtful therefore whether a real change in policy is indicated by Tiglathpileser's appointing people as governors who are called (generally anonymous) ^{LU}šu-ut SAG-ia, "my *šūt rēši*". Though it would be presumptuous to reopen the question whether these persons were eunuchs or not⁹⁵), it is striking that Tiglathpileser uses the word, whereas earlier kings do not, just as he avoids the use of *šaknu* and employs the term (*bêl*) *paḫati*⁹⁶) when dealing with persons whose province is not explicitly mentioned. The use of these terms is probably more the result of "style" than of "policy", though the dependence on the king is stressed.

Tiglathpileser III has been credited since E. Forrer with a reform of Assyrian provincial government⁹⁷). But what is in fact involved is more a question of the selection of new terms, or rather of the use of terms which had not been used in the context of the royal inscriptions before. The strengthening of royal authority did not mean that

⁹³ Saba'a stela, 23.

⁹⁴ Ass 10274, Weidner, *AfO* 13 (1940) p. 318, is an unpublished inscription from the reign of Shalmaneser IV.

⁹⁵ Cf. A. L. Oppenheim *JANES* 5 (1973) p. 325-334; Parpola *OLZ* 74 (1979) col. 33 regards the *ša-rēši* without exception as eunuchs (ref. M. Stol).

⁹⁶ Tiglathpileser Annals Rost lines 15; 101; 132; Platteninschrift I, 19, 29; II R 67, 10; 37; DT 3, (Rost Pl XXXIV) 9 K 2649 + (Rost pl. XXIV) rev. 2; Rost Pl XXV-VI, 4, 9; but Annals 139: ^{LU}šu-ut SAG-MEŠ-ia ^{LU}GARKUR ^{KUR}lu-lu-mi-i GN [...] *ikšud* (?) and 142 ^{LU}šu-ut SAG-MEŠ-ia ^{LU}GARKUR ^{KUR}Na-i-ri plunders a town and its neighbourhood. II R 67 obv. 42 mentions the sending of ... ^{LU}šu-ut SAG-ia ^{PA}Aššur-daninanni to Media. He is no doubt the eponym of 727, governor of Mazamua. Rev. 14' mentions an expedition by ^{LU}šu-ut SAG ^{LU}GAL[AG.], who is mentioned again in 16', cf ND 4301 + (Iraq 18, 1956, Pl. XXII-III), rev. 27 and Platteninschrift no. 2, 27. ^{LU}šu-ut SAG-ia without further explanation is found in Platteninschrift no. 1, 7. On the other hand: NAM ^{LU}GAL.KAŠ.LUL ibid. 31 cf. ND 4301 + obv. 16, NAM ^{LU}tur-ta-ni NAM ^{KUR}Na-a-i-ri Platteninschrift no. 1, 7, 36, cf. ND 5422 and Annals 180 = Iraq 26 p. 120-1 Pl. 26 "13" NAM ^{LU}AGRIG; something unique is Annals 161: "(a stela) I placed *ina* UGU NAM ^{PA}Ba-a ša ^{URU}E-⁴XV".

⁹⁷ E. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches* Leipzig (1920) esp. p. 49ff. The matter was studied in an (unpublished) paper by Mr. A. H. Jagersma, who showed convincingly that a reduction of the size of provinces cannot be proved.

⁶⁹ ADD 472¹⁰ mentions a village *ina kan-ni* ^{URU}Di-ka-na-a; this cannot be Šadikanni, as the area of Laḫiri is mentioned in line 5.

⁷⁰ Adad-nirari II KAH II 84, 115; Tukulti-Ninurta II Annals rev. 7 and 11.

⁷¹ Adad-nirari II KAH II 84, 115 of Širqu (Terqa), Tukulti-Ninurta II Annals rev. 10, cf. 3.

⁷² Annals rev. 5.

⁷³ Annals I 94.

⁷⁴ Annals III 27-50.

⁷⁵ Annals III 46.

⁷⁶ Annals III 37.

⁷⁷ Adad-nirari II (KAH II 84, 119) had received *maddattu* here, as had Tukulti-Ninurta II (Annals 79) from ^{PA}Am-me-a-ba-la ^{URU}Hi-in-da-na-ia and Aššurnāširpal II from ^{PA}Ḫa-ja-a-ni ^{URU}Hi-in-da-na-a-a (Annals I 96).

the policy of granting rights was discontinued in his reign: NRGD nos. 6, 7, 8, 31 and 54, third "transaction".

Already in the date of the annals of Adad-nirari II, we find⁹⁸⁾ *li-mu* ^{PDINGIR-ZI-PAB} ^{LU}SAG *ša* ^{PD}Adad-nirari. During Adad-nirari III there are more attestations of ^{LU}SAG's as provincial governors. The well-known Bêl-tarši-iluma in his own inscription⁹⁹⁾ calls himself a ^{LU}SAG of Adad-nirari III.

If seal no. 633 of Buchanan's Ashmolean Catalogue is the seal of Nabû-šar-ušur, the limu of 786, he was governor of Rimusi. KAV 94 (= Postgate NRGD no. 27) shows that another ^{LU}SAG of Adad-nirari III was (a) *barakku* of Aššur. As ^{LU}SAG (line 4: *ša* ^{LU}SAG-ti-šû) he had a "fief" at his disposal. In that context one could refer to CTN II 17, a transaction in 783 between two ^{LU}SAG, one of whom of Adad-nirari III, in which a ^{LU}SAG EN *ilki-šû*, "owner" of his *ilku*-duties is mentioned as the first of possible official claimants (line 13).

Perhaps more important than the question whether these people were eunuchs is the question whether they were the "property" of the person whose ^{LU}SAG they were. A position somewhat analogous to that of the mediaeval *ministriales* presents itself, but analogies never prove anything. It is unlikely that a person inflicts the status of eunuch upon himself. As it is certain that at the very least some ^{LU}SAG's were eunuchs, we can assume that the term ^{LU}SAG implies a kind of personal dependency on another person as the position of eunuch is a dependent one. When Assyrian kings started making use of this class of people for important administrative duties cannot be made out for the moment¹⁰⁰⁾.

For the moment, development of Assyrian royal policy can be perceived dimly only. High officials stop mentioning their ancestors, Assyrian expansion (or re-expansion: the Assyrians had not forgotten Middle Assyrian greatness) did not in itself always mean direct rule, at least not down to Aššurnāširpal II. After that there was perhaps a gradual erosion of the position of hereditary local rulers and "magnates", and a stressing of the personal relations existing between the king and his appointees: for Tiglath-pileser III, only the highest officials (cf. note 96) are not his ^{LU}SAG's. But when we notice that Adad-nirari III actually transferred the province of Hīdanu to Palil-ēriš,

⁹⁸⁾ KAH II 84, 134. This Ilu-napišta-ušur was probably *limu* in 893; STT 47 I 18 mentions for this year ^{PD}UTU-EN-PAB and eponymist C^a 2 has a name with the element LUGAL for this year, cf. Gurney *AnSt* III (1953) p. 16-17.

⁹⁹⁾ Dossin *IrAnt* 2 (1962) p. 162 + Tf XXX, cf. Schramm EAK II p. 117; cf. also the seal inscription reconstructed by Postgate CTN II p. 177 ad no. 171. The fact that Bêl-tarši-iluma had ^{LU}SAG's of his own, cf. Postgate CTN II p. 10 note 26 and NRGD no. 2, a royal confirmation and amplification of a grant by Bêl-tarši-iluma to a ^{LU}SAG of his own, is perhaps a strong argument against an obligatory translation "eunuch" unless one is prepared to argue that the (hypothetical) wife of an eunuch needed extra watching. A case of "adoption" by a ^{LU}SAG is ND 3423: D. J. Wiseman *Iraq* 15 p. 140, photo Iraq 17 Pl. 23 cf. K. H. Deller *OrNS* 35 p. 193, the girl is actually bought *a-na* DUMU.SAL-*ū-te-šu* "to have the status of daughter" of the buyer, probably to be married to one of his dependants. Even if one could reconstruct the family of a ^{LU}SAG, the question "eunuch" or not would remain undecided. Involved, and perhaps a sign of pressure groups within the bureaucracy is Delaporte CCL II, A 678 given by Birtaja ^{LU}SAG of Adad-nirari to Istar-durī ^{LU}SAG of Ninurta-ilaja, the *turtan*, *limmu* in 808, on account of the fact that he was a EN *kīr-ti-šû* "helper" of the giver (CAD K p. 498).

¹⁰⁰⁾ For Babylonia cf. Brinkman *AnOr* 43 p. 309-311.

we realize that this policy was not a linear one, but full of contradictions. The most important unknown factor is what occurred during the long reign of Shalmaneser III. It ended in a revolt that lasted into the reign of his successor: did the magnates really try to assert themselves again, as is suggested by their 8th century inscriptions?

Queens

Ever since Unger published his edition of the Saba'a stela, the question of Sammuramat's influence has had a certain fascination. Though Adad-nirari's phrase 11) ...*ina* MU 5 KAM ^{GIS}GU.ZA XX-ti GAL-iš 12) [*ū-š*]i-bu-ma must be translated "In the fifth year after I sat down majestically on the royal throne"¹⁰¹⁾, influence cannot be denied her. She is mentioned as a co-beneficiary in the inscription of Bêl-tarši-iluma¹⁰²⁾ with the title SAL.É.GAL¹⁰³⁾. Her own stela from Assur (no. 5), from the reign of Adad-nirari III calls her SAL.É.GAL of Šamši-Adad (V), mother of Adad-nirari and *kallat* of Shalmaneser (III). J. D. Hawkins¹⁰⁴⁾ quotes an unpublished stela in Maraş museum which mentions Sammuramat together with her son in an act of political importance. Whether she really acted as regent for her son is an unanswerable question, one is rather reminded of the role of Naqi'a, Esarhaddon's mother, and of later mothers of reigning monarchs in the Near East¹⁰⁵⁾. It is likely that this person, and not the actual wife (wives) of the king, is (are) meant in the Wine Lists. Perhaps we must regard the SAL.É.GAL as an "institution", as the post occurs in all well-preserved texts. Or must we attach special meaning to ND 6230, no 2's mentioning (date lost) (I 3) *a-na* É SAL.É.GAL instead of the usual SAL.É.GAL (without É) and regard that as a sign of vacancy?¹⁰⁶⁾ The wine provided was in this case of course meant for a separate "court", not for a "mess".

The royal family is one of the important Assyrian institutions about which we have hardly any information during the 9th and 8th century: one can only notice the revolt of Aššurdanninpal and Sammuramat's obvious influence.

Leiden, November 1980

G. VAN DRIEL

¹⁰¹⁾ Cf. Shalmaneser III III R 7-8 obv. 14.

¹⁰²⁾ I R 35 no. 2.

¹⁰³⁾ Cf. remarks CoA p. 117 on the reading of this title.

¹⁰⁴⁾ *AnSt* 29 (1979) p. 161.

¹⁰⁵⁾ The existence of Sammuramat's stela in Assur is in itself perhaps not of great importance: an important role has never been claimed for Assurbanipal's SAL.É.GAL of Assur Stela 1.

¹⁰⁶⁾ Cf. the damaged line ND 10031 (no. 14), obv. 9 (785). Parpola lists no. 2 among the texts of his Group II, but other texts of that group have (again?) the ordinary SAL.É.GAL, JSS 21 p. 170. Additional note:

A review article of *The Nimrud Wine Lists* by R. A. Henshaw appeared in JAOS 100 number 3, July-October 1980.

Zur Interpretation der ammonitischen Inschrift vom Tell Sīrān*)

Bei den Ausgrabungen auf dem Tell Sīrān in einem Außenbezirk der jordanischen Hauptstadt 'Ammān, fand Safe Haddad, ein Student der Universität von Jordanien in 'Ammān, eine bronzene Flasche, die, wie sich nach ihrer Reinigung herausstellte, eine ammonitische Inschrift trägt¹⁾. Über die Übersetzung und Deutung des 8 Zeilen langen, aus 92 Buchstaben bestehenden Textes ist bis jetzt noch kein Konsens erreicht. Der Text lautet:

- (1) *m'bd mnd mlk bn 'mn*
- (2) *bn hsl'l . mlk bn 'mn*
- (3) *bn mndb mlk bn 'mn*
- (4) *hkrm.wh.gnt.wh'thr*
- (5) *w'sht*
- (6) *ygl wyšmh*
- (7) *bymt rbm wšnt*
- (8) *rhqt*

Es sind vor allem drei Worte, die ein Verständnis dieses Textes erschweren: *m'bd* (1), *wh'thr* (4) und *w'sht* (5). Nach einer Besprechung dieser drei Worte möchte ich eine neue Übersetzung und Interpretation des Textes zur Diskussion stellen.

m'bd. Dieses Wort ist mit dem hebräischen *m'bd* (Hiob 34,25) und *m'sh* „Werk, Arbeit“ zu vergleichen. Fraglich ist, wie sich im vorliegenden Kontext der Sinn des Wortes präzisieren läßt und auf welches „Werk“ hier angespielt wird. Thompson und Zayadine²⁾ meinen, daß das Wort auf die Zeilen 4 und 5 zu beziehen sei, die sie als eine Beschreibung von durch Amminadab errichteten Bauten auffassen. Krahmalkov³⁾ zieht zur Deutung von *m'bd* Psalm 45,2 bei, wo *m'sh* in der Bedeutung von „(mein) Lied“ vorkommt, und übersetzt: „das Gedicht des Amminadab“. Dieses Gedicht soll dann die Zeilen 4-8 umfassen. Nach Loretz⁴⁾ meint *m'bd* die Bronzeflasche selbst. Shea⁵⁾ sieht im *m-* von *m'bd* kein nominales Präfix, sondern die Präposition *mn*. Zu Recht verweist er darauf, daß das Verbum *'bd* im Alten Testament in der Regel zur Umschreibung von landwirtschaftlichen Tätigkeiten gebraucht wird (z.B. Gen 2,15). In Dtn 28,39 bezieht es sich auf Weinanbau. Shea faßt *'bd* als ein Nomen auf und übersetzt: „(The wine in this vessel comes) from the cultivation of Amminadab“. Es ist jedoch wenig wahr-

scheinlich, daß dem Text, so wie er uns nun vorliegt, noch eine Zeile vorausging, und es legt sich deshalb nahe *m'bd* als Ganzes nominal zu verstehen. Im Hebräischen kann *m'sh* die Bedeutung „Früchte/Ertrag der Landwirtschaft“ haben⁶⁾. Diese Bedeutung muß m.E. auch für *m'bd* in der Tell Sīrān-Inschrift angenommen werden, und *m'bd* meint dann den Inhalt der Flasche. Die in ihr gefundenen Spuren von Korn stellen dann den Rest (eines Teiles) der Ernte der Felder von Ammon dar.

wh'thr. Bei ihrer Erstpublikation des Textes konnten Thompson und Zayadine zu keiner befriedigenden Lösung für dieses Wort gelangen⁷⁾, in dem sie ein Nomen aus dem landwirtschaftlichen Bereich vermuteten. Sowohl Krahmalkov⁸⁾ als auch Loretz⁹⁾ denken an eine Verbform: Gt oder Dt punktuales von *'hr*. Das *h-* am Anfang ist dann kein Artikel, sondern die auch aus dem Hebräischen bekannte Fragepartikel. Loretz übersetzt: „und ich soll zurückbleiben und verderben?“. Auch Shea¹⁰⁾ faßt *wh'thr* als eine Verbform auf, jedoch nicht von *'hr* abgeleitet, sondern als tD von *hrh*. Dies führt dann zur Übersetzung: „and shall I inflame myself (with it) ...?“. Problematisch könnte sich dabei das Fehlen des *-h* am Ende erweisen; doch ist das ammonitische Textkorpus noch zu schmal, um in dieser Frage ein endgültiges Urteil zu fällen. Immerhin ist aber in Zeile 1 der Zitadell-Inschrift *bnh* mit *mater lectionis* geschrieben¹¹⁾.

Gewichtiger dürfte die Frage sein, ob *wh'thr* tatsächlich eine Verbform darstellt. *'thr(h)* läßt sich mühelos als eine solche verstehen; die Aneinanderreihung des *w-* (kopulativ?) und der Fragepartikel ist mir jedoch aus den dem Ammonitischen verwandten Sprachen nicht bekannt und macht syntaktisch auch einen recht schwerfälligen Eindruck.

Deshalb dürfte es besser sein, *h'thr* nominal aufzufassen. Während in den nordwestsemitischen Sprachen keine Nomina belegt sind, die ein *-t*-Infix enthalten, gibt es solche, wenn auch nicht gerade viele, im Akkadischen. Es handelt sich dabei entweder um Adjektive vom Typ *pitras* oder um Verbaladjektive vom Typ *pitrus*, die vom im Akkadischen reziproken Gt-Stamm abgeleitet sind¹²⁾.

Aus dem Phönizischen lassen sich zwei und aus dem Moabitischen vier Beispiele für Verbformen im Gt oder Dt beibringen¹³⁾. Dabei fällt auf, daß sie anders als etwa im Akkadischen keine *reziproke*, sondern passive Bedeutung haben. Moabitisch *lhm* Gt/Dt entspricht idiomatisch hebräischem *lhm* N¹⁴⁾. Ammonitisches *'thr* ist in Analogie dazu als ein von *'hr* Gt/Dt abgeleitetes Verbaladjektiv mit passiver Bedeutung aufzufassen: „das, was zurückgehalten wird“. Im landwirtschaftlichen Kontext der Tell

⁶⁾ U.a. Ex 23:16; Dt 28:14 und Hag 2:17.

⁷⁾ *Berytus* 22, 131; *BASOR* 212, 10 und *BiAr* 37, 17 für andere Lesungsvorschläge. Auch F. Israel, *The language of the ammonites*, OLP, 10 (1979), 144 fasst das Wort nominal auf.

⁸⁾ *BASOR* 223, 56.

⁹⁾ *UF* 9, 170.

¹⁰⁾ *PEQ* 110, 109.

¹¹⁾ S. H. Horn, *The Amman citadel inscription*, *BASOR* 193 (1969), 8 und 10.

¹²⁾ Vgl. W. von Soden, *GAG*, par 56n.

¹³⁾ Phoen: KAI 1 (Achiram): 2 (2x): (*thtpk* und *thtsk*); Moab: KAI 181 (Meša): 11 (*w'lthm*), 15 (*w'lthm*), 19 (*bhlthmh*) und 32 (*hlthm*).

¹⁴⁾ So u.a. G. Friedrich-O. Röllig, *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik*, Rom 1970, par 150 und S. Segert, *Die Sprache der Moabitischen Königsinschrift*, *ArOr* 29 (1961), 242 = par 7.2.

*) Ich danke Herrn Prof. Dr. M. H. E. Weippert für seine Hinweise und Frau Dr. Helga Weippert für das Übersetzen dieses Artikels. Literatur zur Inschrift: F. Zayadine-H. O. Thompson, *The ammonite inscription from Tell Siran*, *Berytus* 22 (1973), 115-140; H. O. Thompson and F. Zayadine, *The Tell Siran Inscription*, *BASOR* 212 (1973), 1-11; F. M. Cross, *Notes on the ammonite inscription from Tell Siran*, *BASOR* 212 (1973), 12-15; K. R. Veenhof, *Een ammonitische inscriptie*, *Phoenix* 19 (1973/74), 299-301; H. O. Thompson and F. Zayadine, *The works of Amminadab*, *BiAr* 37 (1974), 13-19; H. O. Thompson, *Commentary on the Tell Siran inscription*, *AJBA* 2:3 (1974/75), 125-136; C. Krahmalkov, *An ammonite lyric poem*, *BASOR* 223 (1976), 55-57; O. Loretz, *Die ammonitische Inschrift von Tell Siran*, *UF* 9 (1978), 169-171; W. H. Shea, *The Siran Inscription: Amminadab's drinking song*, *PEQ* 110 (1978), 107-112.

¹⁾ Zu den Fundumstände siehe Zayadine-Thompson, *Berytus* 22, 115-118.

²⁾ *Berytus* 22, 129; *BASOR* 212, 9 und *BiAr* 37, 16.

³⁾ *BASOR* 223, 56. Zu Ps 45: 2 siehe H. J. Kraus, *Psalmen*, BK XV, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1972, 330f.

⁴⁾ *UF* 9, 170.

⁵⁾ *PEQ* 110, 108.

Sirān-Inscription führt das dann zu einem Verständnis als „Vorrat“.

w³šht. Thompson und Zayadine vergleichen diese Form mit šwh (Mesa-Inscription, KAI 181,9) und šyh (Sir 50,3, griech. lákkos) und übersetzen mit „Zisternen“¹⁵). Krahmalkov¹⁶), Loretz¹⁷) und Shea¹⁸) fassen es als ein N-Impf. von šht auf. Meiner Meinung nach haben wir es hier mit einem G-Impf. zu tun, und zwar mit einer wāyiqtol-Form mit modalem Aspekt¹⁹). Das waw-kopulativum hat auflösende Funktion, womit die Aufzählung der Nomina aufgenommen wird.

Diese Überlegungen führen zu folgender Übersetzung:

- (1) Ernteertrag des Amminadab, des Königs der Ammoniter,
- (2) des Sohnes des Hišsal'el, des Königs der Ammoniter,
- (3) des Sohnes des Amminadab, des Königs der Ammoniter.
- (4) Den Weinberg, den Garten/(die Gärten)²⁰) und den Vorrat:
- (5) soll ich (diese) vernichten?
- (6) Laß ihn Freude und Fröhlichkeit verbreiten²¹)
- (7) während vieler Tage und in
- (8) fernen (7) Jahren.

Die Flasche, auf der diese Inschrift steht, hat offenbar verschiedene Kornsorten enthalten, und das erlaubt, sie in einen Zusammenhang mit einem Erntefest zu stellen. Die Flasche dürfte Erstlinge der Ernte enthalten haben und die Zeilen 6-8 wünschen dem König ein langes Leben²²). Die Erstlinge werden einer lokalen Gottheit dargebracht worden sein, auch wenn es auffällig ist, daß diese Gottheit nicht namentlich genannt wird.

Zwar weist Shea zu Recht darauf hin, daß Amminadab nicht das Subjekt zu den beiden Verben in Zeile 6 darstellen könne; doch zu Unrecht nimmt er an, daß „the wine ... in this vessel“ das Subjekt sei²³). Die Flasche enthielt keinen Wein!

Subjekt zu ygl und ysmh dürfte ein nicht mit Namen genannter ammonitischer Fruchtbarkeitsgott sein. Von diesem Gott erhofft man sich auch in den kommenden Jahren vor allem eine gute Ernte, Freude und Glück. Deshalb dürfte Amminadab „den Weinberg, den Garten (die Gärten) und den Vorrat“ nicht vernichten.

Bei diesem Gott wird es sich um den ammonitischen Nationalgott Milkom handeln²⁴). Vielleicht hätte die Kupferrolle dies bestätigen können, die nach den Angaben

von Thompson in der Flasche steckte, die aber vom Rost leider völlig zersetzt wurde²⁵).

Broek in Waterland,
juli 1980

B. E. J. H. BECKING

BOEKBESPREKINGEN

ALGEMEEN

Horst KLENGEL, *Handel und Händler im alten Orient*, Vienna, Hermann Böhlau Nachf., 1979 (25 cm., 248 pp.), Price: Ös 298.-. ISBN 3 205 00 533 3.

Horst Klengel has already established himself as an able synthesizer and disseminator of Ancient Near Eastern history with his *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v. u. Z.* (3 vols., 1965-1970). Now, shifting from a geographic to a thematic focus, he offers us a broad overview of trade and traders throughout the Ancient Near East, complete with 36 photographic plates (4 of them in color and all amply explained in the accompanying captions), 14 line drawings, 7 maps, notes, bibliography, chronological chart and indices of names and topics.

The book is not part of a series and so it is not immediately obvious to whom it is addressed, a point also neglected in the introduction (pp. 7-22). But it can obviously be read with profit both by the educated layman and by the specialist in other aspects of economic history or the Ancient Near East who seeks an authoritative introduction to the specific theme at hand.

There is also no clear adherence to any one school of interpretation, or any one underlying or overriding theory of international trade. Given the extensive chronological and geographical coverage of the volume, this is an understandable and even welcome instance of scholarly restraint. To have attempted to force so much data into a single mold would only have courted distortion.

Nevertheless one wonders whether some portions of the panorama might not exhibit common traits which, once identified, might help illuminate features inadequately documented in any one of its manifestations. Leaving out of account such areas as Egypt and the Mediterranean, and such periods as the Late Bronze and Iron Ages, one can perhaps isolate certain resemblances among major trading centers separated by lesser, but still considerable, distances of time and space.

Specifically, one may compare the basic economies of Syria in the 25th century, Babylonia in the 21st and Assyria and Anatolia in the 19th by means of the archives of pre-Sargonic Ebla, neo-Sumerian Ur and Old Assyrian Kanesh respectively. Klengel deals with all three, Ebla on pp. 62-64, Ur on pp. 44f. and 70-72, and Kanesh at

²⁵) *AJBA* 2:3, 133. Ausser verschiedenen Kornsorten fanden sich auch Kupferblei und Zinnspuren, die sich doch derart mit dem Korn vermischt hatten, dass sie nicht mehr näherbestimmt werden konnten.

length on pp. 106-129. What he fails to note is that trade is not so much the cause as the consequence of the prosperity documented for each of these centers during the better part of a century.

It may be submitted, *ex hypothesi*, that in each of these three cases, a fundamental combination of agricultural surplus and professional specialization created the necessary and sufficient conditions for the development of a manufacturing economy based respectively on textiles and metals. These in turn were added to agricultural staples to provide a steady stream of export commodities exchangeable for light but expensive imports (usually, that is, luxury items) or, failing that, for gold and silver.

The archives of Ebla have already revealed the enormous quantities of livestock raised in and/or imported into the city, mostly, it can be confidently assumed, for the sake of their wool, dung and other replaceable assets rather than for their meat, hides, horns and other one-time benefits; they have also given clear evidence of the overriding importance of textiles and metallurgical manufactures in the local economy; and finally they have demonstrated staggering "imports" of precious metals as means of redressing the "balance of payments" in favor of Ebla; see now G. Pettinato, "Il commercio internazionale di Ebla: economia statale e privata", in E. Lipiński, ed., *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East* (= *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 5-6, 1979) 171-233. The textile and metal industries under the Third Dynasty of Ur are well attested; see most recently W. W. Hallo, "Obiter dicta ad SET", in M. A. Powell, Jr. and R. H. Sack, eds., *Studies in Honor of Tom B. Jones* (= *AOAT* 203, 1979) 1-14. As for the characteristic combination of tin and cloth which formed the basic staple of the Assyrian export trade to Anatolia, this is clearly a reflection of the crucial importance of tin in the Bronze Age economy; see especially James D. Muhly, *Supplement to Copper and Tin* (= *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 46: 77-136, 1976). For the role of dung in Old Babylonian agriculture see now Kilian Butz, "Ur in altbabylonischer Zeit als Wirtschaftsfaktor", in Lipiński, *op. cit.*, 305-317; among the marsh Arabs of modern Iraq: Gavin Maxwell, *A Reed Shaken by the Wind*, (1957).

This is just one of the many questions stimulated by Klengel's book. Another is the intimate relationship between the trader and silver, as exemplified by Sumerian Proverbs 1. 165 cited by Klengel p. 59 (and note 55) and previously by Powell, *RAI* 23 (= *Iraq* 39) 25, Kramer (*ibid.* 64), and Curtis and Hallo (*HUCA* 30, 1959, 103). (Cf. now also Sigrist, *RA* 73, 1979, 96 for the use of *tur* in the sense of diminish, but note that Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs* p. 513 had abandoned that reading here). One misses some recent studies on traders in general (see the references in Snell, *RAI* 23:45 n. 1) but welcomes, all the more, several detailed surveys of individual careers such as those of Ea-nāšir of Old Babylonian Ur (pp. 56-61), Enlil-bāni of Old Assyrian Kanesh (pp. 114-121), Sinaranu of Ugarit (pp. 140-142), Ken-Amun of Thebes in the 18th Dynasty (pp. 171-173) and Wen-Amun of Thebes in the 20th (pp. 187-195).

Yale University, January 1981

WILLIAM W. HALLO

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Alberto R. W. GREEN, *The Role of Human Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*. Missoula Montana, Scholars Press, 1975 (21 cm, xvi + 383 pp.) = American Schools of Oriental Research Dissertation Series 1. ISBN 0 89130 0694. Price: \$ 9.00 hardback, \$ 6.00 paper.

Ce livre, comme il est indiqué dans la Préface, est issu d'une thèse de Doctorat soutenue en 1972 à l'Université de Michigan, mais qui a été remaniée pour la publication. L'auteur dans son Introduction annonce que son projet a englobé toutes les civilisations du Croissant Fertile et de l'Indus, aux âges du Bronze et du Fer, ce qui est à la fois ambitieux et flou. Le chapitre I est consacré à la définition de la notion de sacrifice, d'après E.B. Tylor, W. Robertson Smith, Sir James Frazer, Henri Hubert et Marcel Mauss, Edward Westermarck, Alfred Loisy et enfin Freud et R. Money-Kyrle. Le chapitre II est une digression sur les rapports entre le mythe et le rituel. La Mésopotamie fait l'objet des chapitres III à VI, puis viennent la vallée de l'Indus (ch. VII), l'Égypte (ch. VIII), la Palestine et la Syrie à la lumière de l'Ancien Testament (ch. IX). Le chapitre X rassemble les connaissances acquises dans les chapitres précédents, suivi d'un bref sommaire et de conclusions. Près de la moitié du volume (pp. 205-359) consiste en notes abondantes groupées par chapitres à la fin du livre.

Peu de sujets sont aussi difficiles à traiter que celui des sacrifices humains dans le Proche Orient ancien, car il nécessite une maîtrise du domaine archéologique autant que des textes anciens. La bibliographie citée par M. Green montre qu'il a fourni un gros travail de compilation, il est seulement étrange que son choix se soit surtout porté sur des ouvrages anciens et souvent périmés, d'où la faiblesse de ses déductions. Le cadre chronologique n'est pas défini avec rigueur; le lecteur est conduit du II^e au III^e millénaire, voire le IV^e millénaire avant notre ère, puis au I^{er} millénaire. Le chapitre III qui traite des exécutions rituelles sur les cylindres mésopotamiens commence par les représentations de la I^{re} dynastie de Babylone, continue par celles du Dynastie Archaïque et de l'époque d'Akkad et passe aux «cylindres cappadociens». Il semble que l'auteur ait délibérément ignoré les travaux sur la glyptique postérieurs à 1940, avec une exception pour la collection Pierpont-Morgan d'Edith Porada (1948) et il nous dit (p. 28) que les travaux de Menant (1878, 1887) sont encore parmi les meilleurs dans ce domaine... Cette utilisation des ouvrages très anciens entraîne des interprétations périmées et l'emploi de termes abandonnés depuis le début du siècle, par exemple Shirpurla (p. 239, n. 19). Ur-Nanshe est cité comme un site, après Nippur et Lagash (n. 36, p. 242). Aucun ouvrage d'André Parrot n'est cité, sauf 4 volumes des Archives de Mari. Le volume d'H. Frankfort sur la sculpture de la Diyala est intitulé «Sepulchre of the Third Millennium B.C. from Tell Asmar and Khafajah» (p. 238 et 366). Pour la Palestine, aucun ouvrage de K. Kenyon ne figure dans la bibliographie et bien que l'importante étude de R. de Vaux, *Studies in Old Testament Sacrifice*, Cardiff 1964, y soit mentionnée, l'auteur en a très peu tenu compte dans son chapitre IX et il reprend les allégations de Frazer. De même il se base sur les constatations faites par Macalister à Gezer au début du siècle, tout en reconnaissant que l'ouvrage est trop ancien (p. 154).

¹⁵) *Berytus* 22, 131f; *BASOR* 212, 10 und *B; IAR* 37, 17. Siehe auch F. Israel, *OLP* 10, 145.

¹⁶) *BASOR* 223, 57.

¹⁷) *UF* 9, 171.

¹⁸) *PEQ* 110, 109.

¹⁹) Vgl. P. Joüon, *Grammaire de l'hebreu biblique*, Roma 1923, par 113,1-o bes. n.

²⁰) *Gnt* kann sowohl Sing. als auch Plur. sein; vgl. Thompson-Zayadine *Berytus* 22, 130.136 und *BASOR* 212, 10.

²¹) *Ygl* und *ysmh* haben kausative Bedeutung, so auch Shea, *PEQ* 110, 110-111.

²²) Siehe u.a. Thompson-Zayadine, *Berytus* 22, 138-140.

²³) *PEQ* 110, 110. Die Analyse des Flascheninhaltes erbrachte keine Weinreste.

²⁴) Im Alten Testament: *milkom* (u.a. 1Kön 11:5.33); Ugaritisch: *mlkm* (in KTU 1.29 = CTA 29); Ammonitisch: Zitadell-Inscription (S. H. Horn, *BASOR* 193, 8): 1 ..m|lkm und auf Siegel u.a. CIS II, 94 (vgl. F. M. Cross, Heshbon Ostrakon II, *AUSS* 11 (1973), 127^o) *lmk'l* (?) *bd mlkm*.

On ne peut que regretter qu'un aussi grand effort ait manqué son but par manque d'esprit critique et de connaissance de base.

Paris, octobre 1980

AGNÈS SPYCKET

KORTE AANKONDIGINGEN

XIX DEUTSCHER ORIENTALISTENTAG vom 28. September bis 4. Oktober 1975 in Freiburg im Breisgau. Vorträge, herausgegeben von Wolfgang VOIGT. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977 (23 cm, Band 1: c + 761 S., 42 Tafeln, Band 2: xii + S. 763-1685) = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Supplement III/1-2).

Diese beiden Bände mit fortlaufender Seitennumerierung (insgesamt 1685 Seiten) enthalten die Vorträge eines Kongresses. Die meisten Referate sind vollständig abgedruckt, einige werden nur im Resümee wiedergegeben.

Die Sektionen waren Ägyptologie (S. 1-46), Keilschriftforschung (S. 47-116), Altes Testament und Judaistik (S. 117-177), Christlicher Orient und Byzanz (S. 179-293), Islamischer Orient (S. 295-648), Semitistik (S. 649-761), Indologie (S. 763-1036), Iranistik (S. 1037-1092), Turkologie, Mongolistik, Zentralasien (S. 1093-1260), Sinologie und Japanologie (S. 1261-1376), Afrikanistik, Indonesische und Südseesprachen (S. 1377-1543), Kunst und Archäologie des Orients (S. 1545-1685; vgl. auch S. LXXXIII-C).

* *

ERLANGER ORTSNAMEN-KOLLOQUIUM. Ortsnamen als Ausdruck von Kultur und Herrschaft. Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag 1980 = Beiträge zur Namensforschung, Neue Folge, Beiheft 18. 187 Seiten, 4 Karten.

Dieser Band enthält die Vorträge eines im Juli 1977 im Zentralinstitut für Fränkische Landeskunde und Allgemeine Regionalforschung gehaltenen Kolloquiums. Die Leser von Bibliotheca Orientalis werden interessiert sein an den ersten drei Beiträgen: K. Hecker, „Altorientalische Ortsnamen und ihre siedlungsgeschichtliche Bedeutung“ (S. 11-17); G. Klingenschmitt, „Die iranischen Ortsnamen“ (S. 19-25); W. Fischer, „Der Beitrag der Araber zur Ortsnamengebung im Vorderen Orient“ (S. 27-31).

EGYPTOLOGIE

EGITTO E VICINO ORIENTE, Rivista della sezione orientalistica dell'Istituto di Storia Antica, Università degli Studi di Pisa, Vol. I, Pisa, Giardini Editori e Stampatori, 1979 (29 cm, 220 S.).

Die Schriftleitung dieser neuen Zeitschrift, abgekürzt EVO, liegt in den Händen unserer temperamentvollen und liebenswerten Kollegin E. Bresciani, die gemeinsam mit ihrer Ägyptologen-Crew die Hälfte der Beiträge des

1. Bandes beige-steuert hat. Die ägyptologischen Beiträge seien hier in aller Kürze vorgestellt.

E. Bresciani, „L'attività archeologica in Egitto dell'Università di Pisa: Saqqara 1974-1977“ (S. 1-40): Die Aktivitäten der Pisaner Ägyptologen unter Leitung von E.B. gelten dem Saqqara der Spätzeit; der Bericht bezieht sich auf die Arbeit an drei Gräbern, darunter das des *B3k-n-rn=f* (Bocchoris), des Veziers des Psammetich I. Speziell mit diesem Grab befaßt sich der Beitrag von S. El-Naggar, „Étude préliminaire du plan du tombeau de Bocchoris à Saqqara“ (S. 41-59). E. Bresciani-S. Pernigotti-M. C. Betrò, „Ostraka demotici da Ossirinco“ (S. 61-84) setzen die Arbeit an der umfangreichen Sammlung der Pisaner Ostraka fort, die zuvor in zahlreichen Bänden der „Studi classici e orientali“ publiziert worden waren. M. C. Betrò, „Ricerche su un tipo di terreno nei documenti demotici“ (S. 85-94) untersucht den demotischen terminus *wrh* „unbebautes Land“ und die griechische Übersetzung *ψιλὸς τόπος*. Sie kommt zu dem Ergebnis, daß seit dem 2. Jh. v.C. *wrh* auch kultivierbares und sogar (wieder) kultiviertes Land bezeichnet. E. Bresciani-E. Bedini-L. Paolini-F. Silvano, „Una rilettura dei Pap. dem. Bologna 3173 e 3171“ (S. 95-104) legen die Ergebnisse gemeinsamer Arbeit an den von G. Botti 1941 publizierten Traumpapyri des Serapeums vor. M. C. Guidotti, „A proposito dei vasi con decorazione hathorica“ (S. 105-118) befaßt sich mit Gefäßen, die als Bemalung oder in Relief das Gesicht der Hathor zeigen. Sie stammen, soweit bekannt, von der thebanischen Westseite. G. stellt sie in den Zusammenhang mit dem Kult der Hathor. S. Pernigotti, „A proposito del cono funerario Corpus n. 488“ (S. 119-123) weist nach, daß der Besitzer nicht Amenhotep, sondern Kenamun heißt und der Zeit zwischen der 23. und 25. Dynastie angehört.

Die folgenden Beiträge repräsentieren die verschiedenen Disziplinen der Orientalistik, Semitistik etc. Infolge mangelnder Sachkunde des Rez. sind sie nur summarisch aufgeführt. St. Mazzoni, „Alcune impronte di sigilli su documenti neosumerici di Umma e Drehim“ (S. 125-137); S. F. Bondi, „Note di economia fenicia — I. Impresa privata e ruolo dello Stato“ (S. 139-149): Auch Wenamuns Expedition findet die gebührende Erwähnung. A. Vivian, „Rotoli liturgici e manoscritti ebraici della biblioteca del seminario di Ljubljana“ (S. 151-160); P. Marrassini, „Considerazioni sulle sibilanti semitiche: il caso della *šin*“ (S. 161-177); A. Avanzini, „Le iscrizioni dedicatorie sabee“ (S. 179-185); C. Saporetti, „Ricerche di Assiriologia a Pisa con l'aiuto del calcolatore elettronico“ (S. 187-195); D. Amaldi, „Ibrahim Aql“ di Nagib Mahfuz“ (S. 197-205); G. Calasso, „Osservazioni in margine alla discussione sull'autenticità delle tradizioni islamiche“ (S. 207-218).

Wie man der Aufzählung entnehmen kann, ist der Bogen der neuen Zeitschrift weit gespannt. Mancherorts dürfte es zu Diskussionen darüber kommen, welches Institut sich die Anschaffung angelegen sein lassen sollte, denn nicht überall sind die Ägyptologen und Orientalisten unter einem Dach vereint. Für die ägyptologischen Institute dürfte es keine Frage sein, diese Zeitschrift anzuschaffen; für unsere Wissenschaft ist die Anschaffung obligatorisch.

E. Bresciani und ihren Mitarbeitern sei herzlich gratuliert und viel Erfolg bei den weiteren Bänden gewünscht!

Köln, Januar 1981

HEINZ-JOSEF THISEN

K. A. KITCHEN, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* II 21-24; III 6-13. Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, 1979-80 (8vo, jedes Heft 32 p.). Preis: à 2.00 pro Heft.

Die hier vorzulegenden Hefte enthalten Denkmäler der kgl. Familie und der Privatpersonen aus der Zeit Ramses' II. Sie sind eine vorzügliche Sammlung von Texten besonders für die Aufstellung von Familienzusammenhängen, da versucht worden ist, aus weit auseinanderliegenden Sammlungen die einzelnen Stücke für bestimmte Personen zusammenzusuchen und zusammenzustellen. Dabei sind auch bisher unpublizierte Gräber aus Theben-West mit aufgenommen worden, natürlich zusätzlich zu schon publizierten. In vorliegenden Heften sind es die TT-Nr. 14. 16. 19. 25. 26. 31. 32. 35. 41. 45. 51. 58. 133. 137. 138. 157. 168. 170. 178. 183. 184. 203. 257. 263. 341. 373. 374. 382. 384. 385. 387. 409.

Im einzelnen werden behandelt: II Heft 21-23: Königsmutter Mutuja (Nr. 289-299); Königinnen Nofretari (Nr. 300-309), Isetnofret (Nr. 310-316), Henutre (Nr. 317), Maat-Hor-nefru-Re (Nr. 318).

Nr. 319-325 folgen die Prinzenlisten in aufgeschlüsselter Form, Nr. 326-352 Denkmäler von Prinzen, darunter Chaemwese; Nr. 353-380 Denkmäler von Untergebenen der Prinzen. Nr. 381-385 sind die Prinzessinnenlisten, dazu Nr. 386-7 zwei Ostraka mit Prinzessinnen-Namen. Nr. 388-396 folgen Denkmäler einzelner Prinzessinnen. Nr. 397-403 sind kleine Nachträge zu Ramses II. Heft 24 enthält Vorwort, Inhaltsverzeichnis und Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Band II.

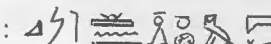
Die Hefte III 6-13 enthalten die Denkmäler der thebanischen Bürgermeister der Zeit Ramses' II. (Nr. 98-100), der memphitischen Bürgermeister (101-102), der Oberdomänenverwalter des Königs und des Ramesseums (Nr. 103-113). Es folgen die Monumente der Truchsesse und Höflinge (Nr. 114-115), der Sekretäre und Verwaltungsbeamten (Nr. 116-124), von Dienern (Nr. 125-130). Die Denkmäler des Heeres sind aufgeschlüsselt nach Generälen (Nr. 131), kgl. Gesandten und Militärgouverneuren (Nr. 132), Angehörige der Streitwagentruppe (Nr. 133-134) und Standartenträgern und niederen Rängen (Nr. 133-138). Es folgt die Polizei (Nr. 139-143) und Bauleiter etc. (Nr. 144-145).

Die Tempelangehörigen werden von den Hohenpriestern des Amun von Karnak angeführt (Nr. 146-8) und den sonstigen Angehörigen dieses Tempels (Nr. 149-160). Es folgen westthebanische Priester (Nr. 161-186), darunter die zahlreichen Angehörigen des Ramesseums; dann werden die memphitischen Hohenpriester des Ptah aufgeführt (Nr. 187-189) mit dem Beginn der Aufstellung der sonstigen Angehörigen der memphitischen Priesterschaft (Nr. 190). Sehr nützlich sind die zahlreichen Querverweise, die dort gebracht werden, wo eine Person bereits auf einem anderen Denkmal genannt worden ist. Man bekommt damit schnell eine umfassende Liste der Denkmäler, die für eine bestimmte Person wichtig sind.

Rez. hat versucht, so weit es ihm möglich war, die Texte gegen Photographien, eigene Abschriften oder bereits vorliegende Publikationen zu vergleichen, das Ergebnis war (wieder) an Zahl klein und an Bedeutung minimal, was Versehen angeht.

Voraus ein Druckfehler: Im Inhaltsverzeichnis III 6 muß es bei Nr. 100 heißen „Tomb 385“ (statt 183).


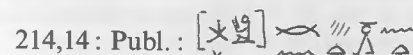
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876,6 muß es heißen:  (nach Photo)

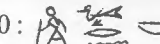
882,6  (nach Photo)

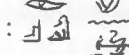
884,13  (so Gomaà, Chaemwese, Abb. 20).

Zu Heft III:

170,9:  214,14: Publ.: 

188,13:  228,12: Publ.:  statt 

243,10: 

276,7: 

Hamburg, Januar 1981

W. HELCK

* *

J. F. BORGHOUTS, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*. Leiden, Brill, 1978 (19 cm, xii + 125 pp.) = Religious Texts Translation Series NISABA vol. 9. ISBN 90 04 058486. Price: Hfl. 28.-.

The author's name is familiar to specialists of Egyptian religion, especially through his admirable edition of the magical papyrus I 348 in Leiden (OMRO 51, 1971) which has enriched our knowledge in this domain to a significant extent.

The present book seems to be intended for Egyptologists and the general public alike. This latter purpose of the work accounts for the slightly odd quality of the notes, which will appear to the specialists rather ineffectual since, from a scholarly point of view, they do not often go beyond explaining the obvious, while they will be felt by the layman as containing information insufficient to understand these generally obscure and difficult texts. Indeed, it is questionable whether the reader without extensive preliminary studies will be attracted by this form of presentation as a whole. The method adopted by G. Roeder (*Der Ausklang der ägyptischen Religion mit Reformation, Zauberei und Jenseitsglauben*. Die ägyptische Religion in Text und Bild IV, Zürich, Stuttgart 1961) seems, at any rate, preferable. The otherwise highly welcome motive of keeping the price low does not justify an extreme limitation of space at the expense of clarity.

The selection includes mostly texts of "everyday magic", first of all of protective character, supposed to drive away evil beings, dangerous animals and to ward off harmful influences. Demotic and Coptic magic is deliberately omitted. The bulk of the texts was written on papyri, but an extensive use is made by the author also of the cippi of Horus, the Metternich Stela and magical healing statues.

Those who have done work with Egyptian magical texts, are well aware of the limitations of our knowledge. Dr. Borghouts has taken up an enormous and arduous task, and carried it out, as far as it was possible, successfully. While the rendering of a number of passages remains tentative, the translations are, for the most part, accurate.

It would be out of place to list here all the passages where a different interpretation could be proposed, some points do call for comment.

p. 2 (no. 5). Here, one would expect a note mentioning that the wooden tablet (Berlin 23308, S. Schott, *ZAS* 67, 1931, 106ff) bears the figures of seven udjat-eyes in the last line.

p. 6 (no. 9) A brilliant article of G. Posener (Sur l'emploi euphémique de hftj(w) "ennemi(s)", *ZAS* 96, 1969, 30ff) which offers a clue to the interpretation of a number of texts must have escaped the attention of the author. The first three lines on this page should be reconsidered accordingly.

p. 24f (no. 34-36). The theme of burns in magical texts was treated by L. Koenen (Der brennende Horosknabe, *CdE* XXXVII, no. 73, 1962, 167ff).

p. 30 (no. 41). While working on an edition of the magical papyrus in Budapest (Inv. no. 51. 1961) I also considered translating m3.t.t n.t sw.t as "stalk of reed" (*Acta Antiqua Hung.* 19, 1971, 164, note v). Since in the majority of its occurrences the word is written clearly as m3.t.t (not m3.t — "stalk"), the evidence is against such a simplification of the problem. I would prefer to give the word only in transliteration.

p. 90 (no. 134). The passage in Pap. Brit. Mus. 10042 about the building of a shrine has a remarkable parallel in an unpublished magical papyrus in Budapest (cf. GM 11, 1974, 29ff). In the latter text it is the god from Ugarit, Kotar, who is charged with the construction of the shrine.

The translations and notes are followed by indexes falling into five sections (Gods and sacred elements, denominations of demons, ailments with demoniac connotation (selection), the terminology for "spell" and similar (mainly in headings), other specific magical terms (selection).

The reviewer is certainly not alone in his wish to read this book, already a useful aid in its present form to Egyptologists, in an enlarged and revised second edition.

Budapest, November 1980

L. KÁKOSY

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Karol MYSLIWIEC, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, Band II. Hildesheim, Gerstenberg Verlag, 1979 (1 vol. in-8°, 317 pages, XVII planches) = Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 8. Prix 45.- DM. ISBN 3-8067-8040-4.

Le second volume de cette monographie consacrée au dieu Atoum et qui traite des noms, épithètes et iconographie, s'avère aussi décevant que le premier (Cf. *BiOr* 37 (1980), 143-147). On y retrouve en effet les mêmes erreurs de méthode et la reprise des interprétations fausses ou hasardeuses du premier volume, reposant le plus souvent sur la lecture plus que fantaisiste des textes ptolémaïques (Par exemple, p. 52, 56-57, 65, 118, etc). En la matière, et pour ne s'en tenir qu'aux seuls arguments d'ordre graphique et philologique, ce second volume rassemble la plus magistrale somme d'inepties jamais rencontrée par nous en Égyptologie. Il est pour nous impensable que

ce livre ait été imprimé tel quel et qu'il puisse figurer, dans les bibliothèques égyptologiques, à côté d'ouvrages sérieux.


Chaque page ou presque appelle rectification, les conclusions sont vicieuses ou inexistantes et le seul intérêt de la lecture est celui de la critique, car il est inacceptable de voir maltraiter ainsi les précieux textes d'Edfou ou Dendara et massacrer ceux d'Esna, sans même respecter les règles pour la citation pourtant clairement exposées par le très regretté S. Sauneron.

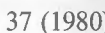
Ch. I Noms et Graphies (p. 5-83)

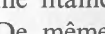
D'emblée, il apparaît que les signes autographiés manquent d'exactitude dès qu'ils sont empruntés aux textes ptolémaïques et romains, de sorte que le pourcentage de confiance qui doit être accordé aux listes dressées est des plus faible. Par exemple: p. 13 et 18, le déterminatif de *D. II,9* (XLIII,5) et *E. V,322* (5) est à tête humaine surmontée du disque solaire et non à tête de lion (!); p. 14, *E. VI,295* (4), le personnage a la double-couronne et non la rouge, apanage de Geb; de même p. 28, où, d'ailleurs, la référence est à *D. II,54* (1) et non à la seule planche CIV.



Il y a beaucoup plus grave. P. 16, le texte d'*Esna III*, n° 196 (4) = p. 6 (1) n'a rien à voir dans le passage cité avec une graphie du nom d'Atoum. Le texte hymnique dit: «Louange, bis, ô père des pères, dieu complet dans son corps (*ntr tm m h' w.f*) que l'on nomme Atoum (*dd.tw n.f 'Itm*). La seule graphie à retenir est celle du dernier mot!

P. 40, *E. I,561* (13,10°) fournit une épithète de Shou qui «saisit Maât *3m m3't*», qui prend possession de Maât (*it*y

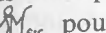
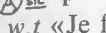
m m3't) pour son père» dans laquelle le groupe  *it(y) m m3't* ne concerne nullement Atoum.

P. 42, sans revenir sur ce qui a déjà été dit (*BiOr* 37 (1980) 146) sur le signe , il faut absolument réfuter l'utilisation, qui est faite par l'A. dans cette page, du texte de *D. II,10* (LVII) qui ne peut être lu qu'au regard du contexte et des parallèles (*E. I,193,5*; *Pétosiris* n° 114,8) *m rdw pr m 'Itm*, la copie Chassinat omettant le groupe *rdw pr*. Il n'y a là aucune mention de *T3-n-'Itm* = Dendara et ↑ n'a nullement la valeur *n* avancée.

P. 48 et 54, *Esna III*, n° 216 (17, verset 81) ne permet aucunement une lecture *Tmt*. Le scarabée vaut *n* (Sauneron, *Esna I*, 51) comme au verset 67 de la même litanie et  a sa valeur normale *t* venant de *tm3t*. De même au n° 216 (3, verset 13), le cobra vaut *n* (Sauneron, *ibid.*) et le scarabée *t*, normalement. Partout, on a le nom de Neith!

P. 51-52, les contre-vérités s'accumulent pour justifier d'inexistantes graphies du nom d'Atoum déterminées par le serpent. Ainsi, *E. I,332* (4) concerne les «anguilles» d'Atoum, reliques de Pithom; *E. III,296* parle de Temet et non d'Atoum et il est incohérent de faire intervenir Temet à cette place. Encore, *Esna II,133* = n° 58 (1) est mal lu, s'agissant d'une simple mention de Neith  +  = *Nt*; de même *Esna III,52* = n° 216 (3, verset 13), déjà signalé. En *Esna III,92* = n° 233 (16, verset 7) c'est l'épithète connue de Menhyt *nbt tm* «dame de l'univers» qui apparaît. En *Esna II,120* = n° 54 (12), le cobra dressé de l'épithète *nb nty.w* «seigneur de ce qui existe» doit être lu *nb*, ce qui exclut toute appartenance au nom

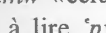
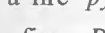
d'Atoum. D'autant moins que l'A. n'a pas compris la note b) de Sauneron sur l'écriture à rebours du nom du disque «Aton». Le passage est en effet à lire *mswt n itm*, *nb nty.w*. Dans la graphie *itm*, la barque vaut *i*, le scarabée *t* puis *n* et déterminatif du disque. Tout le bel échafaudage de la p. 48 s'effondre lamentablement sans qu'il soit besoin de le pousser.



P. 55, *Esna II,95* = n° 41 (8) traduit «Atum gibt dir die Erde» est un non-sens. S'agissant des paroles de Khnoum à la première personne (suffixe *i*, trait vertical puis dieu assis criocéphale), la seule lecture acceptable est *di.i rwd* ( pour  et var., *Wb. II,410* et 462) *n.k t3 m rnp.w.t* «Je fais que la terre soit riche pour toi en plantes nouvelles».

P. 57-58, *E. III,293* (6) et 308 (17) ne peuvent valoir que *nb tm*. Quant aux graphies, incontrôlables sans photographies, d'*E. I* et *II* mentionnées, une élémentaire prudence aurait dû les écarter en note comme douteuses.

P. 60-61; 118, les noms de génies comportant une préformante *tm*, adjectif négatif, relevés au ch. 125 du *LdM* (*tm-ib*, sarc. Caire 29307, *tm-r3*, Caire Jd'E 51945) n'ont aucun rapport avec Atoum. Un simple coup d'œil dans Ch. Maystre, *Déclarations d'Innocence* (IFAO Rech. 8, 1937), p. 35 montre qu'ils interchangent avec *Tm-sp* (Cf. *BiOr* 37 (1980), 144, § IX).

P. 64 Lire *Atoum* le nom de Chesmou (*Šsmw*) du ch. 153 du *LdM*, P. Barguet, *LdM*, p. 220; E. Hornung, *Totenbuch*, p. 325 est un défi à l'honnêteté!

P. 66-67, tous les exemples cités sont controuvés car coupés de leur contexte; celui-ci indique que le mot est *tmw* «humanité», *Wb. V,305*; la citation d'*ASAE* 2,138 est criante en ce sens puisqu'elle définit Harakhtès comme *ir tmw* «celui qui crée l'humanité». *E. I*, 41 (7), en outre, est à lire *'py wr n kdm* ( + ) «grand disque ailé

d'or fin»; *D.*, pl. CXXXIV, en fait *D. II,152* (7) très clair dans l'édition Chassinat, n'est absolument pas en lacune et donne sans ambiguïté  , terme faisant partie de la titulature de Sokaris «roi des ancêtres-djertyou et de l'humanité (*tmty.w*)»; en *D. V,93* (IX,9), on a simplement la périphrase banale *tm h'w* «complet de corps» attribuée à Osiris-Onnophris, évidente en *D. V*, 94 (3).

P. 69-71, c'est un comble d'oser ainsi reprendre une partie des données de l'*Hathor Quadrifrons* de Ph. Derchain pour y introduire une succession d'erreurs. Car, dans la liste des p. 70-71, soi-disant complémentaire, il faut impitoyablement éliminer *Esna II,133*; 144; 214; 220 qui sont des graphies de *Nt* / Neith; *Esna III,52* à 54 et 92; 144 (N° 255, *mwt* ou *tm3t*); 214 (n° 300,3 *mwt.k*, *Esna V,195*); 220 (n° 305,18 *mwt wr.t*, *Esna V,202* «grande génitrice»); 315 (n° 359,40 variante de *nb tm*); *E. V,122* (8) *mwt*.

De la sorte, la synthèse sur les graphies (p. 72-77) n'apporte rien en dehors d'élucubrations gratuites sur l'évolution graphique des signes à l'époque ptolémaïque et romaine, dont il faudra avoir garde de rien retenir. Il n'y a rien non plus dans les pages du bilan négatif dressé aux p. 78-85 sur la signification du nom, sinon un Atoum *totem* «Schlittengott» (dieu traineau!) du plus mauvais aloi. Pas la moindre allusion à la nature d'Atoum *dieu-concept* du «tout», celui qui contient tout et se complète lui-même, E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen* (1971) étant totalement ignoré tout comme L. Kakosy, *LA I/4* (1973), col. 550.

Ch. II Epithètes Géographiques

A) Héliopolis (p. 85-114)

P. 92, la solution b) pour *E. IV,113* ne repose sur rien; à la rigueur, on pourrait proposer, au regard de *Philä II,33*, *nb 'nh-t3.wy*, *'Iwnw*.

P. 99-100 et 130, la lecture est toujours *sr* pour Atoum *Sr'Iwnw* et son temple est *hwt-Sr*.

P. 100, l'épithète d'Atoum de la stèle du Sérapéum citée (CLXIII, *Rec.Tr.* 25, 53) est *hry-ib niwt.f*, E. Brunner-Traut, *MDIK* 14 (1956), 20 sq. et fait référence à Kher-Ahâ.

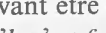
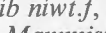
P. 109, toutes les citations sont fausses: *E. IV,113* (13) mentionne le roi «petit enfant de la Dame de Dendara»; *D. V,51* (6) a trait à «L'Or, dame de Dendara»; *Esna II,314* (N° 191,26) parle d'Atoum «seigneur d'Héliopolis» et non de Dendara, le pilier-*ioun* étant d'ailleurs tout à fait normal. Ce qui ne l'est pas, c'est d'affirmer qu'Atoum est seigneur de Dendara (p. 110), sur la base de références inexistantes: *E. VIII*, 64 est une épithète d'Hathor «(Eil-d'Atoum (*Irt-'Itm*) dans Dendara».

B) Basse Égypte (p. 115-120)

P. 118, *nb(.t) Shrt* est un qualificatif de *Sekhmet*, Gauthier, *DG V,43*; Quant à *srh nt* (?) que Gauthier donne p. 42, ce n'est sûrement pas le *mer* du XXIII^e nome de Basse Égypte qui est *š rhn* en *E. IV*, 41 (XC).

P. 118 (IV), *E. V,355* (6) mentionne «Hathor ... (Eil-d'Atoum qui réside à Bubastis)» et les rites pour apaiser ses émissaires. *Ibid.* (V) Atoum est absent de Busiris puisque toutes les mentions concernent *Tm-sp* du ch. 125 du *LdM* (*supra*, p. 154).

P. 119 (VIII), *E. IV,114* (2) ne parle aucunement de *Bechen*, ville du Delta (?) mais de *Bakhou* «l'Orient», Atoum étant «seigneur de *Manou*, régent dans *Bakhou*».

P. 119-120, le nom du district supplémentaire d'Héliopolis n'est pas *int* ou *'nt*, mais *'n* ou *šn-sw*, le déterminatif pouvant être  ou  Son patron est Atoum archer *hry-ib niwt.f*, donc de Kher-Ahâ. Cf. *E. V,26-27* (1); *IV,39* (5); *Mammisi E.*, 68 (3-4).

P. 120 (X-XI), les prétendus toponymes du Delta invoqués ici d'après *E. VII,282* (14) n'existent pas; *W'rt* est l'eau primordiale de la création dans la *Genèse* d'Edfou, Alliot-A. Barucq, *BIFAO* 64 (1964), 162 et E. Reymond, *Mythical Origin* (1969), p. 13, n. 4). *Gs-w'rt* d'*E. VII,282* fait partie du vocabulaire spécifique de cette genèse pour désigner le lieu où le démiurge aborde la première fois, donc la «rive, berge» de *Wb. V,192* (7-8); E. Reymond, *o.c.*, p. 15, n. 2) et *E. VI,181* (15-16) expliquant ce mot composé.


C) Haute Égypte (p. 121-126)

P. 121 sq., 135, Thèbes et Karnak connaissent Atoum dans la Grande Ennéade (P. Barguet, *Karnak*, p. 22, 112) bien avant Hatshepsout; le dieu figure sous Aménophis I dans les listes des blocs des chapelles démantelées. Sous les Ramessides, Atoum apparaît sur les colonnes de l'hypostyle, L.A. Christophe, *Divinités* (IFAO *Bd'E* 21, 1955), p. 37, 57, 58, 59. Et pourquoi n'avoir pas relevé les mentions du Ramesseum, Medamoud, Armant, Tod?

P. 124, ce paragraphe sur Atoum à Edfou est infantile et consternant; il témoigne d'une méconnaissance totale de la théologie solaire d'Edfou, de la nature d'Horus Behedety incarnation d'Harakhtès en Haute Égypte ainsi que de la fonction du temple d'Horus comme contre-partie au Sud des lieux saints d'Héliopolis. Faire reposer l'assimilation d'Horus d'Edfou à Atoum sur le fait qu'Hathor

est sa parèdre «Da Er (*Atoum*) als Gefährte der Hathor ausgesehen wurde, musste er mit Horus assoziiert werden» est un non-sens, d'autant plus, on l'a vu, que le lien Atoum/Dendara voulu par l'A. est sans fondement.

D) *Temples de Basse Égypte* (p. 127-134)

P. 131-132 et 187, l'épithète *hnty sh ntr* est impensable pour Atoum, surtout suivie de *nb sm3-t3*. En fait, la copie de Gauthier, *ASAE* 21, 200 donne les signes  comme douteux et ils doivent correspondre à une graphie défectueuse du nom d'Anubis, chacal couché sur le coffre.

P. 132 les graphies de *Pr-Tm* citées en variantes sont à lire *Pr-Wsir* si l'idéogramme a la couronne-atef; sinon c'est la double-couronne!

P. 133 (VI), *E. VI,305* (10) ne fait aucune mention de *P*, Bouto, mais de *P-Wr* «le Grand-Trône», nom sacré d'Edfou.

P. 134 (VIII), la stèle de Coptos, *ASAE* 12, 14 évoque Min-Rê-Geb et non Atoum qui n'a rien à faire à *Hwt-š'w*; et Weill a rendu la graphie spécifique du nom de Geb par «le parcourer de la terre», non par «le dieu qui réside». De même, p. 139 le nom du téménos sud de Coptos est *Ntri-šm'*, jamais *h-šm'*; ce qui est dit p. 173 repose sur un contre-sens.

E) *Temples de Haute Égypte* (p. 135-141)

P. 138, D. VI,71 (8), *Pr-R'* est un toponyme héliopolitain et surement pas un nom de Dendara; on le cherchera en vain dans les listes de D. VI,167 sq. En D. III,156 (11), *hnty pr-wr* ne concerne pas Atoum mais le *Roi*, l'idéogramme étant à lire *nswt bity*; D. IV,212 (13) ne peut en aucun cas être lu *wsht ntrt R'*. Le texte donne avec un parallélisme évident *ntr ntri hry-ib Nrit* (cf. D. VI,151,9), *R'-sm3-t3.wy hry-ib 'Iwnt* «dieu divin qui réside à Dendara-*Netjeryt*, Rê-Somtous qui réside à Dendara-*Iounet*». *Ibid.*, 212 (14), *B t-di* est exclus, *hnt H3-di* est la seule lecture possible, F. Daumas, *Dendara* (IFAO *Rech.* 29, 1969), p. 12-13.

P. 140, Rê-Somtous n'est pas une épithète d'Atoum «en relation avec le pays tout entier», c'est la forme chthonienne et démiurgique de l'Horus spécifique de Dendara-*Kha-di*, F. Daumas, *Dendara*, p. 26, dont une des facettes est Atoum.


Dans la subdivision qui suit, intitulée bizarrement «désignations géographiques» (p. 142-165), les erreurs fourmillent tout autant.

P. 146, D. II,57 (15) donne simplement *'k m ht Nnt* «qui entre dans le ventre de Nout».

P. 147-148, 198-199 tous les arguments retirés de l'examen superficiel et incomplet des sources relatives au génie I, *Tm/Itm* des listes des Soixante-dix-sept Gardiens de Pharbaethos sont incompréhensibles et inutilisables.

P. 148, le texte de D. IV,16 (16) est mal copié et mal compris; on a *hy rnp wbn m d3w* et surement pas *hy nm psd!* D. IV, 31(ult.)-32 (1) est une épithète du *Roi* et non d'Atoum «himmlischer Jungling». D. III,90 (7) concerne Ihy, fils d'Hathor *snm 'nh n'Im* «image vivante d'Atoum». De tous ces beaux exemples, seul *E. IV,113* (ult.) peut s'appliquer à Atoum, mais en tant que manifestation de Rê-Harakhtès.

P. 151-152, l'A. ignore que le temple d'Opet à Karnak a été publié par C. De Wit, *Bae* XI (1958); le passage cité se trouve p. 189, tabl. 4.

P. 154,  vaut *sm3n* et surement pas *pr 'k*.

P. 157, l'épithète du papyrus de Djédkhonsouieufankh (éd. Piankoff, p. 157) est *nb i3btt* et non *imntt*.

P. 160, la lecture est *'rk-hh* puis *st3t* et non *imntt* (?).

P. 161, *nb st3t* du sarc. Caire 61027 n'a rien de commun avec Satet et son temple, c'est le banal *st3t* «sanctuaire» de *Wb.* IV,333 (2-3).

P. 162, bas, l'A. met le comble à l'impudence en osant mettre la traduction impeccable de S. Sauneron pour l'hymne à Neith d'*Esna* III, n° 331 (13 = p. 264) «c'est Atoum qui baise le sol (*sn t3*) devant elle», en regard d'un non-sens «der die Erde... öffnet», issu de son ignorance. En outre, p. 163, si *Pi-neter* peut, à *Esna*, être le tombeau d'Atoum, ce n'est pas un «Gebiet der Unterwelt», royaume d'Atoum; c'est la tombe des ancêtres d'*Esna*, Atoum y compris.

P. 166 sq., il y a longtemps qu'on ne lit plus *psdt ntr.w* mais *psdt seul*.

P. 170, le seul sens possible est «seigneur de la terre (du ciel) et des dieux et déesses qui s'y trouvent».

P. 172, L'épithète d'*E. VII,268* (2) s'applique à Iousas «Main d'Atoum qui crée ses deux enfants (Shou et Tefnout)»; il n'est pas question de deux «filles». Quant à la citation d'*E. V,344* (6-7), c'est, une fois encore, un énorme contre-sens qui l'amène à figurer dans la rubrique «Atoum créateur». Le texte est une liste de prescriptions morales pour le clergé et les fidèles d'Horus, fort bien traduite par Alliot, *Culte*¹, p. 190, «Désirez-vous être libres de crainte et qu'il n'y ait pas de blâme du dieu contre vous? (*mr.tn šw m nrw, tm nm' ntr r.t[n]*)», phrase où *tm* est le négatif grammatical, Lefebvre, *Gr.*², § 375-378, et n'a rien à voir avec Atoum «grösser Schöpfer der Göttinnen» (?).

P. 173, *E. I,37* (9-10) donne un qualificatif du *Roi* qui «équipe les dieux avec ce qui leur appartient».

P. 174, *E. IV,275* (13) ne contient aucune allusion à un «tribunal» d'Atoum mais parle de l'héritage de Geb recueilli en «étant installé sur le trône d'Atoum (*hr nst 'Itm*)» et du collège des dieux d'Hérakléopolis réuni «pour vous justifier» (*d3d dmd hr sm3' hrw.tn*).

P. 174, Atoum de Ramsès II, P. Barguet, *Karnak*, p. 212; *m hry-ib hrw* signifie «à midi» et non «pendant (*während*)» le jour. *E. I,91* (8) propos d'Atoum pour Horus *Bik* (et non *HR*) *n nwb*, concerne la montée au kiosque du *hnm itm* et n'a rien à faire à cette place.

P. 176 et 222, n. 36, *'Ir-rn.f-ds.f* n'a aucun lien avec Atoum.

P. 177, il n'y a pas d'article *p3* dans Harris 25,3 mais le déterminatif du hiératique pour *km3*.

P. 181, *Hrwt* «Bedarf», *Wb.* III,390 (5 sq.), n'a jamais signifié *Behälter* et il est totalement inepte de vouloir faire d'Atoum le «réservoir» ou «l'étui» des hommes et des dieux, surtout en corrigeant un texte parfaitement clair.

P. 184, *E. III,341* (9) est à lire *iw 'Itm hkn* (*š* dét.) *n* (= *m*) *m3't*; *Esna* II, n° 150 donne *nb m3'-hrw, S3t hnt ht.f* et surement pas *nb m3't mdt* (?); en outre c'est d'Heka qu'il s'agit et non d'Atoum!

P. 188, la variante d'*E. V, 97* (16-17) est sans rapport avec Atoum *nb 'h* «seigneur de la durée de vie» s'agissant d'Atoum de *Tjekou* (Pithom) en tant qu'*agathodémon 'h nfr* «serpent dressé parfait».

P. 196, D. V,46 n'admet qu'une lecture et qu'une traduction, pour peu que l'on sache lire *wbn* dans une graphie élémentaire.

A la rubrique des contre-sens, il faut encore ajouter ceux de la p. 199 pour *E. VIII,136* (le parallèle de *Philä I,105,3* étant bien sur ignoré). Atoum «vieillard qui rajeunit à son moment» n'est là que pour justifier l'emploi de la plante *'nh-imy* dans le formulaire de «compléter l'œil-oudjat, d'apaiser l'œil-oudjat avec ses éléments», le tout à l'infinitif. «Mit seinem Arm im Schilf beschützt ... mit diesem Schutz beruhigt» de l'A. ne veut rien dire. En outre D. II,57 (3-4) ne peut être rendu que par «il rajeunit à son moment quand il illumine à sa place d'hier (*h3y sw r r-'f n sf*) et *E. VII,282* (14-15) donne «Tant qu'Atoum ... (*wnn*) est un vieillard devenant un enfant rajeuni en train d'écouter les sentences (*hr ndb d3s.w*)» sans allusion au «visage (Gesicht)» juvénile du dieu.

P. 199-200, le texte d'*Hibis* III, pl. 71 est lu et traduit en dépit du bon sens; on a *ir i3w m wh3* (et non *dw3t*) *r' nb, rnp.f* (et non *ti*) *tp dw3wt* (où y a-t-il *'k* ?) *m htp*: «Atoum qui se fait vieillard au crépuscule (*wh3*), il rajeunit chaque matin en paix». Les explications et corrections de la p. 200 sont dépourvues de tout intérêt et fausses; dans cette même page, *E. III,209* (10-11) doit être traduit «qui plie son bras sur son bâton (*hn 'f hr mdw.f*)» et non «dessen Arm mit seinem Stab stark ist». Ensuite, on a «qui descend (litt. la tête en bas) vers la douat le soir (*ḥ3t... mšrw*), qui entre dans Naunet» et surement pas «als (oder wie *ḥ3t m3*) ein Kind der Dunkelheit» pour *shd r d3t m mšrw 'k m nnt*. Il est encore une fois insupportable de voir substituer une interprétation fantaisiste d'*Esna* III, n° 196 (9) à la traduction de Sauneron (*V,329*) citée *in-extenso* avec la maligne intention de montrer qu'elle est inadéquate.

Face à tout cela, les conclusions des p. 203-206 n'ont pas le moindre intérêt. A la rigueur pourrait-on conserver le chapitre d'iconographie (p. 207-236) comme valable s'il apportait du nouveau, ce qui n'est même pas le cas. Quant au «Catalogue» (p. 237-271), on y relève les mêmes incongruités ou inexactitudes qu'ailleurs.

P. 247, n° 8, la légende soi disant si difficile à lire (p. 303, pl. v b) est simplement *Dw3 R' htp.f m 'nh* mal copié. P. 252, la tombe 42 de la Vallée est publiée par F. Hasanein au CDAE du Caire, les textes étant donnés aux p. 246-248, 275-276 de l'*Étude* annexe; Atoum est absent totalement de la tombe 43, Sethherkhopesh. P. 263, les renvois sont à faire à l'édition par J. Assmann de la tombe de Pabasa; pour le n° 22, Taharqa, voir les précisions données dans R. A. Parker, J. Leclant, J. C. Goyon, *Edifice* (BES 8, 1979), pl. 20 et p. 41 sq.

St Georges de Reneins
novembre 1980

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E. GRAEFE, *Studien zu den Göttern und Kulturen im 12. und 10. oberägyptischen Gau (insbesondere in der Spät- und Griechisch-römischen Zeit)*. Freiburg, Dr. Erhart Graefe, 1980 (29.5 cm., 64 p., 3 pl., 5 fig.). DM 15.-.

As is stated in the preface, the author never intended to publish this study as a book. Owing to typographic

difficulties with the numerous hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic signs, however, the manuscript was returned by the periodical that should have taken it as an article, leaving a private xerox edition as the only means to prevent premature obsolescence. The book does not conceal this origin, neither in appearance nor in contents. Though otherwise well-produced, a detail like the page numbering is awkward with its exchanges of odd and even due to unnumbered plates. Though a fine piece of scholarship, the line of argument is usually that of a continuing dialogue, not a final answer.

The book consists of a chapter on the readings and the various spellings of the names of the falcon gods connected with the 10th, 12th, and 18th Upper Egyptian nomes (I), another on three hitherto unpublished monuments mentioning priests of the double falcon of the 10th nome (II), and five appendixes dealing with names and titles composed with the element Nemty (A), cults and sacerdotal titles from the 10th nome (B), some less clear titles from the same area (C), the title *smn-h3t* probably not to be connected with this nome (D), and the Horus of *'k3* in the Delta not to be confused with the falcon of the 10th Upper Egyptian nome (E); finally an index of texts and monuments referred to.

The first chapter, titled *Nemti und? + Anti?*, constitutes the most important part of the book, both in bulk (p. 2-26) and in character. Here Graefe gives a summary of the various theories concerning the reading of the hieroglyph G 7*** «falcon in boat» and its hieratic and demotic equivalents. The issue proceeded from Sethe's research on duals and their pronunciation in 1910, when the German scholar became interested in the Egyptian equivalent of Ἀθερνεβενται(γ)εως and suggested *'ntywy* (-ενται-) as reading for the double falcon of the 10th nome, *'nty* for the single one of the 12th (and 18th) nome. The proof of this reading should be in the replacement — current both in hieroglyphic and in hieratic — of the falcon by a sign looking like a vertical throw-stick or finger on a stand, read as *'nt* «finger-nail, claw» (hence *'nty* «Der Bekrallte»). Sethe admitted that *'ntywy* was later written and understood as *ntrwy*, particularly in demotic. It was only in 1969 (and again in 1975) that Berlev rejected this reading *'nty* for *Nmty* on the ground of some full writings including the first two consonants. Since this moment, egyptologists have been divided in two parties. In Germany, Graefe and Beinlich became the spokesmen of the two parties, the former backing Berlev's theory, the latter convinced of a coexistence of the two names and preferring Anty as a general reading. Graefe became involved since his article on the drug *šwt-Nmty* (GM 18, 1975), Beinlich since the publication of his *Geographische Inschriften* (1976). Thus, Graefe's book becomes an exposition of his personal conviction and a resumption of his discussion with Beinlich that resulted already in a number of articles on related cult-topographical issues (GM 23, 24, and 26).

Graefe is certainly right in stating that there is no valid argument left to prove the reading *'nty*. -ενται- did not develop from *'ntywy*, but from *ntrwy*, whereas the «finger» sign may be regarded as a corruption from the hieratic «falcon in boat», not as epithet of a nome god *Der Bekrallte*. Unfortunately, Graefe's line of argument is not always clear and continuous, and without the table of hieroglyphic and hieratic writings of the name of the falcon

gods in question (p. 3-5) this chapter would be badly legible. First Graefe discusses Sethe's arguments, then he adds new evidence in favour of Berlev's reading *Nmty* and seeks to rebut the evidence of adversaries like Vandier and Otto, which is followed by his view on the origin of the "finger" sign. Next he repeats Sethe's theory that in later times the falcon deity of the 10th nome was not called *'ntywy* (or *nmtwy*) but *ntrwy* or *nbwy*, thus refuting Berlev's argument that *-ενται* < *-μενται* < *-νεμται* by metathesis. Finally Beinlich's arguments are discussed and disproved. Considerable space and energy is devoted to minor items of epigraphic, linguistic, or mythologic character that are not always worth a serious discussion. For instance, Beinlich's argument that the female dancer wearing anklets with claws, who is represented in the tomb of Wahka at Qau, points to the importance of *Der Bekrallte* in the 12th nome, is silly. Similar anklets have been found in the Dahshur and Lahun treasures (cf. Aldred, *Jewels* pls. 12 and 36); moreover, it is not at all certain that a bird's claw is meant, as Graefe points out elsewhere. Likewise, it is true that the Chester Beatty I and Jumilhac papyri may offer some evidence on the mythological connotations of the falcon god of the 12th nome; hardly, however, on his appearance, let alone on the right consonants of his name. A full discussion of Beinlich's use of these papyri is only detracting from the main issue.

In chapter II, three monuments of Late Period to Ptolemaic date are published for the first time. All make mention of priests of the main god of the 10th nome, the falcon-headed *ntrwy*, and have probably been found in the necropoleis of this nome. The monuments concerned are a stela and an offering table in Chicago (OIM nos. 10497 and 10496) and a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue in Turin (Prov. no. 97), each illustrated here in photograph plus text copy. It should be noted that the text copies from the lunette of the stela do not show the correct disposition of the signs, whereas *dd-mdw* in front of Isis has not been translated. The description of the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue does not include the colours, so that it cannot be established whether type IV C or IV F is concerned. The slimness of the figure is attributed by Graefe to the wish to depict three successive amulets on the front; this slimness, however, is a common stylistic characteristic of the period also occurring on statues that do not show amulets (cf. Raven, *OMRO* LIX-LX 269). Graefe mentions copies of the so-called hymn inscribed on "other items of the funerary equipment"; no such copies are known to me and the hymn makes the impression to have been conceived especially for Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues. Likewise, the author should mention his source for the inscription on the specimen Marseille 271, since this is not given in Maspero's catalogue. The clause mentioned in note i) can hardly be regarded as a variant, but rather as a mistake by the copyist. Finally, the sign at the end of the last column tentatively read as *m* seems to be *s3* (*hy s3-b3*).

The evidence on cults and deities contained in the inscriptions of these three monuments is incorporated in the tables of appendix B, where forty-seven monuments published earlier are being analysed in the same way to give an impression of the wealth of cults and sacerdotal offices in the 10th Upper Egyptian nome. This appendix is certainly the most useful one of the five enumerated above. Similar full lists ought to be published for other

Egyptian nomes for which only scattered and ill-accessible references are available. Together with chapter I this appendix makes Graefe's study a valuable contribution in a seventy-year-old discussion.

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden
Leiden, December 1980

M. J. RAVEN

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Erik HORNING, *Grundzüge der Ägyptischen Geschichte*. 2nd., revised, edition. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1978 (20 cm., v + 167 pp., map) = *Grundzüge*, 3. ISBN 3 534 02853 8.

First issued in 1965, and outwardly of modest appearance, this little book narrates in essential outline the nearly three millennia of ancient Egyptian history from Menes to Alexander the Great, all in 132 pages. For the general, non-specialist reader and the beginning student, it has long afforded a pleasing, readable, and reliable survey of that long history, well-balanced, and fair.

Now, over a dozen years later, this new edition retains essentially the same basic text within the same format, but incorporating various useful improvements. Revision of the text itself has been achieved by brief additions and/or changes at numerous points — e.g. (Old Kingdom) pp. 21, 26, 28, 29, 31, 35, 37, 39f.; (Middle Kingdom) pp. 59f., 60-62, 65, 66, 71; (New Kingdom) pp. 83, 92, 94, 102, 105, 107, 108/9; (Late Period) pp. 116, 117, and so on. By eliminating the old occasional footnotes and reducing gaps between main sections typographically, the judiciously enlarged and modernised text was thus fitted into the same number of pages. The rare and somewhat haphazard footnotes of the old edition have been cut out entirely, being replaced by 24 new pages of select bibliography and key references, following the sequence of the history — a considerable gain. Likewise, a new 7-page list of dynasties of the principal rulers has been added; for the New Kingdom, like the text, this retains H.'s 1964 scheme of dates, but adds in parallel new alternative dates based on the possible accessions in 1479 and 1279 B.C. of Tuthmosis III and Ramesses II respectively. The new map, helped by the TAVO project, is also much more clear and attractive than its predecessor.

Even in so compact and non-controversial an outline as this one, points arise that are worthy of note or of comment. P. 53, H. adopts the view of a posthumous writing-up of the Instruction of Amenemhat I fashionable since De Buck's studies; but in that text, the old king says (or is made to say) that the attack on him happened "when I was without you, before the courtiers had heard that I was handing over to you, before I sat with you" (Millingen 1:5). In other words, this assassination-attempt occurred *before* the co-regency was instituted, with 10 years of the old king's reign yet to pass by! Whatever the obscurities of other passages, this one at least is crystal clear, and is the immovable rock upon which all theories of the De Buck variety must founder; the conspiracy of Year 30 reflected in Sinuhe is an entirely separate episode. It is high time that egyptological historians paid more

attention to this matter, instead of uncritically swallowing the De Buck hypothesis.

Pp. 59, 63: On the possibility that Middle-Kingdom statues found their way into the Levant after the 12th Dynasty, cf. W. Helck in *Ugaritische Forschungen* 8 (1978), pp. 101-115, issued too late for H. to use. P. 67: It is good to see the W.-Semitic affiliation of the Hyksos clearly recognised (rather than Hurrian as in the 1st edition).

P. 101: It is beyond doubt that Haremhab built and first decorated Pylon II at Karnak; however, it seems most unlikely that he also began the Great Hypostyle Hall, as that pylon was not designed to accommodate the architraves to be carried by that hall's pillars, and the decoration had to be re-done to match the hall as built. This seems to emerge clearly from the discussions by Seele (*The Coregency of Ramses II with Seti I*, 1940) and Haeny (*Basilikale Anlagen in der äg. Baukunst des NR*, 1970); thus it may be better to attribute the hall to R. I and Sethos I.

P. 107: For most historians, Merenptah is the 13th rather than 14th son of Ramesses II; the identity of Amen-hir-wonmef and Amen-hir-khopshef seems ever more likely (cf. Montu-hir-wonmef/khopshef). Pp. 108/9: Prof. Horning now incorporates the view that Amenmesses was a rival to Sethos II (wholly within the latter's reign) as advocated by Krauss. Provisionally, this is possible but not yet proven (this reviewer remains undecided). However, one result is the attribution of 10/7 years of reign to Sethos II on p. 162 end (list, — not possible, as Sethos II died in his 6th year).

P. 119: The supposed exemptions granted to the Thebaid at the Sed-Festival of Osorkon II are suspect, as Osorkon's text is drawn directly from a New-Kingdom *Vorlage*, used also for the Soleb reliefs of Amenophis III, a fact noted by Naville; cf. already, Kitchen, *BiOr* 23 (1966), p. 277, and in *Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 1972, § 279, p. 321 & n. 432.

The above are a few marginalia noted while enjoying this book; it is a real pleasure in closing, to commend this delightful and able outline to all interested in the history of Ancient Egypt.

Woolton, Liverpool, January 1981

K. A. KITCHEN

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G. PEREPEL'KIN, *The Secret of the Gold Coffin*. Moscow, USSR Academy of Sciences, Institute of Oriental Studies. 'Nauka' Publishing House, Central Department of Oriental Literature, 1978 (167 pp., 23 figs.). 85 kop.

This book, a translation of the author's *Taina zolotogo groba* (1968), provides a semi-popular summary and discussion of material cited in his larger work, *Perevorot Amen-hotpa IV*, Part 1 (1967), of relevance to a solution of the enigmatic deposit discovered by Davis in KV 55 at Thebes some seventy years ago. This problematic burial has been the subject of much discussion, though, as Perepelkin notes, the fruits of such work have been disappointing, the varied conclusions reached being 'but

guesses, and none supported by more or less sound evidence' (p. 25). That there should be a lack of consensus amongst Egyptologists is understandable when one considers the inadequacy of the original excavation reports and the still incomplete publication of the finds — a combination of factors which has frustrated all attempts at a totally convincing interpretation of the assemblage.

Perepelkin's basic approach is one of working from the general to the specific, considering the 'Amarna Period as an entity with which the royal burial as he sees it must be reconciled; and so, of the eight chapters, [1]-[3] are introductory, providing a convenient review of earlier theories and stating the general position of 'Amarna studies at the time of writing (1968). Chapters [4]-[7] deal with the results of the author's own researches. Essentially, his study revolves around the figure of Akhenaten's secondary wife, Kiya, whose existence was first noted by Hayes in 1959¹). By a comparison with Kiya's titulary as it occurs on both the British Museum and Metropolitan Museum of Art ointment jars²) and upon a series of plaster casts from el-'Amarna³) (their significance unrecognized for over forty years), Perepelkin is able to establish that the erasures on blocks from Maru-Aten and Hermopolis, rather than having any connection with Nefertiti and hence providing evidence for her 'fall from grace', are in fact erasures of Kiya's name and titulary. Moreover, by virtue of her apparently standardized form of address, he is able to demonstrate Kiya's original ownership of the coffin — and hence the canopic jars — from Tomb 55.

Perepelkin develops his thesis by attempting to establish Kiya as a hitherto unrecognized female co-regent of Akhenaten ruling before the accession of 'Smenkhkare'⁴). He cites the existence of a regal and apparently-female figure on two stelae now in Berlin⁵), on the Nicholson block from Memphis⁶), on a block from el-Ashmunein which depicts the lower parts of two figures wearing aprons adorned with uraei⁷), and on the University College London 'Co-regency Stela'⁸). For various reasons, Perepelkin discounts the possibility of this figure being Nefertiti, and opts instead for an identification with Kiya.

Finally, in chapter [8], Perepelkin employs his conclusions in an alternative explanation of the Tomb 55 burial. The body lay in Kiya's coffin, refurbished for Akhenaten (for orthographic reasons, he maintains, presumably some years after his death), in a chamber containing magic bricks inscribed posthumously for the same king. Thus, the tomb was his, a hasty reburial utilising Tiye's shrine and to be dated to the reign of Tut'ankhamun. But how

¹) W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, ii (1959), 294.

²) H. W. Fairman, 'Once again the so-called coffin of Akhenaten', *JEA* 47 (1961), 29f.

³) T. E. Peet and C. L. Woolley, *The City of Akhenaten*, i (1923), pl. 32 (3).

⁴) Perepelkin is unfortunately rather vague as to the details of this alleged co-regency. Presumably his thesis is expanded in the recent *Kele i Semnekh-ke-re* (1979).

⁵) K. Lange, *König Echnaton und die Amarna-Zeit* (1951), pls. 40 and 42.

⁶) C. Nicholson, 'On some remains of the disk worshippers discovered at Memphis', *Aegyptiaca* (1891), 114ff., pl. 1, 5.

⁷) G. Roeder, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis* (1969), pl. 16 (406 VII A).

⁸) J. Samson, *Amarna — City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti?* (1978), 103ff.

to reconcile this conclusion with the results of Harrison's examination of the skeletal remains purported to come from the tomb⁹? The age of the skeleton precluding its identification as Akhenaten, Perepelkin posits the removal of his mummy from the coffin by enemies after its interment in the chamber and its replacement by that of 'Smenkhkarē', presumably after the reign of Ay when hostility towards the 'Amārna régime seems to have intensified.

Perepelkin's thesis, one of the first seriously to challenge established notions of 'Amārna history, has contributed substantially to our overall view of both the Tomb 55 burial and the period in general — though in its present form its value to Egyptologists is somewhat diminished by a lack of precise references. Whilst the reviewer does not necessarily subscribe to all of Perepelkin's conclusions (inevitable when one is dealing with controversial matters, the evidence on which permits few firm conclusions to be drawn), the bulk of criticism is levelled in hindsight: since the original publication more than a decade ago, our material for a consideration of the various problems posed has in many cases been considerably expanded. The following notes (by no means exhaustive) are offered to illustrate this point, and to correct a number of inaccuracies noted at random:

passim: the indiscriminate usage of the name 'Smenkhkarē' is misleading and better avoided in favour of the actual name written; cf. J. R. Harris, 'Nefertiti rediviva', *Acta Or.* 35 (1973), 5, n. 5.

p. 8: the main obstacle blocking the entrance corridor was a sidepanel, upon which rested a single door from the shrine; cf. Th. M. Davis, *The Tomb of Queen Tiye* (1910), pl. XXIV.

p. 11: the view that the canopic jars were empty when discovered (Davis, *o.c.*, 3) is contradicted both by Daressy's description (*ib.*, 24) and by Lucas's analysis of the contents ('The canopic jars from the "tomb of Queen Tiye"', *ASAE* 31 (1931), 120ff.).

p. 26: Dr G. T. Martin has kindly drawn my attention to coloured slides of bands B and C of the coffin. The slides show horizontal gold bands, the hieroglyphs inlaid with semi-precious stones and coloured glass. The bands are (or were until relatively recently) in the hands of a dealer.

pp. 40ff.: Perepelkin observes the special position occupied by Nefertiti — her right to various crowns, her constant portrayal with the king, her position in the 'Amārna triad of Aten-king-queen, etc. — but insists that 'there is no evidence to show that the queen had an influence over the affairs of state' (p. 54), since she is not mentioned in the 'Amārna letters. With Redford (*History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt* (1967), 162, n. 311), however, it still seems plausible — in view of the probable equation *Niphururia* = *Nfr-hprw-r*' (R. Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit* (1978), 36ff.; in particular, the date of the Egyptian-Hittite conflict) — to identify as Nefertiti (though contra Krauss, *ibid.*, 14ff., 18) the widowed Egyptian queen who wrote to Suppiliumaš (the *Dahamunzu* = *ḥmt nsw* of the Hittite

Annals: W. Federn, 'Dahamunzu (KBo V 6 iii 8)', *JCS* 14 (1960), 33). But it should be noted that a recent article by Schulman maintains the identification of *Dahamunzu* with 'Ankhesenamūn': 'Ankhesenamūn, Nofretiti, and the Amka affair', *JARCE* 15 (1978), 43ff.

pp. 73ff.: for a review of the Kiya material and its potential implications, cf. J. R. Harris, 'Kiya', *CdE* 49 (1974), 25ff.

pp. 85ff.: Perepelkin fails to distinguish between the representations of (a) the female figure on the Hermopolis blocks, whose name and titles have been erased and representation appropriated, and (b) the anonymous female figure which sometimes accompanies Akhenaten dressed in royal attire. He thus sees in these two quite separate images evidence for the elevation of Kiya to co-regent status. He is perhaps influenced by the fact that Kiya, a mere secondary wife, should have bestowed upon her the honour of a 'Shade of Rē' and other structures in the Maru-Aten complex. But, as Harris has pointed out (*CdE* 49 (1974), 30, n. 6), Kiya might provide, from a chronological point of view at least, a plausible mother for both the *ḥmt nsw* daughters and, in particular, for Tut'ankhamūn himself. As such, she would have had her own particular status as the mother of the heir to the throne — a fact perhaps reflected also in her unique titulature.

Perepelkin's identification of the second, royal, figure (b) as being female has since been independently corroborated by Harris ('Nefernefruaten', *GM* 4 (1973), 15ff.; 'Nefertiti rediviva', *Acta Or.* 35 (1973), 5ff.; 'Nefernefruaten regnans', *Acta Or.* 36 (1975), 11ff.), who nevertheless identifies the woman as Nefertiti and cites the representation as supporting evidence for his contention that she is later to be identified with Akhenaten's co-regent and successor.

Perepelkin is certainly wrong to deny that Nefertiti shared many of Akhenaten's regal attributes; cf. J. Samson, 'Nefertiti's regality', *JEA* 63 (1977), 88ff.

As regards the Nicholson block, upon which Perepelkin relies so heavily in his identification of this female figure (b) (p. 100), it is uninscribed and there is no evidence that the relief depicts Akhenaten and his co-regent, or is even of 'Amārna date. The published drawing of the block is rough, and the original piece is lost. It is thus safer to suspend judgement and not place undue emphasis on the fragment.

P. 90: the 'Co-regency Stela' is in fact inscribed in palimpsest for 'Ankhkheprurē-mery-Wa'enrē' Nefernefruaten-mery-Akhenaten; cf. G. T. Martin, *JEA* 60 (1974), 268, fig. 1. Prof. J. R. Harris has shown me a tentative reconstruction of what he believes to have been the original appearance of the stela, in which the replaced cartouches are positioned over a figure of Nefertiti who sits facing Akhenaten beneath the disc, daughters to either side — perhaps the strongest support yet for his view that Nefertiti and Akhenaten's immediate successor were one and the same.

p. 117: *ḥmt nsw*. For an independent development of Perepelkin's observations on this title and the 'Tale of the Two Brothers', cf. L. Manniche, 'The wife of Bata', *GM* 18 (1975), 33ff.

The mention of an estate of *ḥmt nsw* on a docket of year [1]6 (H. Frankfort and J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten*, ii (1933), pl. 58 (16)) may, as Perepelkin

assumes, refer to Kiya — though the designation might well be a posthumous survival: L. Manniche, *o.c.*, 37, n. 18.

p. 119: the estate of the lady (*ḥmt nsw*) of Nahrin (N. de G. Davies and M. F. L. Macadam, *Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones*, Part I (1957), no. 527): Manniche (*o.c.*, 34) suggests an identification with Kiya (*ḥmt nsw*).

p. 119: the Petrie docket (*Tell el Amarna* (1894), pl. 25 (98)) cited by Perepelkin is dubious and seems likely to have been mis-read: Kiya was never *ḥmt nsw*, and the orthography of her name seems never to vary; cf. J. R. Harris, *CdE* 49 (1974), 26, n. 6, *infra*. Perepelkin's implication that Kiya's name was, at a later date, cartouched, is misleading.

pp. 119-120: *ḥmt nsw* 'ḥt. Those instances of this title known to me are listed in 'A further occurrence of Nefertiti as *ḥmt nsw* 'ḥt', *GM* 30 (1978), 61ff., to which may be added Cairo J. 37505 (unpublished), the latter appearing on a relief fragment from el-Sheikh 'Ibāda (Antinoopolis) which contains a hymn to the sun.

p. 123: it is unlikely that the Tomb 55 mummy was furnished with mummy-bands of the type found upon Tut'ankhamūn (cf. H. Carter, *The Tomb of Tut. ankh. Amen*, ii (1927), pls. XXV, XXVII). The inscribed bands found by Elliot Smith with the bones (C. Aldred, 'The tomb of Akhenaten at Thebes', *JEA* 47 (1961), 57, n. 5) seem to have been the detached bands B and C from the coffin interior, which were later stolen and found their way on to the art market (cf. note to p. 26).

p. 125: in the absence of any name, and in view of the title, it would be most unwise to ascribe to Kiya the wine jar dockets of Year 17 which mention the estate of a *ḥmt nsw* (T. E. Peet and C. L. Woolley, *The City of Akhenaten*, i (1923), pl. LXIII, G (174), K (177)); cf. J. R. Harris, *CdE* 49 (1974), 27, n. 1.

p. 160: one would question Perepelkin's conclusion that 'the desecrators (of the coffin) mistreated only the inscriptions invisible from the outside or the simpler ones' (sic). 'Vide', as much as 'arraché', surely refers to the resultant state of the inscription after desecration, the difference in Daressy's use of words ('Le cercueil de Khu-n-aten', *BIFAO* 12 (1916), 149ff.) simply distinguishing between the method of defacement: 'vide' being employed where inlays had been removed (bands A, B, C), 'arraché' where embossed hieroglyphs had been erased (bands D, E and foot-end F).

pp. 161-2: there is no evidence that the shrine had been employed to protect the coffin recovered from the chamber. For a review of the evidence and an alternative interpretation of the deposit, see my paper 'A re-appraisal of Tomb 55 in the Valley of the Kings', *JEA* 67 (1981) (forthcoming).

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C. N. REEVES

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M. A. LEAHY, *Excavations at Malkata and the Birket Habu 1971-1974*; IV. *The Inscriptions*. Warminster, Aris & Phillips, 1978 (30 cm., vi + 63 pp., 38 pls.) = *Egyptology Today*, No. 2. ISBN 0 85668 121 0. Price: £ 6.50.

En 1951, Hayes avait publié un échantillon des inscriptions trouvées lors des fouilles de 1910-1920 dans le palais d'Aménophis III à l'angle nord-ouest du Birket Habou (*JNES* 10, p. 35-40; 82-104; 156-183; 231-242). M. A. Leahy nous fournit aujourd'hui une publication *in extenso* des inscriptions découvertes sur le même site durant les campagnes de 1971, 1973 et 1974. Il fournit pour chacune un *fac-simile* hiératique, une transcription hiéroglyphique, une translittération, une traduction et un commentaire avec des parallèles.

Cette étude s'insérant dans la série «Egyptology Today» est donc un modèle de présentation. Son avantage est de fournir une documentation plus restreinte que celle sur laquelle travaillait Hayes, ce qui permet de la reproduire en totalité. Elle complète et rectifie sur quelques points les conclusions précédentes.

Le hasard des fouilles a voulu qu'une grande partie des documents publiés proviennent d'un seul site (appelé K) qui paraît avoir été une chapelle en brique édifiée à l'occasion du premier jubilé d'Aménophis I^{er} et ensuite détruite. En conséquence, les inscriptions que nous possédons datent pour la plupart d'une période relativement restreinte qui correspond à la préparation et à l'exécution de ce premier jubilé (ans 29 et 30), alors que Hayes disposait surtout d'un matériau datant des 9 dernières années d'Aménophis III.

La répartition des produits entre les différentes catégories de denrées laisse apparaître, comme Hayes l'avait déjà vu, une inflation caractéristique de la bière (et, ajoutons maintenant, de la viande) à l'approche des jubilés, alors que le vin fournit en d'autres temps la majeure part des livraisons, mais les lacunes de la documentation, le recouvrement inégal des informations fournies par les *jar labels* et les *jar sealings* (y avait-il pour chaque vase une étiquette et un sceau?) rend toute conclusion statistique encore imprudente, comme le note l'auteur (p. 2). Une étude des diverses «mains» en usage dans les inscriptions pourrait s'avérer prometteuse, c'est la raison de l'adjonction d'un tableau paléographique (p. 57-63) dont L. A. Leahy ne peut tirer toutes les conclusions.

Le détail des inscriptions laisse apparaître, en dépit de la monotonie des formules, quelques informations précieuses qui rejoignent celles déjà glanées par Hayes. Deux épouses royales y font leur apparition: Tyi (n° 17), Satamon (n° 4-6; 107-110), elles possédaient, semble-t-il, chacune une fondation dans l'enceinte du Palais d'Aménophis III. Il est question de divers fonctionnaires (liste p. 49), parmi lesquels *Nb mrwt.f.* qui semble avoir joué un rôle important dans la célébration du premier jubilé, comme l'avait vu Habachi (*The Second Stela of Kamose*, Glückstadt 1972, p. 22-23); le vizir *Hwy* (n° 41), à ne pas confondre avec le scribe royal du même nom qui pourrait bien être, d'après Hayes, le célèbre Amenhotep fils de Hapou. On entend parler de nombreux domaines dont certains se trouvent sur le site même de Malkata (sur *Thn-Itn* qui semble pouvoir définitivement lui être identifié, cf. p. 30), et d'autres se trouvaient à quelque distance,

⁹ R. G. Harrison, 'An anatomical examination of the pharaonic remains purported to be Akhenaten', *JEA* 52 (1966), 95ff.

comme celui d'Aménophis II (n° XXXVI) ou encore de Thoutmosis IV (n° 85, XXXVII) qui paraissent avoir fourni des denrées au palais royal et qui étaient donc encore en activité à la fin de la 18^e dynastie.

Quelques épithètes nouvelles du roi apparaissent: *nb w3d wr* (n° LXIX), *33 htr* (n° LXXVII).

Grâce à M. A. Leahy, nous avons donc un aperçu un peu plus précis sur la vie du grand complexe économique qui a soutenu l'activité politique et religieuse d'Aménophis III. On ne peut guère en demander plus à ce genre de documents.

Paris, Janvier 1981

MICHEL GITTON

* *

ABDULLA EL-SAYED MAHMUD, *A New Temple for Hathor at Memphis*. Warminster, Aris and Phillips Ltd, 1978 (30 cm, pp. iv & 21, XIX Pl.) = Series "Egyptology Today". Price £ 6.50 (£ 4.50 on subscription). ISBN 085668 068 3.

In June 1970 and again in April-June 1971 this building was excavated. Subsoil water hindered the continuation of the dig. What was discovered was a gateway and a court with eight Hathor columns. It seems that we have here, according to inscriptions on the walls and the typical Hathor — capitals, a temple dedicated to Hathor, *nbt nht rsyf* Lady of the Southern Sykamore, — a temple of which it was known that it existed at the South of Memphis. Hathor was regarded as associated with Ptah or regarded as his daughter (Maj Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, Lund 1946, 191-193). The author concludes that "this temple is dedicated mainly to the originally Heliopolitan cult of *nbt htpi*". (see J. Vandier, *RdÉ* 16 (1964) 55-146 *RdÉ* 17 (1965) 89-176; *RdÉ* 18 (1966) 67-142 and *RdÉ* 20 (1968), 135-148). It seems equally possible that this is the temple in the southern part of Memphis known from documents (for bibliography of this see note 7 on page 17 of this book.) in which Hathor *nbt nht* is mentioned. The new temple is of the time of Ramses II. From the Graeco-Roman period there were a wall and some kilns, probably for the manufacture of small objects.

The scenes are drawn in Plates I to XIX, they are reproduced in (photographic) Plates 1-18 together with general views, and small objects. Translations are given in the text. The difficulty is that in the text of the translation there is more material than in the drawing: may it be that clearance continued after the drawings were done? It is difficult to find the drawings according to their numeration in the text, scene "C" on the West Wall is not given a heading on page 9. (after line 11 from the top.) — The East Face of the gateway shows the king before Ptah- Ta-tenen; the South face of the gateway shows in its upper part (Scene "A") again Ramses II and Ptah- Ta-tenen. Scene "B" and Scene "C" show the king before deities which can not be identified. The lower register of the south face of the gateway shows in scene "A" the king before Sekhmet, another Memphite deity; Scene "B" shows a purification scene with Horus to the right and Thot to the left; scene "C" has Hathor with

the epithet *nbt nht rsyf*, mistress of the southern sykamore. The west wall has as Scene "A", a foundation ceremony with the king facing Seshat, the goddess of writing; Scene "B": Ramses II before Min-Amun: here again the translation has more than the hieroglyphic text. Scene "C" has the king performing a ceremonial gesture in front of a chapel before Hathor, the lady of *htpt*. Again there is more in the translation than the texts warrants. Scene "D" is destroyed in its essential parts; Scene "E" has Sekhmet to the left and two sistra to the right, which belong to the chapel of Hathor (Scene "C" of the west wall.) — The following points we think worth commenting on: p. 5, top: The Narmer palette is not the earliest document of Hathor: see for an object of the Gerzean period: H. Asselbergs, *Chaos en Beheersing*, Leiden 1961 (Plate 118).

p. 5 (note 23): The temple of Thutmosis III in Serabit el-Khadim in Sinai (buildings M, N, O) has no Hathor column. These come from the Hathor-Hanafiya of the same reign. Petrie, Pl. 103 shows a Hathor-column from there. The Timna temple, pending its final publication, should not be quoted, as in this note, according to the small catalogue of the exhibition in the British Museum but following: B. Rothenberg, *Timna*, London 1972, Monochrome Plate No. 78 (after page 132).

p. 7 (note 26): Earlier examples of representations of Ta-tenen (before the time of Ramses II) can be found in the new monography on this god: H. A. Schögl, *Der Gott Tatenen*, Fribourg 1980, pp. 133-34.

p. 8 (note 33) For the baptism scene see also J. Vandier, *ZAS* 99 (1972), 29-33 with important additional bibliography. From the Sinai temple of Hathor, Serabit el-Khadim, comes another of such purifications scenes: R. Givon, *Tel Aviv*, The Journal of the Tel Aviv University Institute of Archeology, 1 (1974) 105-106 (Pl. 19,4.) — p. 9 (note 44) for *mrt* see now: Jocelyne Berlandini, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 4, (1980) 80-88.

p. 13 "L" We would not describe this and the many similar figurines of the Roman period as that of "ladies". — p. 13 line 10 from bottom and as No. A. 8: the papyrus column is *w3d* as distinct from the *w3t* eye.

Technically the book is far from perfect: there are many printing-mistakes. The photos are not well-printed, some of them are upside down (Plate 18, A 1 and D 5) or on their sides (Plate 18 E.4 and D e). There was often too much ink used in the printing. One wonders how two different results came about as on Plate VI and VII, top, the same *sm3* sign with different details and different amounts of ink which changed the aspect of the stalks. On the same Plate VII the two cartouches behind Thot illustrate the imperfect way of printing on this and the other plates.

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RAPHAEL GIVEON

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THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, THE TEMPLE OF KHONSU, Volume 1: Scenes of King Herihor in the Court. Chicago, the Oriental Institute, 1979 (Text, 4to, pp. xxvii + 55. Plates, folio, 2 plans, 110 plates). = University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications, Volume 100.

The present stately folio with its accompanying text (translating all the texts in the plates) is the first-fruits of 45 years of intermittent work by the redoubtable Chicago team, alongside their work at Medinet Habu and elsewhere in Karnak. In production and fidelity it worthily upholds the extremely high standards in recording and publishing ancient Egyptian monuments so justly associated with the Chicago epigraphic survey.

The Preface — signed by Dr. Wentz — contains distinctly more than the expected history of the project and acknowledgements. It incorporates also a valuable summary of some of the more significant results accruing from the full record of Herihor's work in the forecourt of the temple of Khons. As for scope, the present volume contains a record of all wall-surfaces inside that court, other than Herihor's stela and the two great doorways (with later décor), and of all the decorated columns but not the architraves. These, we are told, are to appear in Volume 2 (cf. pp. xi, n. 11; xv, n. 36; 18, 19).

In terms of strict history, the most notable advance is doubtless a properly accurate record of the famous relief of Herihor's 'royal family' (Plate 26, cf. pp. x-xv, and pp. 11-13). Here, once and for all, the spurious identification of the first prince as Piankh (based on the old copies) disappears — his name was Ankh[ef-(en-mut)], possibly in abbreviated form. It is still conceivable that Piankh was a son of Herihor, — but only as pure conjecture at present, like the equally theoretical conjecture that Smendes of Tanis was also Herihor's son.

The place of this 'family' scene here in the forecourt remains intriguing. The sole real parallel for it, having the 'queen' at the head of sons and daughters, is the long procession of sons and daughters of Ramesses II led by Queen Nefertari on the interior West wall of his Luxor forecourt — a similar location to the Herihor scene. The Luxor example loosely follows on after scenes of a procession for the Feast of Opet. Here, the Khons example is placed below (but oriented opposite way to) Amun's Opet river-journey, and it perhaps loosely follows on the scene (pl. 44) of Amun's visit to the Temple of Khons (to accept Herihor's work), as cautiously envisaged by Wentz, p. xif.

Completely new observations have been made possible in other directions. Wentz draws attention to the curious fact that the wall-scenes in the left half of the court are in raised relief, those of the right half being in sunk relief, just as in the Great Hypostyle Hall of the temple of Amun, a structure in which Herihor was interested (text there, and representation of its façade, Pylon II, in his Khons court). More germane to historical interests is the important observation concerning Herihor that "In ninety-seven percent of the scenes his headdress consists of the close-fitting skullcap that is worn by a king when his high priestly function is emphasized", while the three exceptional scenes are tied to strictly traditional iconography. This, with the lack of royal beard in the 97% and use

of the mere title "High Priest of Amun" in the first cartouche, serves to emphasize that while posing as a "king", Herihor's real role was really that of a priest.

To come to details of note, the festival texts follow typical Ramesside rhetorical style, even in some rarer details. On pl. 20; 29, with note *f* (p. 7), a corrected text of the R.III stela (improving on that in *ZAS* 96) can now be found in Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, V, 89 (lines 6-7 in particular). The rare term *hpšy* can be found in a similar (but not identical) context at Abu Simbel, cf. Kitchen, *Ram. Inscr.*, II, p. 206:14. On pl. 27:17, concerning *mri*, 'choose/prefer', one may see this nuance operating back in the 12th Dynasty in the Hapidjefa contracts, where the *ka*-priest was to designate a particular son chosen/preferred by him to succeed him in benefice and duties.

On p. xvi, mention is made of the re-use of blocks from older edifices, and pl. 110 is devoted to just such a block, of jubilee-scenes of Amenophis III. Other such traces are meticulously included in the plates, but not usually noted in the text-fascicle. One may here mention on pl. 15 part of a war-scene with text of the royal chariot-horses, *htr 3 tpy n [hm.f...], ptpi h3s [wt...]*, "Great first span of [His Majesty...], trampling down the foreign [lands...]"'. Likewise on pl. 61, the upper body of Isis has fallen away to reveal (Hittite?) charioteers and a mêlée of soldiery, reminiscent of the Battle of Qadesh.

On the purely religious plane, there is here much raw material for future study, in terms of deities honoured, with what offerings and in what rites, etc. Suffice it to close here by heartily welcoming a first-rate publication of first-hand data, and hoping for the appearance of Volume 2 in due course, and — some day — the complete record of the temple of Khons.

Woolton, Liverpool, January 1981

K. A. KITCHEN

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Richard A. PARKER, Jean LECLANT, Jean-Claude GOYON, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*. Brown University Press Providence, London, Lund Humphries 1979 (38 cm, x, 95 p., 44 pl.) = Brown Egyptological Studies 8. ISBN 0 87057 151 6 (Brown University), 0 85331 423 3 (Lund Humphries).

Trois noms figurent sur la page de titre de ce livre, en ordre alphabétique inverse, mais en ordre d'importance croissante. En effet, le premier auteur a écrit la préface, le second un court chapitre pour décrire l'objet — ce qu'un architecte aurait sans doute mieux fait — (nous en sommes à la page 10), le troisième le reste. Il faut dire évidemment que le premier a fait faire les photographies et que le second les a prêtées au troisième. Le mérite de l'invention d'un monument que tout le monde pouvait voir revient donc aux deux premiers, qu'il faut féliciter d'avoir su trouver un collaborateur aussi consciencieux et précis. Ils ont donc droit à être cités chaque fois que l'ouvrage apparaîtra dans une note de bas de page. Sur la page de titre figure aussi le nom de la traductrice française qui, pour d'obscures raisons, dut mettre en anglais le texte des

français qu'on aurait aussi bien pu lire en original, puisqu'ils ont écrit tout le livre. Cela paraîtra pour le moins saugrenu. On s'étonne alors de ne pas voir mentionner sur cette même page de titre le nom de Reginald Coleman, cet admirable artiste à qui l'on doit les parfaites épreuves des reliefs qui constituent l'authentique publication archéologique du monument, dont J. C. Goyon livre l'interprétation détaillée.

Appuyé par les copies si lisibles de Coleman, je m'en tiendrai à parler ici du livre de Goyon. P. 11 à 79, il décrit minutieusement toutes les scènes conservées de l'édifice et en commente figures et inscriptions avec la richesse d'information qui lui est coutumière. Il essaye en même temps de trouver un sens à cet ensemble d'apparence chaotique. Les égyptiens, selon leur habitude se sont contentés d'indiquer quelques points de repère, sans prétendre à reproduire intégralement le rituel sur les parois du monument. Il fallait évidemment un égyptologue rompu à la théologie égyptienne pour tirer parti de ces allusions. Goyon s'est montré à la hauteur de la tâche. Ayant distingué les tableaux très elliptiques qui se rapportent à la consécration du roi, à la théologie solaire, à la résurrection du dieu, à l'union d'Osiris et de Râ mis en rapport avec le mythe proprement thébain de la création à Djémé, il établit l'existence d'un rituel lié à une procession qu'il faut s'imaginer pour comprendre.

Au caractère cosmogonique de l'ensemble se superpose un aspect thébain qui s'accroît dans la salle où Amon s'unit à ses dix ba, qui servent finalement à définir sa fonction créatrice. Celle-ci dépend pourtant d'une autre conception qui s'exprime par l'union de Râ et d'Osiris source initiale de vie et force de renouvellement formulée par la «litanie du soleil» sculptée dans un escalier de telle façon que les aspects osiriens et solaires du dieu soient nettement répartis sur deux parois opposées. (Pour la litanie du soleil, on verra maintenant l'édition de Hornung, in *Ägyptologica Helvetica* 2 (1975) et 3 (1976), parue après la mise en œuvre et publication de l'ouvrage recensé).

Goyon montre ainsi qu'au retour de la procession qui l'avait mené jusqu'à Djémé pour rendre hommage aux dieux morts des temps primordiaux, Amon s'assimilait dans l'édifice du coin du lac sacré de Karnak qui se trouve justement au bout de l'allée par où il rentrait les énergies fondamentales qui lui permettraient de reprendre l'œuvre de création toujours recommencée qu'on attendait de lui. Il paraît vraisemblable d'associer à ce rituel l'immense scarabée d'Aménophis III qui se trouve tout à côté et qui exprimerait ainsi excellemment le retour du dieu à la lumière après sa «descente aux enfers», comme elle est exprimée en particulier dans la douzième heure du Livre de l'Amdouat des tombes royales. La corrélation des deux monuments suggère alors qu'avant l'époque éthiopienne, pour laquelle un édifice antérieur à celui de Taharqa est attesté à cet endroit, le secteur du temple où il est construit était déjà consacré au rituel que Goyon a reconnu. La proximité du lac sacré, mis en communication avec l'édifice par un escalier souterrain (faussement appelé nilomètre) pour signifier la connexion du monde créé avec le Noun primordial justifie cet emplacement. Un autre aspect de la théologie thébaine (je préfère théologie à mystique qu'emploie Goyon, la première étant à mes yeux un système spéculatif à fondement intellectuel tandis que la mystique implique une attitude psychologique dans la-

quelle l'individu se croit sentimentalement en contact avec Dieu) mis en lumière discrètement est un jeu sur les nombres trois et dix. S'il a déjà été question des dix ba d'Amon, Goyon rappelle qu'il possédait également dix ka et dix noms, les trois dizaines définissant totalement la personnalité divine. Or, on ne peut s'empêcher de penser que le rituel de Djémé et de l'édifice de Taharqa était décadaire. D'autre part trois décades sont un mois, c'est à dire une unité de temps fondée sur l'observation de la lune. Or parmi les dix noms d'Amon, dans la litanie conservée à Hibis et à Karnak (pl. 40 de Goyon pour les textes parallèles) on trouve qu'il est «Celui qui vit de naissances (successives) possesseur de l'œil gauche (la lune) que tout le monde aime en son nom de mnḥ n iḥ c'est à dire de pleine lune». La relation du grand dieu thébain avec le mois semble donc bien établie, sans lui être spécifique puisqu'on trouve ailleurs des rituels décadaires (à l'Abaton de Philae par exemple). On pourrait pourtant se demander si une réflexion théologique poussée au comble de la subtilité n'a pas tenté de formuler diversement à Thèbes les mythes fondamentaux du renouvellement en les rapportant au dieu local. L'un des mythes est celui de l'union d'Osiris et de Râ. L'autre est celui de la succession père-fils qui s'exprime dans l'idéologie royale et dans le mythe osirien mais qui prend à Thèbes une forme spéciale dont l'expression architecturale est le temple d'Opet. A cela s'ajoute que le fils d'Amon dans le système thébain est le dieu-lune Khonsou. Si l'on met ensemble toutes ces spéculations, on arrive facilement à l'idée que les nombres trois et dix puissent avoir été revêtus d'un sens propre à définir Amon.

Je ne puis m'empêcher de penser par ailleurs que le papyrus Leiden I 350 nous a conservé partiellement une collection d'hymnes numérotés de 1 à 9, de 10 à 90 et de 100 à 900. C'est à dire trois séries dont aucune ne peut atteindre la dizaine mais y tend. Y avait-il une introduction ou une conclusion de trois hymnes qui auraient parachevé l'œuvre?

La spéculation numérique atteint même la vieille notion de l'ogdoade qui devint décade à Thèbes, comme Goyon le souligne ce qui justifie pleinement les réflexions qu'il a formulées sur une sorte de «mystique des nombres» dans l'ancienne Égypte, dont je m'empresse de dire qu'elle n'a rien à voir avec celle des «pyramidalistes» et autres rosirociens.

Au long du commentaire de Goyon, on découvre l'étonnante unité des aspects si diversifiés d'Amon créateur et régénérateur par son union avec Osiris et Râ ou sous sa forme de Kamoutef, ou par la mise en contact des épiphanies rs wdj et dsr- particulièrement évidente.

Le soin que l'auteur a pris d'analyser soigneusement les détails de chaque scène et de chaque inscription lui a permis de jeter un regard pénétrant sur l'intense activité théologique qui régnait à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire, bien avant l'époque de Taharqa.

La publication en dessins au trait accompagnés de quelques photographies est un modèle du genre, infiniment plus agréable à lire que celles qui se contentent de la photographie. On regrettera simplement que la typographie de la page de titre ne fasse pas réellement apparaître la part de l'auteur.

Cologne, janvier 1981

PH. DERCHAIN

Roland TEFNIN, *La statuaire d'Hatshepsout. Portrait royal et politique sous la 18^e Dynastie*. Bruxelles, Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1979 (xii + 196 pp., 9 fig. hors texte, pl. I-XXXV) = Monumenta Aegyptiaca 4.

L'écrasante majorité des statues dont l'attribution à Hatshepsout ne fait aucun doute proviennent du site de Deir el-Bahari. Trois œuvres, qui font exception, sont des fragments que R. Tefnin juge peu exploitables et auxquels il ne consacre que quelques lignes dans la première page de son introduction. Ce groupe, dont une cinquantaine de pièces sont suffisamment conservées pour être prises en compte, constitue, selon l'auteur, un ensemble significatif, dans lequel les attitudes les plus importantes sont représentées. Il en fait donc le pivot de son étude. Géographiquement restreint, cet ensemble l'est aussi dans le temps puisqu'il est fort probable qu'il a été élaboré entre l'an 7 et l'an 16 des règnes conjoints d'Hatshepsout et de Thoutmosis III (p. 49-57). R.T. se fixe comme but, par l'étude des constituants, de replacer les statues d'Hatshepsout dans une succession chronologique précise. Il tente ensuite de distinguer les influences respectives de l'artiste, qui peut être conditionné par la tradition, et du souverain, désireux d'imposer un programme.

Dans son introduction, R.T. rend compte de sa technique de travail (p. x-xii). On regrettera que l'illustration photographique livrée à la fin de son ouvrage ne reflète que peu les exigences dont il fait état. On peut lui reprocher, en effet, son manque d'homogénéité et parfois de clarté. R.T. expose les difficultés qu'il a rencontrées et reconnaît qu'on peut difficilement lui en tenir rigueur. Il n'en résulte pas moins que la comparaison des œuvres est malaisée pour son lecteur, qui n'a pas eu comme lui la possibilité d'examiner tous les originaux de près. De surcroît, les statues de la reine ont été très gravement endommagées, et les œuvres que l'on contemple maintenant sont parfois le fruit d'un travail de reconstitution d'une habileté diabolique. Il est indispensable de suivre de très près le commentaire de R.T. si l'on ne veut pas être trompé par les restitutions modernes. R.T. a recours, en outre, à la méthode anthropométrique, qu'affectionne également son compatriote Cl. Vandersleyen. Il est cependant conscient des limites de cette démarche, pourtant séduisante, et en restreint de lui-même l'application (p. xi). Les tableaux des pages 171 à 177 sont intéressants mais demandent à être interprétés avec prudence, le sérieux de l'opération dépendant de la taille et de la représentativité de l'échantillon retenu. De plus, il convient de «gommer» les pointes anormales des graphiques (p. 172), si l'on veut en tirer des conclusions correctes.

Dans une première partie, R.T. procède à l'étude analytique des œuvres en respectant les groupements typologiques. Outre les informations dont on dispose sur ces pièces (provenance, bibliographie), il en donne une description archéologique minutieuse. Chacun de ses chapitres comprend également un essai d'interprétation dans lequel l'auteur s'efforce de situer chronologiquement les œuvres étudiées. Les deux premiers chapitres occupent une place privilégiée, car les statues assises et les statues osiriennes servent de repères à R.T. pour la datation relative de toutes les autres, les premières parce-que, ayant en commun un aspect féminin ou féminisant, elles seraient à

classer parmi les plus anciennes, et les secondes, parce-que, s'incorporant à l'architecture, elles sont des jalons tout désignés, si l'on admet, ce qui est hautement vraisemblable, que les constructeurs ont progressé en gros d'ouest en est, de la falaise vers la vallée. Du fait de l'importance qu'il accorde aux statues féminisantes, il incorpore à son premier chapitre l'étude d'un certain nombre d'œuvres extérieures à Deir el-Bahari et dont l'attribution à Hatshepsout est sujette à caution. Il reconnaît une image de la reine dans la statue assise à côté de celle de Thoutmosis III dans le naos du sanctuaire oriental de Karnak (p. 31-33), ce qui paraît vraisemblable. En revanche, je comprends moins bien ses réticences en ce qui concerne la statue Louvre A 131. En outre, le parti qu'il peut tirer des colosses osiriennes conduit R.T. à procéder à un développement historique (étapes de construction de Djeser-djeserou, grandes dates du règne: p. 49-57). Il analyse ensuite les reliefs du sanctuaire d'Amon, où les représentations de la reine lui semblent particulièrement féminisantes (p. 57-61). Enfin, la ressemblance entre les colosses osiriennes A et les statues de l'hypostyle de Thoutmosis I^{er} à Karnak lui fournit l'occasion de reconsidérer les représentations en ronde-bosse de ce roi (p. 62 sq.). Ayant ainsi défini ses critères de datation et s'étant donné des repères avec les statues osiriennes, R.T. aborde l'analyse des œuvres restantes de Deir el-Bahari (statues agenouillées, statues debout, sphinx) et leur assigne une place dans sa chronologie relative (chap. III sq.) en se référant aux œuvres étudiées auparavant.

La deuxième partie de l'ouvrage est consacrée aux synthèses. Ayant largement anticipé sur ses conclusions dans la première partie, R.T. donne ici l'impression, parfois, de se livrer à des redites. On aura une vue relativement claire des résultats auxquels il est parvenu en examinant ses tableaux (p. 139-141). Il distingue trois phases dans l'évolution de la statuaire d'Hatshepsout: I. Tradition paternelle féminisée. II. Affirmation personnelle: féminité et souveraineté. III. Retour à la tradition: masculinité fictive. Ces conclusions sont visualisées dans le tableau des pages 140-141: les carreaux noirs font apparaître trois groupements d'œuvres dont la séparation est justifiée par la présence pour chacun d'un certain nombre de critères coordonnés. J'ai à dessein parlé de «trois groupements» et non de «trois phases». On comprendra pourquoi plus loin.

Dans son chapitre intitulé «les visages d'Hatshepsout» (p. 145 sq.), R.T. examine les œuvres de provenances diverses dont l'attribution est sujette à caution. Il opère un tri sévère! Sur 15 statues ou fragments de statues, trois seulement lui semblent être des portraits de la reine (p. 157-161). Dans un dernier chapitre, R.T. nous expose sa conception de la statuaire du règne d'Hatshepsout. Ne voulant pas m'étendre sur les considérations qu'il développe dans ce style très élaboré qui est le sien, je me contenterai de dire qu'il y décèle l'intersection de «trois plans principaux de signification» (plan rituel, plan plastique et plan idéologique ou plus précisément politique). Refusant d'interpréter le style propre à cette statuaire par un recours à l'archaïsme (pourtant reconnu par certains comme l'une des tendances de ce règne, et qui s'exprime d'ailleurs dans d'autres domaines que celui de la statuaire), il voit dans la raideur et le refus de réalisme charnel,

contrastant avec les traits du visage qui ne manquent pas de vérité, un souci d'affirmer une autorité de type masculin (p. 169-170).

Il est impossible d'exposer, dans ces quelques lignes, toutes les réflexions que me suggère cette étude. Je me limiterai donc aux points qui me paraissent les plus importants.

Deux idées fondamentales gouvernent l'étude de R.T. D'abord, la certitude, à mon sens un peu optimiste, qu'il est possible d'opérer un classement chronologique rigoureux des œuvres à partir d'un certain nombre de critères stylistiques ou épigraphiques, l'exploitation que fait R.T. de ces derniers étant d'ailleurs très discutable (ex. p. 26-28 : l'orthographe «longue» du nom du temple, où la répétition du signe est préférée à l'emploi des trois traits du pluriel, correspond à un procédé graphique fréquemment utilisé dans les inscriptions de ce règne, du début à la fin; ce n'est probablement qu'une de ces manifestations d'archaïsme que l'on rencontre dans les textes comme dans les productions artistiques de l'époque). Son développement sur les sphinx de granit est significatif : R.T. devance par une phrase conjuratoire la critique qu'on pourrait lui opposer de faire preuve d'esprit de système (p. 117 : ... «il pourrait sembler trop dogmatique...»), et pourtant, il ne parvient pas à renoncer à un classement trop affiné pour ne pas paraître suspect.

La deuxième idée-force est celle que le conflit entre Hatshepsout-femme et Hatshepsout-pharaon (qui se résoudrait finalement par la victoire complète du second de ces avatars), joue un rôle primordial dans l'évolution des statues de la reine. Ayant découvert ce filon, R.T. s'y accroche et, après avoir posé ce principe dès les pages 1-2, sans le démontrer, il l'utilise tout au long de son exposé (p. 87, 94, 101, 132-3, 135, 166) pour justifier ses datations relatives : plus les traits féminins ou féminisants sont nombreux ou apparents, plus l'œuvre a de chances d'être ancienne; plus une statue est masculine, plus elle est récente. Il ressent si peu la nécessité de justifier ce qui est pour lui un axiome que, dans son développement sur les reliefs du sanctuaire d'Amon, dans lesquels il décele un aspect «allusivement» féminin (p. 59) des représentations d'Hatshepsout (néanmoins figurée en pharaon), il présente ses observations comme un argument en faveur de l'hypothèse de Somers Clarke quant à l'antériorité du sanctuaire d'Amon (p. 61). Au mieux, je serais tentée d'inverser ce raisonnement! (Ce qui, après tout, apporterait de l'eau à son moulin). L'esprit de système dont il fait preuve atteint son paroxysme dès le début de son livre, avec l'étude des cinq statues assises de Deir el-Bahari : Les deux premières représentent la reine comme une femme, portant la robe; les trois autres la montrent sous l'aspect le plus traditionnel du pharaon vêtu du pagne, avec cependant un corps gracile. Je suis donc peu sensible à la progression vers une représentation de plus en plus masculine que R.T. croit déceler dans ces œuvres. Il parvient cependant à les ordonner presque parfaitement dans le temps (la cinquième est très mutilée); il prétend, en quelque sorte, prouver le mouvement en marchant! Or, le résultat miraculeux que visualise le tableau de la page 29 n'est obtenu que parce-qu'il donne une signification artificiellement féminine à des traits qui n'en ont pas (collier, bracelets de poignets, main à plat; en outre, bracelets de cheville et robe sont tellement associés qu'il

est abusif d'en faire deux données distinctes). En outre, il ne justifie pas l'interprétation chronologique qu'il donne des différences qu'il constate! (Ses arguments, page 2, ne sont pas très convaincants). R.T. va même jusqu'à donner une importance démesurée à des détails futiles : la surface d'un motif de sema-taouy est un peu réduite? (p. 24). C'est là une preuve de timidité qui trahit la femme hésitant à affirmer sa souveraineté! La statue assise n° 2 porte, en même temps que la robe, le némès royal. La chose est surprenante! (p. 8). Cependant tout s'éclaire si l'on remarque que, pusillanime par sculpteur interposé, la reine lui a donné une forme particulièrement étriquée. Malheureusement, le némès de la statue n° 4, qui compte encore, selon lui, parmi les œuvres féminisantes du règne, écrase, par son envergure, tous ses semblables de la 18^e dynastie! (p. 172). «cet élargissement est d'un effet malheureux...», dit R.T. (p. 17). Je le pense aussi!

Il est vrai, qu'avec les statues osiriennes, R.T. a recours à un critère de datation plus solide (v. plus haut). Mais se rend-t-il bien compte que cette référence aux étapes de construction du temple l'oblige à modifier les conclusions vers lesquelles le guidait son parti pris de masculinisation progressive? Il remarque, en effet, que ce sont les statues osiriennes B qui se rapprochent le plus des statues assises qu'il est si tenté de placer à l'origine de son évolution (p. 69). Pour corriger cette distorsion et faire place aux colosses A, il est obligé d'introduire une phase préliminaire d'attachement à la tradition paternelle qui rompt le caractère linéaire de cette évolution (cette cassure apparaît nettement sur le tableau des pages 140-141).

Je ne voudrais pas, ce qui serait injuste, donner l'impression que je condamne cet ouvrage. Je reconnais que R.T., qui ne manque ni de subtilité, ni de sensibilité, est peut-être parvenu à des conclusions justes ou, du moins, non dénuées de valeur, malgré une méthode contestable. Mais la cohérence indéniable de son tableau principal (cohérence qui, selon lui, suffit à valider sa thèse : p. 142), n'est pas incompatible avec d'autres explications que celle purement chronologique qu'il avance (même, encore une fois, si celle-ci n'est pas exclue). Rien n'interdit de voir dans les groupes de statues qu'il est parvenu à isoler, les produits de plusieurs ateliers de sculpteurs. En outre, si l'on tient compte du fait que les statues les plus féminines ou féminisantes sont celles qui correspondent à un type «passif» (souveraine assise sur un trône), tandis que celles qui montrent la reine dans une posture rituelle ou dans l'exercice d'un acte du culte sont plus conformes à la tradition (évidemment masculine), on est tenté de rechercher dans la destination des statues l'explication de ces différences. Quand ces traits féminisants sont discrets (ex. : couleur jaune du visage), on ne peut non plus leur accorder une très grande valeur : Même devenue pharaon, Hatshepsout n'a jamais, que je sache, prétendu avoir changé de sexe. Il est donc raisonnable de penser que les artistes n'ont jamais pu faire totalement abstraction de la nature féminine de leur souveraine.

Paris, le 5 janvier 1981

B. LETELLIER

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Karl MARTIN, *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum, Lose-Blatt-Katalog Agyptischer Altertümer*, Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim, Lieferung 3: *Reliefs des Alten Reiches*, Teil 1; Lieferung 7: *Reliefs des Alten Reiches*, Teil 2. Mainz/Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, (30 cm., Lieferung 3, 109 pages; Lieferung 7, 175 pages). ISBN 3 8053 0293 2 and 3 8053 0036 0.

The *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum*, as it has begun to appear in the first few fascicles, notably from the museums of Hildesheim, Hannover and Boston, has already proved its usefulness from the standpoint of providing many objects in publication which have not appeared before or which have only been found in museum guides or excavation reports. To suggest that the present format makes it relatively easy to publish the material is not to imply that a considerable amount of work has not been done on these segments of the *Corpus* which have already appeared, but rather to suggest that the format makes the production of the material easier to produce. With the larger museum collections it allows the curators and authors the chance to concentrate on special sections of their holdings. In this way a specialized type, such as Canopic jars, may be treated as a self-contained unit as Edward Brovanski has done for the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, or as a historical period of a type, i.e. the stone relief carvings of the Old Kingdom, may be done in one or more fascicles in the manner exemplified by the works under consideration here. Certainly museums with collections which are not as extensive as Boston or Hildesheim will have to include a greater range of object, type or time period in one publication.

Karl Martin has produced two volumes on the reliefs of the Old Kingdom in the collection of the Pelizaeus-Museum with a third forthcoming which will complete this subject. It should be stated at the outset that the index of the three volumes is deferred to the third, of which it will be a part. As with any reference work which is issued serially, the absence of an index makes the use of the work, albeit temporarily, more difficult.

The two present fascicles contain a great amount of useful material in the convenient format which the *Corpus* provides. Since the separate sheets of both text and plates can be extracted for easy reference and comparison, they may be treated with the utmost of flexibility. The main complaint I have about the present system of publication concerns the covering papers which will have to be replaced by almost any library with more permanent binders. I am not sure what the intention of the designer and publisher may have been but a comparison with almost any part of the older *Corpus Vasorum* will show that the addition of stiff board covers serves to protect the contents. Perhaps this was envisioned as an economy move which will lend itself to any particular treatment in libraries which already have their own established systems. The good quality of the paper stock prohibits binding the material but, in any case, the cover and its shortcomings is of little consequence to this review.

The Pelizaeus-Museum has a rich and varied collection of Old Kingdom reliefs, representing both tomb and temple decoration, to judge from only the first two of three fascicles. It is very much to the credit of the author for making this material available to the scholarly public.

Most of what has been published to date has been in the form of excavation reports but the present works with good illustrations make the individual pieces much more easily accessible. Those included are essentially from the excavations of Steindorff (1903, 1905, 1906), Junker (1912, 1913, 1914, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929), Ernst v. Sieglin (1910), and Reisner (1925), all from Giza, and the excavations of the Deutschen Orientgesellschaft at Abusier (1907) and v. Bissing at Abu Ghorub (1898-1901). This material from well-known excavations at Giza, Abusier and Abu Ghorub is especially welcome and illustrates the advantage of the complete publication of all of the material in a museum which shared in the objects from such excavations. The types of objects include false doors and parts of false doors, architraves, offering reliefs or slab-stelae, wall and relief fragments and blocks. Due to the changes which have taken place in the attitude toward museums' numbering over the years, some catalog numbers serve for one piece, some for a group of pieces, which make up a single entity and some for a larger number of fragments (46 in one case, and 62 in another).

Each object or group of objects is catalogued according to the format set out by the *Corpus* with exhaustive information on the physical condition of the material and the text as well as with references and literature on the subject. Each object is illustrated with at least one photograph while many are accompanied by several views with different light sources to better bring out those details which are not immediately visible with a single source. Line drawings are included where the photograph does not convey the necessary information. In some instances, particularly in the second of the two sections under consideration here, additional photographs or drawings would have been desirable.

The material presented here includes a number of important pieces, foremost among them being the offering-relief or slab-stela of *Jwnw*, a second fragmentary slab-stela (No. 2381), which is listed in Porter-Moss but not identified there as in the Pelizaeus-Museum, a number of false doors and parts of false doors including that of *Wnst* (No. 2971) from tomb G 4840 at Giza with its impressive reliefs. The references given are kept to a minimum. Where the Porter-Moss citation is given, the only others which are listed are excavation reports, and a limited number of prime importance. In the case of the slab-stela of *Jwnw* mentioned above, the literature on the piece is immense, but even the 1974 edition of Porter-Moss does not mention the discussion by Vandier of the piece (Vandier: *Manuel* I,2, pp. 756,757) where he discusses the stela in relationship to the other important parallels of the period and illustrates it three times. Since it was the intention of the compiler and author of these two sections of this catalog of Old Kingdom reliefs to provide only those prime references for each entry, it is probably not necessary to mention the omission of a particular work but it would have been useful for most readers to have such lengthy citations as that of Vandier, where they are of special interest, included. It is understood that the system adopted by the author has been used in the interest of brevity. Perhaps some sort of compromise would be more satisfactory in which major references, even when they are listed in other works cited, might be given. The present standard assumes that any potential user of the work has available to him all of

the important references and this may not always be the case.

In general the presentation of the objects is uniformly good with enough illustrative material to make each object easily understood. The use of an excavation photograph, where available as in the case of No. 416, for comparison with the present condition of the object, makes the loss of color obvious. According to some standards the use of black backgrounds behind many of the pieces would not be desirable because this tends to darken the general impression of the plate and in some cases, it may be the reason for obscured detail. No. 1952 probably should have been accompanied by a line drawing but one does exist in the excavation report which may be consulted. No. 2971, with five photographs included, would have been better presented with a series of details of the separate sections of the large relief. In many cases the inclusion of details of difficult areas would have been useful. Since this series of reference works, which are to be considered the standard publication of the objects illustrated, will often be the only source available, extreme care should be taken in the photography. There are a number of cases where the photography might have been improved but it is beyond the scope of this review to list each instance.

Certainly, this work will be welcomed by Egyptologists and the third fascicle will, when it appears, make it even more useful to the serious student. It is to be hoped that other museums will follow suit in the publication of their material in the *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum* with as little delay as possible.

Detroit Institute of Arts,
December 1980

WILLIAM H. PECK

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Enrico ACQUARO, *Amuleti Egiziani ed Egittizzanti del Museo Nazionale di Cagliari*. Roma, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1977 (28 cm., 158 S., 61 Tafeln) = Collezione di Studi Fenici, 10.

Vorgelegt werden 1271 ägyptische und ägyptisierende Amulette des Nationalmuseums von Cagliari, ein jedes in katalogartiger Beschreibung mit Kurzangaben zu Herkunft, Material, Maßen und mindest einer photographischen Abbildung in natürlicher Größe. Die Mehrzahl von ihnen dürfte aus sardischem Boden stammen. Sicher ist dies der Fall bei tradierten Fundortangaben wie Cagliari, Nora, Olbia und Tharros. Es wird aber auch für die meisten Objekte zutreffen, die aus alten einheimischen Privatsammlungen in das Museum gelangten, etwa der Slg. Cara, Castagnino, Chessa, Gouin, Spano. Die Slg. Timon bildet hier eine Sonderstellung; denn für 41 der über 100 Objekte aus dieser Sammlung ist Ägypten als Herkunftsland gesichert. Nach dem Inventar (unter Nr. 15256) sollen gar 72 Amulette der Slg. Timon in moderner Zeit in Ägypten gekauft sein „comprati in Egitto“. 31 von diesen müssen sich also noch unter dem allgemein als punisch angesehenen Material befinden. Daß sie sich bis heute nicht von diesem trennen lassen aufgrund ihrer Verschiedenheit in Material, Technik oder stilistischer Ausarbeitung, ist bedeutungsvoll! Der Autor ist geneigt,

die Mehrzahl der auf Sardinien gefundenen Objekte für am Ort oder zumindest doch außerhalb Ägyptens hergestellte Arbeiten anzusehen — und dennoch hat er keine überzeugenden Kriterien für einen solchen Schluß anzuführen. Uns scheint die Frage, ob ägyptischer oder nicht-ägyptischer Herkunft, d.h. phönizischer, rhodischer, karthagischer, westmediterraner, gar sardischer Provenienz, bislang höchstens für wenige, ganz bestimmte Typen lösbar zu sein, etwa jene Falkengottheit¹⁾ mit dem eigenartigen, entfernt an die ägyptische Doppelkrone erinnernden Kopfschmuck (Nr. 791-817, 1197-1200), abgesehen selbstverständlich von jenen menschlichen Masken und anderen menschlichen Körperteilen, auch jenem Rinderkopf und der Weintraube, die in dieser Form in Ägypten nicht oder höchstens als Importware anzutreffen sind. Nur an großen Reihen im gesamten Mittelmeerraum durchgeführte sorgfältige Materialanalysen könnten m.M. nach weitere wissenschaftlich brauchbare Aufschlüsse erbringen — sie stehen noch aus.

Deutlich zeigt sich dagegen bei einer Durchsicht der publizierten Amulette des Museums von Cagliari — und wir hätten uns gewünscht, daß der Autor näher darauf eingegangen wäre —, daß sie sich in Typus und Ausführung kaum von jenen in Karthago oder Ibiza etwa in punischem Zusammenhang gefundenen unterscheiden, bei entsprechendem zahlenmäßigem Vorherrschen ganz bestimmter Formen, des wdt-Auges an erster Stelle, gefolgt von Patäken und Kobren. Eine Kartierung jeweils der häufigsten Typen am Fundplatz wäre sicher von Interesse gewesen.

Jeder, der sich — an welchem Ort auch immer — mit jener ägyptischen und ägyptisierenden „pacotille“ beschäftigt hat, die Phönizier, Griechen und Punier bis in den äußersten Westen des Mittelmeerraumes verhandelten, wird die ausführliche Vorlage lokal geschlossener Komplexe begrüßen und dankbar annehmen und hoffen, daß auf diese Weise mit der Zeit auch jenes von verschiedensten wissenschaftlichen Aspekten her durchaus interessante Quellenmaterial einmal so komplett wie möglich der Forschung zur Verfügung stehen wird.

Tübingen, den 2.1.1981

INGRID GAMER-WALLERT

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Irmtraut BESTE, *Skarabäen. Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum. Kestner-Museum*, Hannover, Mainz, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Lieferung 1 (Teil 1) 1978; Lieferung 2 (Teil 2) 1979; Lieferung 3 (Teil 3) 1979 (30 cm, 1: x + 176 pp., 2: iv + 187 pp., 3: iv + 169 pp.). ISBN 3-8053-0292-4; -0347-5; -0348-3.

The three volumes of CAA devoted to the collection of scarabs of the Hanover museum (including recent acquisitions from the collection of the Duke of Northumberland (Alnwick Castle) and some pieces in the private collection of the author) are a kind of experiment: as they are offered now for a very high price, the reader has to

¹⁾ Bei der namentlichen Bezeichnung der einzelnen Gottheiten wäre Rez. etwas vorsichtiger als der Autor.

ask himself not only if the experiment has been successful but also whether he has received good value for his money.

It has to be said right at the beginning that contents and representation in these volumes are disappointing.

The author and the editor admit in their foreword that there has been a problem of waste of space, especially with the photos. In II,97 we can demonstrate that there is not only a waste of space, which makes the handling of the volumes as books difficult, but also the quality of the photos is less than mediocre: there are too many photos which are absolutely useless for the interpretation of the objects; it would have been better if the CAA-project had adopted a scheme in which good drawings illustrate the way in which the author understands the data on a scarab. The three volumes follow a scheme which, the editors of CAA hope, to be useful also for future volumes. This has caused another waste of space, that given to a very detailed description of the back of each scarab; no conclusions are drawn from these descriptions. The disproportion of these descriptions to the rest of the book becomes obvious if we compare the descriptions of backs with the descriptions of bases with their essential scenes, representations and inscriptions.

The author does not hesitate to date the objects. Her system is to look up the plates of Rowe (A. Rowe, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs ... in the Palestine Archeological Museum*, Le Caire 1936.) for features of the back and side (head, clypeus) and see how Rowe dates these forms. The comparison with Rowe could have been useful in saving us the long descriptions of the backs and sides. For the dating — this is most doubtful and has not been used for example in the standard work edited by E. Hornung and E. Staehelin. (E. Hornung-E. Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen*. Mainz 1976. This weakness makes Rowe and other standard-works appear in "Literatur" much too often when no real parallel is indicated but reference is made to one aspect only (back, side, form of spirals on base etc.) In some "Kommentar"-notes references are given with page indication which belong to "Literatur", thus there is some repetition.

The over-exact data according to the Munsell Book of Color serve no useful purpose. These are nearly always the only "Technische Angaben".

In many cases the parallels quoted are disappointing: often wrong numbers are quoted, or one detail only appears on the parallel piece, so that nothing much is gained.

Much text could have been saved by saying in the foreword that all bases are "glatt" if not indicated differently, that all pieces are "längsdurchbohrt" except heart-scarabs, etc. Nearly all scarabs have as a frame a single line, it would have been enough to indicate exceptions (This could have been arranged for all scarab volumes of the CAA, past and future).

Dates for the scarabs are given in all cases on the upper right corner of each sheet, but in "Kommentar" much more hesitation is expressed and rightly so.

There is always a problem whether such a work is intended for the Egyptologist only. In this case to translate 'nh — Leben is not necessary. On the other hand if the book is meant for non-Egyptologists — why not translate the sign '33.

In the following there can be no attempt to discuss all the items where we would differ from the interpretation of the author — this also for the reason that often there is simply no base for such a discussion as the photos are very often useless and nearly no drawings are given except in three — four cases which have long inscriptions and in the case of heart-scarabs. We limit our discussion to some scarabs where the photos are clear enough to control the reading and to scarabs which are of some importance. We shall use abbreviations of the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* and in these volumes of CAA. —

VOLUME 1

2 Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, 656 has: "Amon wakes — there is no fear"; see also Hornung-Staehelin *op. cit.*, 334 (No. 726) with further examples for this. For these formulae see E. Drioton, *Annals of the Faculty of Arts, Ibrahim Pascha University*, Cairo 1951, 51-71.

37 Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, 175 and 181 are not very close, parallels as there is no nfr. The reference to Newberry, *Scarab Shaped Seals* 36572 is doubtful.

41 There has to be a distinction between two k3 signs joined together which stand for three k3 signs and an arrangement in which there are on top two joined k3's and a third below. An intermediate form is F.S. Matouk, *Corpus I*, 178, No. 46 B with four arms joined to a common base. Of all the 11 references quoted, one, F.S. Matouk, *Corpus I*, 45 B is a real parallel case to K(estner) M(useum) 1960.

43 The animal with the head of a falcon and the body of a lion, the griffon, represents Amon. The "plant" at the left is the Christ's Thorn tree (Zisypus), Egyptian nbs, symbolizing the locality of pr-nbs, Pnubs, in the Eastern Delta. S. Sauneron & J. Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 50 (1952) 163, note 4. For parallels (all of 25.-26 Dynasties) see G.A. Reisner, *Amulets* (Catalogue général du Musée du Caire) Le Caire 1907 117, Pl. IX (No. 12102), Petrie, *Scarabs* Pl. LII,3.3. Hall, *Catalogue*, 20 (No. 191) 45 the example quoted in note 5 is also of a queen. This may be significant for the use of implements with ducks by ladies, not only on scaraboids.

60 A closer parallel is Hornung-Staehelin, 242, *op. cit.* No. 254. The piece quoted from the Frazer-collection is now Hornung-Staehelin, *op. cit.*, 241 (No. 253).

61 The triangle behind the god Hh is the sign rdi and has to be read with the 'nh sign before the god as the wish "May life be given".

66 This is certainly not to be dated to the days of Thutmosis III, the parallel quoted is of a different style altogether. This remark is true of many of the scarabs with mn-hpr-R' in the collection.

80 This scarab does not seem to be of the time of Sethi I. None of the five pieces from Hall are relevant; Newberry, *Scarabs*, Pl. 34, No. 19 has the proper order of signs whileas in the Hanover piece the order of signs is inverted, and the Ma'at-sign points the wrong way round and its lower part is missing.

164 For the meaning of the hand on seals and its combination with an enemy subdued by a lion — see now Hornung-Staehelin *op. cit.* Excursus, 124-125.

174 This photo of a piece which is — like some others in the book, most probably a fake — is particularly bad.

One wonders whether the phrase "Thoeris, Ptah, Amun und Cheper hockend nach links" refers really to this piece: Thoeris and Kheper are certainly not squatting. All gods are orientated towards the right, except, of course the beetle, Kheper.

VOLUME II

13 Possibly a fake, certainly not a Hyksos scarab. The suspicion of faking crops up with quite a number of peculiar scarabs in this collection, but the representation of the material (photos) makes it hard to judge definitely.

36 For this hunting scene see also Volume I, p. 83-84. (KM 1982) For a cryptographic interpretation of the whole scene see E. Drioton, *BSFE* 28-29 (1959), 17-25. For a different approach and for the interpretation of the animal lying down as an antelope and not as a hare see O. Keel, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins* 93 (1977), 148-153.

49 The sign of the lotusbud has to be read *nhmt* (*Wb* II 297,10) The whole has then to be read: "Amon-Rē, the Lord who saves". For a perfect parallel for the Hanover specimen see: Gabriella Matthiae Scandone, *Scarabei e Scaraboidi Egiziani ed Egittizzanti del Museo Nazionale di Cagliari*. Roma 1975, 27 with further material and Pl. 4 (B 1) Petrie's reading of the sign "nehebt" (*Buttons and Design scarabs*, 21) is reproduced by Mrs Scandone as *nhbt*. However it is the verb *nhm* which has the two meanings "lotusbud" and "save". This has caused the word "to save" to be determined or to be replaced by the bud (see also Givon *RdE* 28 (1976), 155-156).

66 For the series see Emma Brunner-Traut, *NAWG* 1965, No. 7, 142-144; W.C. Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 167 (variation: the *wn* sign is employed instead of the Ma'at feather. Hornung-Staehelin *op. cit.*, 176.) Three examples of this were found in Israel, two were unpublished surface finds, one comes from the excavations of Dr. M. Prausnitz at Akhsiv. I am publishing this group of scarabs from Akhsiv.

70 This could perhaps be read as "Isis and Horus, the Lords" with the ureaus, wrongly placed, as determinative for goddess.

143 Haremhab: the fourth name is written *hpr*, not *hprw* on this scarab. Gauthier *LR*, III, 385 (No. XII) and 393 (No. LXII) also lack the plural strokes.

166 For the personal name correct the reference into: Ranke, *PN* I, 124,6.

182 This beautiful scarab does not have Resheph but Seth. On his crown the god does not have the typical bent gazelle horns of Resheph, but straight horns typical for Seth. Characteristic for Seth is, in addition, the killing of the serpent Apophis. (see Chapter 18 of the Book of the Dead) For further representations of the scene of Seth killing Apophis see: O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Les stèles égyptiennes*, Copenhagen 1948, Pl. 43; G. Brunton, *Matmar*, London 1948, 61, Pl. 49,13. This is also the meaning of the scene of the Cassirer scarab: M. Cassirer, *JEA* 45 (1959), 6 & Pl. 6. Over the scene the inscription *mr-R'* "Beloved of Rē" indicates that Seth, in killing Apophis, helps Rē on his daily journey. The female goddess is remarkable in this scene. She could be Astarte, who is sometimes associated with Seth (Givon, *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan*, Fribourg 1978, 90-96.) The photo of the

object from Hanover does not make it possible to identify her.

185 There are clearly two nefer-signs, not one, on this Hyksos-scarab.

VOLUME III

2 The amethyst scarab of *'nh-Hr* may have a personal name which is composed of an Egyptian part, *'nh* and the semitic name of a god *Hr* (like Ya'aqobhar page 138 of this volume) We should then interpret: "(The god) Har lives" Egyptian personal names consisting of the word *'nh* and the name of a god are very common. A parallel case, with two languages would be *Hwy-šm'*. Here, the first part is the short form of the name Amenophis and the second semitic *šm'*, hear "(the deified) Amenophis heard (my prayers)". (Ranke, *PN* I 233,26).

47 The statement "Aufgrund des Kopftypus nach A. Rowe von der Hyksos-Zeit bis 26. Dynastie möglich" shows by its range that it is impossible to base dating on elements listed by Rowe, as is done in this catalogue everywhere.

64 The crocodile is cut into segments, a magical means to avoid danger.

69 The object is certainly a shield.



86 The part of the design which is interpreted as *šš* (which word should have been translated) seems to be most doubtful. The photo here again is weak, the tail of the lion is interpreted as a foreleg of the lizard. Some elements of the upper part of the design remind us of the gazelles in hunting-scene scarabs.

114 G.T. Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private Name Seals*, Oxford 1971, 19 has several private seals with *'Imn-m-ḥšt*. In general the order of signs is *k3 nfr* and not reversed, as in this example.

118 The inscription does not read "Amenj, er möge dauern" but *'Imny-wšh*, a personal name with the meaning: "King Amenemhet-may-he-endure". For this see Ranke, *PN* I 31,19.

120 The title *wr mḏw sm'w* should read "The Great One (or The Greatest One) of the Ten of Upper Egypt" and not "Einer der zehn Grossen" see H. G. Fisher, *JNES* 18, (1959), 265-266.

123 The reference to Hornung-Staehelin, *op. cit* No. 521, does not show anything similar to the Hanover-scarab in base design or back.

135 correct into: Sotheby 29, No. 120,3. The second reading suggested seems to be better because it does not separate  from  which is in the same group of hieroglyphs; the first reading would begin at the centre of the inscription.

138 "Hier erscheint ein *q*, verschnitten und als *p* zu lesen". In many of the Ya'akobhar scarabs there are two signs which look like *Δ q*, the second one is in reality *Δ b*, the foot being without the leg. Hall, 31 (No. 284) is another example for this, as against Hall, 285, where the photo shows clearly the sequence: *Δ q qp*.

The list of "Literatur" for this item is typical for much of the literature quoted by the author and for its arrangement. No. 1 refers to Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private Name Seals*, Oxford 1971, only as far as the spiral design on the base is concerned. Item 2 in "Literatur"

should include only No. 1-2; nos. 3-5 end in *mw*. 3. This item in Gauthier, *LR* is identical with nos. 5-9 in the Literature-list. 10. Van Seters does not mention an additional inscription, but discusses the king in general terms. There are, therefore in this list items which could have been quoted together with the sign = to indicate identity. On the other hand there are important references missing. Part of them are in the work which the author quoted before: J. von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten*. Glückstadt 1965, 270-271: There is the important seal from the Grant collection, given in design in Petrie, *Scarabs* Pl. XXI, Dynasty 15, No. 4 = Newberry, *Scarabs*, Pl. XXII,27; this gives the fourth name, *mr-wsr-R'* together with Ya'aqobhar; G. A. Reisner, *Kerma* II, 1923 Cambridge (Massachusetts) 1923, fig. 168, No. 56; M. Pieper, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins* 53 (1930), 193; Givon, *CdE* 49 (1974) 223. The object now in the Kestner Museum was originally, like many other fine pieces now in Hanover, in the collection of the Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle. It is mentioned in the sales catalogue, and this appears in the "Bibliographie" for the object K.M. 1976, 93. What has been overlooked is that there is a photo of another scarab of the king in the same catalogue; this is on page 34 (No. 145). The caption of this photo reads "Jacob-El". However the photo is quite clear: *Y'qb-hr*.

We have dealt with details of the "Literatur" for this important object in some detail not because they are a special case, but for the reason that the treatment of these notes are symptomatic for a serious weakness in these three volumes: there is a great deal of interesting material, (some objects could have been easily omitted, the fakes and the sort of object shown in Volume II, 100.) but the research work invested in the interpretation and the circumspect attention to details are not quite up to the standard for a project which has the high aspirations of CAA. Perhaps it would be a good idea if not every single worker dealt alone with "his" collection, but if there could be cooperation with experienced researchers in this field: possibly it would be of help to have an editorial board to share past experience with this kind of objects, which are not as easy to deal with as it may look at first sight.

Institute of Archeology
Tel Aviv University, October 1980

RAPHAEL GIVON

* * *

H. M. STEWART, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*, pt. 2: Archaic Period to Second Intermediate Period, Warminster, Aris & Phillips, 1979 (31 cm., viii + 45 pp., 41 pls.). ISBN 0 85668 079 6. Price: £ 15.00.

The second part of *Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings* is devoted to the earlier stages of the Pharaonic Egypt, as they are represented in the Petrie collection. The latter, formed in its bulk by the excavations of this great archaeologist, in its considerable part is not new to the reader, but what is new is by no means a mere trifle.

The material in the volume under review is presented in masterful drawings executed by the author himself. One cannot help admiring his skill! There is, however, one "but": quite a number of objects remains photographically undocumented. This is a drawback and a very serious one.

Far from blaming it upon the author, the reviewer rather presumes that this "no photographs" way of presenting the material is called for by the wish to make the book cheaper, and this is certainly important nowadays. Still without a volume of photographic plates the Petrie collection series will be incomplete or even defective, to say nothing of the necessity of the adequate reproduction of all the polychromic objects in it.

All in all, the catalogue is convenient and what is called *übersichtlich*. The arrangement of the material was probably intended as chronological, but deviations from it are so great that it can hardly be qualified as such. The passport data of a piece are usually accurate and informative. Only a few inscriptions are translated, fully or in part, and commented upon. One is surprised to find, in these commentaries, references to some works, conclusions and opinions and not to find any allusion to others, but the author is here within his rights. A matter of taste after all.

Several notes.

1. *Tp-m-nh* or *Djḏb-m-nh* (nos. 23-4).

These two blocks are connected with each other with the help of a block in the Golenischev collection, cf. *AfO* 7, 30ff. (see pl. There is one fragment more (unpublished), in Brussels). While translating the short texts on UC 14310 the author should have completed them from CM 1556, since after Borchardt — Smith's reconstruction (cf. *AJA* 46, 517, fig. 6) these texts can be read in full.

There can be no doubt whatever as to the provenance of all these blocks in Cairo, London and Moscow, after Smith has shown that CM 1556 belongs to them, inasmuch as this block contains the famous *scène de singe mordant* of Mariette, *Mast.*, p. 196 (see now its reproduction in colours in *Ancient Egypt. Discovering its Splendours*. The National Geographic Society, Washington 1978, p. 59). Two more similar scenes are now known, but they were certainly not accessible until comparatively recent dates and so Mariette must have had CM 1556 in mind.

When fully reconstructed the market scene in Mastaba D 11 cannot be denied a place in the art history of Egypt, since its influence on similar scenes in the Onnos's causeway, in the mastaba of *Nj-nh-hnmw* and Khnemhotep and in the world-famous mastaba of *Tjj* is obvious.

2. Menthotep's stela (no. 86). It is now published for the third time and only once photographically. The publication of a new photograph of this important text will by no means be superfluous.

Its date can be estimated fairly accurately: the second part of Sesostri I's reign, well after his Year 25, mentioned in line 8. Indeed, the phrase *dj.f prt-hrw* "that he may give invocation-offerings" puts every tentative of dating the text to the time before Sesostri I's accession out of the question (cf. Bennett, *JEA* 27, p. 81), whereas it is obvious that the stela cannot postdate that reign. Then the year of famine that falls on Year 25 of an unnamed king can only be identified with one of those alluded to in the inscription of Ameny, the nomarch of the XVIth nome

of Upper Egypt (BH I, pl. VIII, 19). The latter's nomarchate coincides with Years 19 — 43 of Sesostri I and so Year 25 (evidently the peak of the period of famine prior to that of abundance in this reign) fits well into it and becomes one of the salient points of his eventful career.

3. Sebekemsaf I's son-in-law's stela (no. 79). It is reconstructed out of two fragments, one of them is of the Golenischev collection. The author's drawing is important as a revision of that in Petrie's *Koptos*. Several suggestions for the text of the stela will be given below under the stela's number in this catalogue (79).

Now a few minor points (with one or two exceptions, the reviewer does not criticize the translation of the texts and renderings of the titles).

No. 51 (p. 12, pl. 11.2). Doubts as to its date are superfluous. The name is *Gmj*, *jk*r is part of the conventional epithet of the dead: 'excellent, true of voice', i.e. probably 'very true of voice', that is, the ones who can in perfection hear the designations of food and drinks (or rather their representations can) and be satiated with it.

No. 53 (p. 13, pl. 11.3). Doubtlessly the Middle Kingdom, the early Dyn. XII.

No. 79 (p. 18, pl. 15.2). Line 5: not 'lady of life', but rather 'lady of Yunet', i.e. of Dendera. The photograph of the fragment sent to the Pushkin Fine Arts Museum by Mr. Dixon, the director of the University College Museum, permits to discern the sign which follows the goddess's name. It is not 'owl', but 'falcon with flagellum'. The passage then reads: "at the stairway of the Lady of Yunet and of Horus".

The owner's title is not 'officer of the Ruler's table'. It is a military rank.

No. 86 (p. 20, pl. 18). Schenkel's important work in *JEA* 50, 6ff. is certainly worth including into the bibliography.

No. 87 (p. 21, pl. 19.1). The piece dates from the Second Intermediate Period or from the early Dyn. XVIII, since the epithet 'may he repeat life' is not attested in the Nile valley prior to Ammenemes IV's reign (Hayes, *Scepter*, I, p. 245). In Serabit el-Khadim there are two instances even from the reign of Ammenemes III [*Sinai* 51 (Year 38); 142 (Year not specified); cf. 122 (Year 8 of Ammenemes IV)].

No. 91 (p. 22, pl. 21). Temp. of Menthotepe I or II. The piece is dated by the oath by 'the overseer of the treasure Akhtoy' who was active in Years 39 and 41 of the first king (*PM* V, 207; 248), cf. Helck, *Unt. Beamt. Alten Reiches*, p. 109, note 15.

No. 92 (p. 22, pl. 22.2-3). Not Middle Kingdom. Dyn. XVIII.

No. 96 (p. 23, pl. 22. 7). The same.

No. 102 (p. 24, pl. 25.1). The title reads, *jmj-z3 nj h3 nj 3hwt*, 'attendant of the bureau of fields'.

No. 105 (p. 25, pl. 25.4). The owner's name is *Jwht-jbw*.

No. 107 (p. 25, pl. 26.2). The name reads *rdj(j)-n.j*, cf. Ranke, *PN* I, p. 228, no. 2. 'Anyotef' is the name of another person.

No. 108 (p. 26, pl. 26.4). The owner's name is *Wsrj-Pth*, i.e. *r>j*, cf. Ranke, *PN* I, p. 85, no. 13. He is confronted by a certain *Snb-sw-m-j*.

No. 118 (p. 28, pl. 30.2). No doubt, 'sailor' or 'skipper'. The name is the variant of Ranke, *PN* I, p. 60, nos. 4 and 7; II, p. 269, no. 27.

No. 122 (p. 29, pl. 31.1). The early Dyn. XVIII.

No. 132 (p. 31-32, pl. 41). The transcription of line 13 is to be corrected: 'overseer of the treasure'. He must have been identical with the overseer *Hntj-htj-m-z3.f-snbw* [his name may be shortened in two ways, either *Hntj-htj-m-z3.f* or *Snb(w)*], who is attested in *Ny Carlsb.* 1539 = Engelbach, *Harageh*, 72, 3 (*PM* IV, 107) and *CM* 408 (*PM*² III, 349), Abusir. This identification dates the stela (not earlier than the beginning of Dyn. XIII) and rather indicates to the Metropolitan region as its provenance.

No. 135 (p. 32, pl. 33.6). The owner's title is 'butler', that of his friend is 'magician'.

No. 138 (p. 33, pl. 34.3). Read 'born to the songstress Yotefrois'.

No. 147 (p. 35, pl. 36.3). The god invoked is not Ptah-Sokar, but Ptah-Sokar-Osiris. The spelling of Osiris's name (Gardiner's Q 2) dates the stela, as it is not attested prior to Dyn. XIII.

No. 148 (p. 35, pl. 36.4). The words *nfr wrt* are not part of the name, but rather qualify the verb *j3wj* 'be/become old', 'exceedingly-exceedingly'. The stela dates from the early part of Ammenemes III's reign (cf. *CM* 20683).

No. 151 (p. 35-6, pl. 37.1). The text reads, 'the prophet-priest of the Sun in the Sun-Temple of Nekhen-Re'.

No. 152 (p. 36, pl. 37.2). The name reads *Mrt-nbtj-Wsr-k3.f*. Certainly later than Userkaf's reign.

No. 154 (p. 36, pl. 37.4). Not 'does', but 'will do'. Not 'servant's son', but 'his own son'.

Naturally all these suggestions do not diminish the scientific value of the book under review. One can only wish that it may be followed by the third part (late stelae) and by a volume of photographs.

Leningrad, October 1980

O. D. BERLEV

GRIEKS-ROMEINS EGYPT

Henrik ZILLIACUS, Jaakko FROSEN, Paavo HOHTI a.o., *Fifty Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (*P. Oxy. Hels.*). Helsinki, Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1979 (25 cm., XIV + 226 pp., 36 pls.) = *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum*, 63. ISBN 951 653 083 4.

In publishing this lot of Oxyrhynchite papyri generously placed at their disposal by the Egypt Exploration Society four Finnish scholars make their debut in the circle of papyrologists. The renowned name of Henrik Ziliacus heading the list needs no further introduction.

In accordance with established tradition the papyri are all introduced by minutely detailed descriptions of their physical states and the writing on them. Summary — or as the case may be, more detailed — analyses of the contents precede the transcriptions. Scrupulously thorough and precise apparatus critici indicate all the symbols, abbreviations and heterodox orthographies. Completing each edition is the usual line-by-line commentary and translation. Last but not least, each papyrus is photographically documented at the back of the volume, allowing the reader to judge for himself the eminently commendable job of transcription each editor has performed. Apart from minor over-

sights noted below, the only cavil that can be raised is the overly generous distribution of dots. Many letters only slightly damaged but otherwise entirely legible and unmistakable have been adorned with dots.

Whereas Ziliacus, Frösén and the Kaimios generally divided the 43 documentary texts among themselves, the edition of the literary items was executed for the most part by P. Hohti: 1 = Aeschines, *De falsa legatione* 130-133. Cf. now D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 37 (1980) 156-7.

2 = Homer, *Iliad* I 1-22 with occasional diacritical marks. Read in line 8 [ξυνέηκε], in line 10 ὀλέκοντο (v. plate 2), in line 19 [ἐκπέροσαι].

3 = Homer, *Iliad* III 325-343 with numerous diacritical marks. Line 339 contains a variant reading ἀρήϊα τεύχε, otherwise found only in P. Hib. I 19. Read in line 343 [Τρώας θ' ἵππο]δάμους.

4 = Homer, *Iliad* XXIV 514-543 with occasional diacritical marks. Line 529 contains two new variants ἄλνιζας, δόνη.

5 = Homer, *Odyssey* XII 393-416, 435-444 with diacritical signs and variant readings. Unless the papyrus is folded over at this point the transcription of lines 395-397 should read κρῆα, βῆσων,] εμοι — based on the testimony of plate 4.

6 = *Odyssey* XXIII 2-23 with occasional diacritical marks and two marginal notes. Read in line 2 [ἐπρώσαντο], in line 21 [γυνα]ικῶν αἱ (v. plate 5).

7 = Isocrates, *De pace* 46-47 with one new variant.

Some of the more interesting documentary texts are among the following: 8 The concluding fragment of a declaration of sheep and goats dates to 9 B.C. and is now the oldest specimen of this genre to date. (In the introduction the editor discusses the reading of P. Berl. Möller 7.23. I took the opportunity to examine this papyrus now in East Berlin (P. Berol. inv. 11313, not 11311!) and can only report that the name of Kallikles appears to be written in full, the final sigma being drawn out and downwards to form one cross bar of a chi. Above the chi is a very short, slightly curved bar (= χ(ειριστής)?). The next letters, obviously alpha and lambda, are succeeded by several up-down strokes terminating in -ov, -.γ()? — although no sign of abbreviation is visible. As the matter stands, neither Schubart's K. κ(αι) μ(έτο)χο(ι) ἀντιγρα() — *Gnomon* 6 (1930) 613, nor Koenen's K. βα(σιλικός) γραμματε(ύς) — *Gnomon* 40 (1968) 256 — are acceptable solutions). 9 Apollonios, toparch of some villages of the lower toparchy, lists in duplicate the amounts in kind and in money owed by a certain Gaius Julius Socrates on three plots of land. The editor's elucidating commentary and notes help to make sense of this welter of symbols and numbers. On p. 20 the reference to a discussion of χέρσος in 9 note should be deleted. In the app. crit. to line 4 read (έτος). The reference at the end of the note to line 3 should read P. Pruneti, *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 159-224.

10.12: Ἄωρος is unnecessary; Ὠρος is preferable.

11 A beneficiarius reports on the revenues of the Idios Logos. Apart from the appearance of a beneficiarius as head of the Idios Logos (ἐπίτρο[ο]πος in line 7 seems to be an inescapable reading) and several new strategies little more can be gleaned from the fragmentary text. Read in line 10 καὶ ὑπὲρ κτλ.

13 Psenechois (cf. the name Ψενεμχόις), ἀρχιγεωργός in a letter to Apellas, royal scribe of the Apollonopolite and Ilithyopolite nomes, requests aid in the cultivation of the crops. The farmers who assisted in the previous

year have fled. Read in line 7 ἀνε[χ]ώρησαν; in the translation "I now report to you on the same cultivation at the sowing time, asking ...".

14 A report on a grain shipment. Since addressees, signatures, origin of the grain, specifications of type and quality are lacking, yet the loading time, steersman, percentage of the surcharge and the name of the ἐπίπλοος are all duly noted, the editor regards the document not as "an ordinary steersman's receipt, but rather a report from the officials in charge of the corn transport".

16 is a type of document heretofore unknown: a table to customs tariffs designating rates for the 3% tax (ρ καὶ ν) and the desert-guard-tax (ἐρημοφυλακία) on unloaded beasts of burden.

18.9 n. Delete "or perhaps ζ."

20 consists of three documents relating to the liturgy of epiploos, and providing important information on his nomination and duties. The editor has analyzed the text in great detail, and the notes and commentary contain a wealth of information.

22 is a survey of holdings owned by a certain Paullos either jointly with some other person or alone near the village of Sko. The plots are taxed at various rates from 1 to 2 artabs pro arure, with various surcharges including a new one of 8% being added. The editor has done excellent work in leading the reader through this maze of figures and abbreviations. Some minor corrections should be noted: in line 8 the last two aroua-symbols are additions of the editor and should be accordingly bracketed. Read in line

7 καὶ (πρότερον) Α.

9 ἄλ(λος) (i.e. κλήρος) (πρότερον) Π.

10 ἐκ τ(οῦ) α(ὐτοῦ) κλ(ήρου).

18 Δι(α) () καὶ Στοκ()

18-19 (μοναρχάβου). As the editor notes, the abbreviation twice transcribed as αρ() precedes plots of land too large to be included in the totals of land taxed at 1 1/2 artabs pro aroua. Otherwise, one would not to hesitate to transcribe it as αΛ.

20 Φιλίσκ(ου).

25 (ἀρτ.) ρνς.

23 is a petition by a certain Theon, ex-gymnasiarch of Memphis, in which he accuses his camel driver of absconding with an advance payment and some equipment. In the app. crit. delete the correction for line 46. Read in the translation (lines 8-9) "by a certain Apion, camel driver"; (lines 13-15) "And yet for no reason he stole ... and ran away". (Line 48) "Pharmuthi 28. I Theon, son of Harnaion, ex-gymnasiarch ...".

25 is a lengthy text requesting the senate of Oxyrhynchus to maintain the privileges traditionally granted to the Dionysiac society of artists. It consists of a letter from the newly appointed high priest of the society accompanied by various documents citing the privileges and honors granted by the emperors through the years to the same society. The editress has given the text a thorough analysis, citing interesting parallels from other collections. In her note to line 7 she suggests the reading in BGU IV 1074.8 might be emended. With the kind permission of Dr. Poethke in East Berlin I was able to examine the papyrus and can report that the reading is in fact] βέλτερον παρ[. Read in the translation of line 11 "To the most worthy magistrates and senate ...". Delete in line 13 of the app. crit. ἐρρωσθε. Read in 17 n.

“and probably in 10,38”. Read in app. crit. 1.30 Ὁξυρυγγίτη. Read in l. 13 ἐρρῶσθαι.
Minor corrections: Read in
26.13 παραμένιν (corrected in the app. crit.)
28.6 translation “your farmstead”.
29.5-6 translation “Heras the weaver, who is Diogenes’ brother ...”
30.19 translation “Stephanus’ deposit of another 16 dr.”
31.1 ἀντίγρα(φον), 7 (δραχμάς), 25 του .[.]αι π[ι], 25-6 δεδα[ν]ει[σ]μέ[ν]η[ς] κτλ. In 3-4 n. the reference to a discussion on status designation should read either 30.8 n. or 32.5 n. Read in 10 n. συγγωρεῖ.
34 Sale of a Loom. There is an interesting discussion of a new word ἐπίμυτρον, as part of the loom, which the editress has succeeded in reading in two other texts. Read in l. 21 Σεβασ(τῆ).
36.11 ἡμολίας (corrected in the app. crit.).
40, although only an account, becomes in the hands of the editor one of the more intriguing and problematic pieces in the book. He has very carefully sorted out, classified and elucidated a mind-boggling array of material. If he has not always been able to find satisfactory solutions to all the problems the account confronts us with, his discussion of the laundry business in Oxyrhynchus of the 2nd-3rd centuries is nonetheless very informative. Perplexing is the editor’s statement on p. 147 that the total number of garments arrived at in the calculations in lines 137-144 is 813. Some explanatory figures would have been helpful here. A minor discrepancy occurs between the top of p. 149, where list 30 is described as unclassified, and p. 161, where it is assigned to the D category.
Read in 1.20 εἰς λόγ(ον) .Ιτη() (τετρώβ.)
21 πενθημ (έρου)
46,47 et passim πα(ιδικοί)
50 (γίνεται) ε()
139 πάλ(λιν) v
140 πα(ιδικοί) vδ
183 β χι(των) πα(ιδ.) (τριώβ.) (ἡμ.) (δρ.) ιδ
Back 54 Ζωιλ(ος)
Minor corrections: Read in
41.28 translation “in the succeeding years ...”
43 introd. “acknowledge the loan from Aurelius Aphynchis, son of Sarapion and Ammonous, and from Heracleus, alias Demetrius, son of Sarapion and Tasarapion, ...”
The reference at the end of the second paragraph to a discussion of the dating in 12 n. should be deleted.
The form ἐκτεισῖς in line 24 is proper Attic.
Read in line 19 ἡμῖν, 21 κοιλάνωμεν.
In the translation of l. 26 read “The contract agreed upon and written in duplicate ...”
44.10 translation “the sixth part of a house and courtyard and all the furniture belonging to the same D., which house ...”
45.1 πλῖσ[τ]α.
48.9 προεῖπον.
50.3 εὐχόμενό<ς> σοι.

CHRISTELIJK EGYPTE

Gerald M. BROWNE, *Michigan coptic texts*. Barcelona, Papyrologica castroctaviana, 1979 (22 cm., xvi + 77 pp., 4 pls.) = Papyrologica castroctaviana, Studia et Textus, no. 7.
L’objet de cet ouvrage est la publication de treize manuscrits coptes en possession de l’Université de Michigan et d’un fragment autrefois à Louvain et aujourd’hui disparu, qui complète l’un de ces morceaux. Ce sont : 1. Psaume 115 (116), 3-7 (papyrus du 6^e ou du 7^e siècle). – 2. Job 30,21-30 (papyrus du 4^e ou du 5^e siècle) (provenant des fouilles de Karanis). – 3. I Corinthiens 4,9-5,3 (parchemin du 9^e siècle). – 4. I Corinthiens 11,10-28 (papyrus du 6^e ou du 7^e siècle). – 5. II Corinthiens 12,21-13,12 (parchemin du 9^e siècle). – 6. Galates 5,11-6,1 (papyrus du 4^e ou du 5^e siècle). – 7. Hébreux 2,11-15 (papier du 10^e siècle) (provenant du Monastère Blanc). – 8. Apocalypse 18,7-10 (parchemin du 9^e siècle). – 9. Panégyrique de Basile de Césarée par Grégoire de Nazianze, titre et début (papyrus du 8^e siècle) (provenant du Monastère Blanc). – 10. Hymnes à l’archange Michel (parchemin du 11^e siècle). – 11. Texte bohairique non identifié (papyrus du 5^e ou du 6^e siècle). – 12. Amulette contenant le début des quatre évangiles (parchemin du 7^e ou du 8^e siècle). – 13. Fragment d’almanach (kalandologion) (parchemin de la fin du 9^e siècle).
Comme il arrive souvent lorsqu’il s’agit de textes coptes, la plupart des pièces ici publiées nous sont parvenues à l’état de fragments plus ou moins longs et d’apparence assez peu engageante à première vue. Dix de ces pièces sont de provenance inconnue, mais on verra plus bas qu’il est cependant possible, dans certains cas, de proposer une origine, au moins plausible, par l’analyse lexicographique de leur texte.
L’intérêt des textes bibliques n’apparaîtra pleinement que lorsqu’ils auront été intégrés à la publication d’ensemble de l’Ancien et du Nouveau Testament coptes. Mais M. Browne a déjà fait, pour certains d’entre eux, des remarques à prendre en considération. Le texte n° 11 est d’un contenu assez banal. Le texte n° 12 est trop fragmentaire pour qu’il soit possible, actuellement, d’en tirer grand chose, en dépit du rapprochement fort judicieux que fait M. Browne entre l’archange Raphaël et une πατρική νησος. Le fragment d’almanach (n° 13), genre de composition également connu chez les Grecs, était déjà attesté en copte par deux textes de Vienne. Le texte de Michigan nous permet d’y apporter quelques compléments.
Le fragment du Livre de Job me paraît digne d’attirer l’attention tant par son ancienneté (vers 400 ap. J.-C.) que par sa provenance assurée (Karanis, à l’est du Fayoum) et par un certain nombre de particularités dialectales. L’inventaire que j’en présente (tableau I) laisse apparaître un certain nombre de faits. En effet, une fois éliminées les formes communes à tous les dialectes et les formes supposées par M. Browne dans ses nécessaires restitutions de lacunes (ceci, on le comprendra, pour éviter de raisonner sur des exemples discutables), nous constatons que neuf de ces variantes ne semblent pas être fayoumiques, les quatorze autres l’étant. A la droite de la colonne réservée au fayoumique, les formes données par ce dialecte ne se retrouvent tantôt dans aucun des trois autres dialectes (M, A₂, A), tantôt en M et A₂. A la gauche de cette colonne, les rapports

TABLEAU I

	B	S	F	M	A ₂	A
χιχ (F: χιχ ₂) (pl. F: χευχ)	×		×			
μετ]ατνει (cf. M: νεε)			×			
ερ + infinitif grec (F: ελ)	×		×	×	×	×
mmo = (deux fois)	×	×				
(ε)μκε ₂ (M: μκε ₂ ; F: (ε)μκε ₂)			×	×		
ει]μι			×			
-νε- (futur)			×	×		
μωουτ†	×					
τηρ = (F: τηλ =; O: τηρ)	×	×			×	×
κε ₂			×			
ζαμοι (SB: αμοι; S’A ₂ F: ζαμαι; F: αμαι)		×				
[ο]γον (F: ογαν)	×					
χομ (S: βομ; AA ₂ F: βам; F: χам)	×					
2H						
ζα = (parfait I) (quatre fois)			×	×	×	
ωωπι	×		×			
α ₂]ομ (AA ₂ : ε ₂ ам; FA ₂ : α ₂ ам)	×	×				
χα- (F (FS AA ₂ : κα; M: ?)	×					
ερρη† (F: ε ₂ λη†; B: ε ₂ ρη†)	×		×			
ωβηρ (F: ωβηλ; B: ωβηρ)	×			×	×	
нем- (deux fois)	×	×	×			
		(arch.: NM-)				
ωερ			×	×		
кес			×			

entre F et B d’une part, et entre S et B de l’autre paraissent plus complexes. Tantôt une forme est commune aux trois, tantôt commune à F et B, tantôt à B et S, tantôt à F et S. D’autres cas, plus surprenants à première vue, nous montrent des formes communes au manuscrit étudié ici et à S (ζαμοι); ou communes à ce même manuscrit et à B+S (mmo =; τηρ =; [α₂]ομ). On a la très nette impression que si F était séparé de A₂ (et donc a fortiori de A) par M, la carte des trois dialectes B, S et F ne se présentait pas comme une ligne allant du nord au sud, et où l’un des dialectes aurait constitué une zone tampon entre les deux autres. C’est ainsi que l’on trouve dans ce texte des formes qui n’existent pas en «fayoumique pur», certaines communes à B et S (mmo =, τηρ =, [α₂]ομ), certaines particulières à B (χιχ, μωουτ, [ο]γον, χομ, χα-, ωβηρ), une particulière à S (ζαμοι). Il paraît bien que nous sommes ici en présence d’un patois d’où le lambdacisme était absent, où le son [a] était moins loin de [o] et où il y avait une certaine tendance, comme en bohairique, à l’aspiration des occlusives (ici [kh]).
Or ce fragment de papyrus fut trouvé à Karanis, à l’est du Fayoum. Il est donc très possible qu’il faille en conclure qu’il y a été effectivement écrit et que le point de contact entre ces trois dialectes B, S et F ait été situé dans cette région, limite sans doute moins précise qu’une frontière politique, mais, toute proportion gardée, un peu comparable à la ville de Bâle, point de contact entre l’Allemagne, la Suisse et la France. Et cette constatation revêt une certaine

importance pour fixer la géographie des dialectes coptes. En effet, dans sa *Grammaire copte* (Ia,59), M. Vergote présente trois cartes, respectivement dues à Worrell, à Kahle et à lui-même, qui divergent notablement. A nous en tenir au texte étudié ici (et il est évidemment indispensable de faire cette réserve), le domaine primitif du sahidique ne peut avoir été là où le situait Kahle (la région d’Alexandrie; donc coupé du fayoumique). La carte proposée par M. Vergote (III), en revanche, correspond parfaitement aux données tirées de ce papyrus de Job. Peut-être, toutefois, conviendrait-il de prolonger le domaine bohairique légèrement plus vers le sud. Mais ceci demandera encore des recherches plus approfondies.
L’autre texte, dont l’intérêt littéraire est évident, est le début de l’oraison funèbre de Basile de Césarée par Grégoire de Nazianze, prononcée en 379. La partie supérieure du feuillet se trouve, nous l’avons vu, à l’Université de Michigan; la partie inférieure, aujourd’hui détruite, était conservée à l’Université de Louvain. La planche II nous donne le recto du fragment de l’Université de Michigan, le verso n’étant pas reproduit. L’original grec de ce panégyrique étant connu, il m’a paru intéressant de donner en parallèles (tableau II) les textes grec et copte, ainsi que leurs versions respectives. S’agissant d’un passage particulièrement alambiqué, presque volontairement chaotique, j’aurais renoncé à dresser ce tableau si le R.P. Paramelle ne m’avait procuré la traduction française du texte grec. Il faut lui être reconnaissant d’avoir débrouillé l’écheveau de ce texte enchevêtré comme un discours parlé et plein de traquenards.
En face de ce manuscrit copte on ne peut manquer d’être frappé par son caractère soigné: belle mise en page sur deux colonnes, écriture penchée pour le titre, calligraphie, décoration. Toutes choses, du reste, qui ne prouvent nullement la correction du texte ni sa fidélité à l’original: si le scribe s’est appliqué, il n’en a pas été forcément de même pour le traducteur. A ne lire que le texte copte, il est vrai, nous n’y apercevons rien de particulièrement choquant: comme on dit, le texte «se tient». Et je me permettrai d’être en léger désaccord avec M. Browne, lorsque, en V^a, il ajoute un *sic* au membre de phrase «nous qui n’avons fait aucun cas de l’honneur de cet homme». Personnellement je ne l’aurais pas mis, car le sens ne me paraît en rien contradictoire avec le contexte. Je crois comprendre: «par négligence ou par orgueil, nous ne nous sommes par rendu compte des grandes qualités de Basile, et c’est maintenant le moment de nous racheter en prononçant un éloge funèbre digne de lui».
Mais bien que ce texte soit cohérent, il ne nous faut cependant pas en rester là. Car cette traduction ne manque pas de laisser quelque peu perplexe quiconque est habitué à nos versions modernes qui se veulent exactes et précises et dont le but, jamais atteint, serait de rendre inutile la connaissance de la langue étrangère. On a l’impression d’être confronté à un homme qui s’efforce de dire à peu près et dans le même laps de temps quelque chose de comparable à l’original qu’il a sous les yeux et qui, parfois, il faut bien l’avouer, se trompe sur le sens des mots.
1) *Ajouts du copte*:
Le titre du sermon, rendu indispensable par les circonstances de publication de ce texte, placé en tête du manuscrit,

comme le montre la pagination, et détaché d'un corpus dont il a pu faire partie: c'est à peine ce qu'on pourrait appeler une adjonction. —

«A l'époque où il était avec nous dans le corps, à savoir notre père»: insistance sans grand intérêt dans un éloge funèbre. —

On peut dire la même chose de «pour que nous en parlions», qui fait pléonasme avec ce qui précède. —

Le **νοδ** de **ογνοδ** **νζωβ** est sans doute là pour rendre le grec **τοσοῦτον**. —

Ces quelques divergences ne viennent sans doute pas d'un texte grec différent de celui que nous possédons aujourd'hui. Elles sont l'œuvre du traducteur copte. En conclusion de ce paragraphe, nous pourrions dire sans doute que, face à la concision du grec, le copte, plus «oriental», a peut-être senti le besoin d'explicitier davantage.

2) Passages omis par le copte :

«Il devait donc»: cette phrase, particulièrement embrouillée, a très certainement gêné le traducteur, qui, paresseusement, a préféré simplifier. Le sens en est grandement modifié. Basile ne s'était jamais proposé lui-même comme sujet de discours, comme modèle (c'eût été bien orgueilleux de sa part!). S'il le fait aujourd'hui, et bien contre sa volonté, c'est qu'il est mort. La subtilité de cette argumentation a complètement échappé au traducteur copte, dont le texte signifie presque: «en agissant toujours de la sorte, Basile se proposait comme sujet de discours.» —

ἀρχετύπους: l'omission de ce mot obscurcit un peu le texte. —

Plus importante est la suppression de la longue incise «si je n'en use pas en ce moment ... soit aux discours eux-mêmes», trop complexe peut-être, mais qui ne change pas fondamentalement le sens général. —

3) Mots déplacés par le copte :

«le grand Basile»: le grec a rejeté ce membre de phrase à la fin de la proposition. Le copte a procédé autrement. Il a pu maintenir ce rejet, mais aux prix de l'adjonction du long membre de phrase «à l'époque ...». —

«maintenant»: déplacement peu important. —

«je pense»: le copte a placé ce verbe juste avant la proposition qu'il régit, probablement par souci de clarté, mais au détriment de l'effet rhétorique. —

4) Erreurs du copte :

ἐμελλεν: cf. supra. —

Le copte **σογτον** est un contresens pur et simple, dû à l'incompréhension, par le traducteur, de la subtilité du passage. —

«avons éliminé toute gloriole», face au copte «n'avons fait aucun cas de l'honneur de cet homme». Cf. supra. Ce contresens, car c'en est un, s'il change la signification du passage, n'en trouble cependant pas la cohérence. —

L'impression générale qui se dégage de ces quelques remarques est donc bien que le traducteur copte a cherché à rendre le sens très général et la cohérence du texte. Ce n'est certes pas ce que nous appelons aujourd'hui une bonne traduction, et l'on ne pourrait s'en servir pour reconstituer l'original si celui-ci était perdu. Mais cette version offrait aux Egyptiens un texte somme toute suffisant pour le but d'édification que l'on se proposait. Et sans doute ne faut-il pas chercher plus loin la raison de toutes ces négligences.

Le mélange des dialectes ne se borne pas au texte de Job étudié plus haut. C'est ainsi que dans le panégyrique de Grégoire de Nazianze nous rencontrons une forme **σογτον**, que M. Westendorf enregistre dans son dictionnaire comme caractéristique de la Moyenne Egypte,

TABLEAU II

C.	^{Ra} TITRE	ζῆ πεγοειω ερωοοπ νμμαν ζμ πσωμα
TR.C.	TITRE	A l'époque où il était avec nous dans le corps
G.		
TR.G.		
C.		νοῖ πενειω[τ] ἡμακαριος πνοδ βασιλιος
TR.C.		à savoir notre père bienheureux le grand Basile
G.		
TR.G.		
C.		νεψαρκω ζαρων ζῆ ογμογν εβολ νζα[2]
TR.C.		Il avait l'habitude de nous proposer continuellement beaucoup
G.		Ἐμελλεν ἄρα, πολλὰς ἡμῖν ὑποθέσεις τῶν λόγων ἀεὶ προτιθεῖς
TR.G.		Il devait donc, lui qui sans cesse nous proposait de nombreux sujets de discours,
C.		νζγποθε[ι]ς
TR.C.		de sujets
G.		ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος
TR.G.		le grand Basile
		επρενωαχε εροογ
		pour que nous en parlions

C.	νεψαρκωε αρ ^{Rb} εχῆ ναψαχε νζογο εθε
TR.C.	car il se réjouissait de mes discours plus que de la manière
G.	(καὶ γὰρ ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο τοῖς λόγοις, ὥς οὐπω τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ
TR.G.	(en effet il se glorifiait de (mes) discours, comme jamais encore personne

C.	ετερε ογα ναραψε ἡμιν ἡμογ εψααρ παῖ δε μεψακ
TR.C.	dont on doit se réjouir soi-même, faisant cela peut-être
G.	τῶν πάντων οὐδεῖς,
TR.G.	(ne s'est glorifié) des siens propres)

C.	εργμναζε ἡμον χεκαε ερετααρ ναν ἡμιν ἡμογ.
TR.C.	pour nous exercer afin de se donner à nous lui-même
G.	ἑαυτὸν νῦν ἡμῖν προθήσειν
TR.G.	se proposer lui-même à nous maintenant

C.	τενογ ζωε νοδ νζγποθεε[ι]ς ναγω[ν]
TR.C.	maintenant comme grand sujet de concours
G.	ὑπόθεσιν ἀγώνων μεγίστην
TR.G.	comme le plus beau sujet de concours

C.	[ετ]ρεν [LACUNE
TR.C.	[LACUNE]
G.	τοῖς περὶ λόγους ἐσπουδακόσιν
TR.G.	à nous qui avons consacré tout notre zèle aux discours.

C.	ερωαν ογα γαρ ογωω εογενζ τερόβον ζῆ πωαχε
TR.C.	Si, en effet, quelqu'un veut manifester sa puissance dans le discours
G.	Οἶμαι γὰρ, εἴ τις τῆς ἐν λόγοις δυνάμεως πείραν ποιούμενος,
TR.G.	Je crois, en effet, que, si quelqu'un faisant l'épreuve de sa capacité dans les discours,

C.	μῆνσως νζδοκει ναγ ερ παῖ ερωωωτ επωι ετε παῖ πε
TR.C.	après cela, et qu'il lui semble bon de fuire cela en regardant quelle est la mesure,
G.	ἔπειτα πρὸς μέτρον κρίναι ταύτην θελήσειε,
TR.G.	voulait ensuite la juger selon une norme,

C.	νγκα ογζγποθεε[ι]ς νογωτ ἡπερμτο εβολ ζῆ νζγποθεε[ι]ς τηρογ
TR.C.	qu'il place un seul sujet devant lui (pris) parmi tous les sujets
G.	μίαν ἐκ πασῶν ὑπόθεσιν προστιθέμενος,
TR.G.	en se proposant entre tous un unique sujet,

C.	ἡε νηζωγραφος ετρωωτ εμπιναζ
TR.C.	comme les peintres qui regardent les tableaux.
G.	καθάπερ οἱ ζωγράφοι τοὺς ἀρχετύπους πίνακας,
TR.G.	comme (font) les peintres avec les tableaux (qui leur servent de) modèles,

C.	†μεεγε δε χε ταῖ τετε[φνα] σογτον[ε]ρογν[ε] εροε
TR.C.	Je pense que ceci est ce vers quoi il se dirigera
G.	ταύτην ἂν ὑφελὼν μόνην
TR.G.	il écarterait ce présent (sujet et lui) seul,

C.	ζωε ε[ο] ν[ω]γορ[ε] ενκοογε ^{Va} αγω εσογ[ο]τ[ε] επωαχε
TR.C.	comme étant premier par rapport aux autres et surpassant le discours.
G.	ὥς λόγου κρείττονα τῶν ἄλλων ἐλέσθαι τὴν πρώτην
TR.G.	comme trop grand pour (tout) discours, et choisirait le premier à la suite.

C.	ταῖ τε θε εογνοδ νζωβ πε πωαχε επταῖο ἡπειρωμε
TR.C.	De même, c'est une grande chose que le discours en l'honneur de cet homme,
G.	Τοσοῦτον ἔργον ἢ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐφημία,
TR.G.	Telle est (en effet) la tâche (que représente) l'éloge de ce personnage,

C.	Η ΝΑΖΡΑΝ ΑΝ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΝΑΪ ΝΤΑΥΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΕΙ ΜΠΤΑΙΟ ΜΠΕΙΡΩΜΕ
TR. C.	pas pour nous seulement, nous qui avons méprisé l'honneur de cet homme,
G.	μη ὅτι γε ἡμῖν τοῖς πάλαι πᾶν τὸ φιλότιμον καταλύσασιν
TR. G.	non pas pour nous seulement qui depuis longtemps avons éliminé toute gloriole,
C.	ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΖΡΗ ΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΟΝ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΕΥ[ΩΝΖ] Ἡ[LACUNE]Φ
TR. C.	mais pour les autres aussi que leur vie [LACUNE]
G.	ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς βίος ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος,
TR. G.	mais pour ceux également dont la parole est toute la vie
C.	[LACUNE]
TR. C.	[LACUNE]
G.	ἐν τοῦτο ἐσπουδακόσι καὶ μόνον,
TR. G.	pour avoir consacré tout leur zèle à ce seul et unique (objet):
C.	[LACUNE]
TR. C.	[LACUNE]
G.	ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐνευδοκιμεῖν ὑποθέσεσιν.
TR. G.	briller en de pareils sujets.
C.	[LACUNE]
TR. C.	[LACUNE]
G.	Ἐχω μὲν οὕτω περὶ τούτων, καὶ, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, λίαν ὀρθῶς.
TR. G.	Pour mon compte, c'est ainsi que (je pense) à ce propos et, j'en suis convaincu, à très bon droit.
C.	[LACUNE] Ἡ ΕΙΝΑΤΟΥΝΕΣ ΠΩΛΧΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΖΝ ΟΥ
TR. C.	[LACUNE] ou en quoi exalterai-je le discours
G.	Οὐκ οἶδα δὲ, εἰ ὁ τί ποτ' ἂν ἄλλο χρησαίμην τοῖς λόγοις,
TR. G.	Mais je ne sais pour quoi d'autre j'userais de l'éloquence
C.	
TR. C.	
G.	μη νῦν χρησάμενος ἢ ὁ τί ποτ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμαυτῶ
TR. G.	si je n'en usais en ce moment, ni quel plus grand honneur je pourrais jamais faire — soit à
C.	
TR. C.	
G.	Χαρισαίμην, ἢ τοῖς ἀρετῆς ἐπαινέταις, ἢ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῖς,
TR. G.	moi-même, soit aux laudateurs de la vertu, soit à l'éloquence elle-même,
C.	ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ ΖΙΤΜ ΠΤΑΪΟ ΜΠ[ΕΙ]ΡΩΜΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΟΥΧ[ΡΕ]ΩΣ ΝΑΙ
TR. C.	si ce n'est au moyen de l'honneur de cet homme. Pour moi, en effet, c'est une dette pour moi,
G.	ἢ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον θαυμάσας. Ἐμοί τε γὰρ ἔσται τοῦτο χρέος
TR. G.	qu'en m'émerveillant devant ce personnage. Pour moi, en effet, cela fera une dette
C.	ΠΕ Π[ΑΙ] ΕΙΝΑΩΜΑΖΩ ΠΩΛΧΕ ΔΕ Π[Ε]ΧΡΕΩΣ ΕΤΤ [LACUNE] ΖΝ ΟΥ
TR. C.	celle que j'acquitterai. Le discours, la dette [LACUNE]
G.	ἱκανῶς ἀφωσιωμένον· ῥέος δὲ, εἴπερ ἄλλο τι, τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς
TR. G.	totalemt acquittée — or la dette, s'il en est une, pour ceux qui sont valeureux
C.	[LACUNE] ΤΑΪΟ Ν[...
TR. C.	[LACUNE] ...
G.	τά τε ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τὸν λόγον ...
TR. G.	entre autres choses en fait d'éloquence ...

ce qui s'accorde fort bien avec la provenance de ce fragment (Monastère Blanc). De même les textes 10 et 13, où M. Browne n'a pas manqué de signaler des formes fayoumiques. Qu'il me soit permis de compléter ce qu'il en dit en notant à la ligne 10 du recto du texte 10 la forme fayoumique ze- ; de même, en R° 13, me- (= mn-); de même encore, en V° 3, cwprr . En plus des formes fayoumiques relevées par M. Browne dans le texte n° 13, je me permettrai d'ajouter novri . Une autre particularité de ce texte semble être la faiblesse du ϵ et du η à certaines initiales (bol : V° 2 et 13) et une certaine tendance à la confusion entre ϵ et η .

Bien que la provenance des textes 10 et 13 soit inconnue, ne pourrait-on cependant pas l'induire de ces particularités dialectales? De tels mélanges, nous l'avons vu, se trouvent dans le texte de Job, qui, lui, provient de Karanis. Les fayoumismes du texte 10 ne pourraient-ils pas s'expliquer de la même manière? Et plus caractéristique encore me paraît être le n° 13, où nous rencontrons une forme wapi (R° 6, 16 et 18), commune à B et à F, une forme wnaz (R° 10) (F et S), une forme novri (R° 5), une forme wap- (V° 5), une forme oyan (V° 17)? C'est-à-dire un mélange de dialectes (B, S et F) pratiquement identique à celui qui caractérise le texte de Job.

Ces constatations me conduisent à proposer le Fayoum comme lieu de trouvaille et de rédaction des textes 10 et 13. Passant à une considération plus générale, je me demande s'il ne conviendrait pas d'être plus strict dans la répartition des différentes formes entre les dialectes. Car à se borner à un inventaire mécanique et à déclarer, par exemple, que toute forme qui apparaît dans un texte sahidique est sahidique ou que toute forme qui apparaît dans un texte bohaïrique est bohaïrique, on risque d'oblitérer toutes les divergences et de dire que la langue copte n'a aucune cohérence. Sans aller jusqu'à parler d'«orthographe» au sens moderne chaque dialecte devait cependant être raisonnablement normalisé. Un scribe qui copie un texte peut, à tel ou tel moment, se tromper et laisser passer une forme qui appartient à son propre dialecte et non à celui du texte qu'il transcrit. Et même dans le cas extrême des emprunts au grec, où des graphies différentes pour le même mot apparaissent souvent à quelques lignes d'intervalle, il semble bien que tout n'ait pas toujours été possible. Peut-être conviendra-t-il un jour d'épurer nos dictionnaires coptes, en s'efforçant d'éliminer les sigles à exposant, du type S^f. Les formes atypiques nous donneraient sans doute de précieux renseignements sur les dialectes des scribes et les limites respectives des divers dialectes.

Ces quelques textes ne manquent pas d'apporter leur contingent de formes non encore répertoriées dans nos dictionnaires. J'ai relevé :

Texte n° 9 : taoye- (R° 1, 11).
Texte n° 10 : remezht (R° 19); ema- (V° 4); taio- (V° 5); epooy (V° 9) (cf. $\epsilon = \eta$ en R° 13). —

Ces formes, où m/n sont remplacés par ϵ sont-elles fayoumiques? Cf. Westendorf, KHDWb 115, s.v. n- , où ϵ est qualifié de F, S^f.

Texte n° 12 : ebi- . Même remarque que pour le texte n° 10. Faut-il en conclure que ce manuscrit proviendrait du Fayoum? —

Texte n° 13 : nza- (V° 8); bol (= ebol) (V° 2 et 13); amnt (V° 15). La forme nax- , qui apparaît en V° 13 et que Crum signale comme A_2 , ne serait-elle pas la forme construite fayoumique, jusqu'ici inconnue semble-t-il?

Qu'il me soit permis, en terminant, de relever de menus oublis dans les *indices*, erreurs très vénielles dont aucun index n'est exempt : $\epsilon-$ (= m-) : 10 V° 4; z (= cawq) : 10 R° 15; nzht- : 10 R° 5 et 12); archangelos : 10 R° 15 (seule est mentionnée la forme archangelos).

L'ouvrage se termine par une série de planches. On peut regretter que tout le matériel ne nous ait pas été donné en reproduction photographique. Mais nous ne saurions reprocher à M. Browne d'avoir été limité par les servitudes typographiques et le coût très élevé de l'impression.

Mes très longs commentaires sur certains points prouvent l'intérêt que j'ai pris à l'examen de cette publication. L'exactitude et la minutie du travail de M. Browne montrent tout le fruit que l'on peut souvent retirer de ces pauvres débris que constituent les textes coptes. Il faut l'en féliciter et le remercier pour le soin qu'il a apporté à la mise en valeur de ces fragments.

Vaucresson, janvier 1981

GÉRARD GODRON

* * *

Pierre CHERIX, *Étude de lexicographie copte : Chenouté, Le Discours en présence de Flavien (Les noms et les verbes)*. Paris, J. Gabalda et c^{ie}, Éditeurs, 1979 (8vo, xii + 121 pp.) = Cahiers de la Revue Biblique, no. 18.

Tito Orlandi has recently made the observation that "studies in Coptic literature are no further advanced today than classical philology was in the fifteenth century"¹). The same may be said, *mutatis mutandis*, about Coptic grammar and lexicography, for we still do not have adequate grammars and dictionaries for that language: Till's *Koptische Grammatik*²), which has regrettably become the standard, is totally confused both in organization and in statement, while Crum's monumental *Dictionary*³) is in reality only materials for a dictionary. Fortunately, as regards grammar, the masterful work of H.J. Polotsky has succeeded in elucidating much that was obscure in Coptic syntax⁴), and now, thanks to Ch.'s study, we have a specimen of what Coptic lexicographers should attempt.

Now that Polotsky has established the fundamental grammatical categories, it is the task of the lexicographer to use these categories as the basis of his dictionary. To this end, Ch. has taken one text, Shenoute's *Oratio apud Flavium*, has rigorously analyzed it in accordance with Polotsky's system and has arranged this analysis in the form of a "lexique", which forms the bulk of his study (pp. 41-119). Preceding it is a literal translation of the oration (pp. 17-36), to which is prefixed an introduction dealing briefly with Shenoute and the transmission of the *Oratio apud Flavium*, as well as with Polotsky's system of grammatical analysis and its integration into lexicography (pp. 1-16).

¹) "The Future of Studies in Coptic Biblical and Ecclesiastical Literature", *The Future of Coptic Studies*, ed. R. McL. Wilson (Leiden 1978) 143.

²) W.C. Till, *Koptische Grammatik (Säidischer Dialekt)*, 3rd Ed. (Leipzig 1961).

³) W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford 1939).

⁴) In particular, "The Coptic Conjugation System", *Orientalia* 29 (1960) 392-422; it has been reprinted, together with other important studies, in *Collected Papers* (Jerusalem 1971).

Insofar as it is restricted to nouns and verbs, Ch.'s "lexique" cannot be considered complete. Further, Ch. himself asserts that "cette étude lexicographique ne vise pas à établir les bases nouvelles d'un éventuel dictionnaire" (p. 16). I believe, however, that Ch. has allowed modesty at least partially to eclipse the value of his book. It is the first concordance we have of a work of Shenoute, and — more important — it is the first attempt to build a Coptic dictionary upon a methodical description of the language.

Others have written on the theory of Coptic lexicography; Ch. is the first to have taken the trouble to fashion a practical work which takes the theory into account. In reading what Ch. has accomplished, I have profited greatly in my understanding of Shenoute's Coptic, both because of the expert translation, and also because I now have at my disposal a dictionary that actually helps the reader elucidate a text.

As Ch. himself states, "il est évident qu'un lexique plus substantiel devrait simplifier la présentation en renonçant à de nombreux détails, et regrouper certaines données en des paragraphes plus larges" (p. 16). Built upon the principles that Ch. has advanced, a "lexique" of all of Shenoute's work would probably resemble in its simplicity and clarity such outstanding tools of classical philology as McGlynn's *Lexicon Terentianum*⁵). As a rational amalgamation of specialized studies of individual authors, we may eventually have a work in Coptic to rival the *Lexicon Linguae Latinitatis*. If such a comprehensive dictionary ever appears, its preface should certainly acknowledge Ch. as one of the pioneers who made the undertaking possible.

In no way wishing to detract from the value of Ch.'s study as a whole, I wish to make certain observations pertaining to matters of detail.

I. Introduction

P. 11. Note that *na-* is now regarded, along with *trε-* and *(ε)ω-*, as one of the "constructions hors-conjugaison". This seems much more realistic than the attempt to associate it with the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern (see Polotsky, "Conjugation System" 402 f., but cf. P. Nagel, "Marginalia optica", *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift, Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg*, Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe 22.6 [1973] 120). But such an important change in classification requires at least some justification or explanation; even a simple footnote would suffice.

P. 12. The situation regarding *ατ-* is not as simple as Ch. suggests: see W.-P. Funk, "'Blind' oder 'unsichtbar'?" Zur Bedeutungsstruktur deverbaler negativer Adjektive im Koptischen", *Menschenbild in Gnosis und Manichäismus*, ed. P. Nagel (Halle [Saale] 1979) 55-65.

II. Translation

P. 28. The Coptic reads *ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲓⲁⲣ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲭⲉ ⲓⲛⲱⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲥⲱⲃⲉ, ⲓⲱⲥⲧⲉ ⲉⲕⲟⲩⲉⲱ ⲧⲣⲁⲥⲱⲃⲉ ⲓⲙ ⲡⲥⲏⲩ ⲛⲣⲓⲙⲉ, ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲕⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲕⲓ ⲓⲣⲁⲓ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲕ, ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲭⲉ ⲓⲛⲱⲭⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲣⲙⲛⲓⲛⲧ* (103.49-104.4), and Ch. translates as follows: "Car toi, c'est à la

⁵) P. McGlynn, *Lexicon Terentianum* (London and Glasgow 1963 and 1967).

manière d'un plaisantin que tu t'es exprimé, comme si tu voulais qu'au moment où il faut pleurer je rie et plaisante avec toi; quant à moi, c'est avec sagesse que je t'ai parlé". This may be correct, but the contrast implied by assuming that both instances of *ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲭⲉ* are Second Perfects seems forced, and I should prefer to take *ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲭⲉ* ... as a relative clause in which *ⲁⲛⲟⲕ* resumes the first person singular in *ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲕⲓ*: "... that I sport with you, I who have spoken to you words of wisdom". For the usage, cf. A. I. Elanskaja, "Svjaz' i soglasovanie priloženij s opredeljaemym v koptskom jazyke", *Kratkie soobščeniia Instituta narodov Azii* 46 (1962) 92-96.

P. 30. For 109.36-50, the Coptic has *ⲉⲓⲱⲭⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲱⲙⲱⲉ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲩⲩ, ⲛⲱⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲱⲛⲉ, ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲣⲟⲓ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲥⲓⲟⲩ, ⲙⲛ ⲡⲕⲉⲥⲉⲣⲉⲡⲉ, ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲓⲁⲓ ⲟⲛ ⲓⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲧⲁⲩⲟ ⲙⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲭⲥ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙⲓⲁⲗ ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ*. The Coptic is not as balanced as Ch.'s rendition implies: "Je ne parle pas des divinités auxquelles seuls les païens rendent un culte: objets de bois et de pierre, le soleil, la lune, les étoiles, etc., mais de ces autres dieux dont beaucoup parmi ceux qui prononcent le nom du Christ sont esclaves". Literally, the passage seems to mean: "I do not speak only of those whom the pagans worship ... but also, as for many amongst those who utter the name of Christ, it is, further, to other gods that they are slaves". The *ⲟⲛ* after *ⲉⲩⲟ* may be pleonastic, as it occasionally is in colloquial Sahidic: see W. H. Worrell, *Coptic Texts in the University of Michigan Collection* (Ann Arbor 1942) 179, Introd. to No. 4.

P. 33. Where the Coptic reads *ⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲓⲙⲛⲧⲓ ⲉⲛⲉⲧⲣⲓⲧⲉ ⲓⲛⲧⲓ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲧⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲱⲭⲏ, ⲙⲛ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲱⲡ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲥⲱⲱ, ⲉⲱⲭⲉ ⲥⲓⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲁⲓⲣⲁⲛ, ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲥⲓ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲓⲩⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲃⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲛ* (115.50-116.5), Ch. offers the following translation: "Je sais qu'exceptés ceux qui craignent Dieu et se soucient de leur âme, nul ne peut recevoir cette doctrine, tant il est vrai qu'elle nous paraît difficile. Mais elle nous décharge du poids de grands péchés ..." Better, I think, to take the *ⲉⲱⲭⲉ*-clause as the beginning of a new sentence, with *ⲁⲗⲗⲁ* marking the apodosis: "... this doctrine. If it is hard in our eyes, even so it takes away ..."

III. Lexique

P. 49. No. 70; cf. p. 47 s.v. *eire* 2 abs. Ch. assumes that *-p' ⲡⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲛ* (105.50) is resumed by *-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ* (105.56). But we expect cross-reference to a noun with *ⲡ-* determination to be effected by a personal pronoun (cf. A. Shisha-Halevy, "Commentary on Unpublished Shenoutiana in the British Library", *Enchoria* 6 [1976] 56); if *-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ* were resumptive, we would expect *ⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲛ*, i.e. zero-determination, as in 91.17-19 *ⲉⲛⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲉⲓⲣⲉ* (cf. also Shisha-Halevy, loc. cit.). Therefore it is probably better to take *-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ* directly with the following *ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲓ*: "if I do not pass my entire life" (sc. in this fashion); cf. Crum, *Dict.* 83a.

P. 57 s.v. *moihe*. The word is feminine, not masculine, in the passage Ch. quotes (108.47) and is usually feminine elsewhere (cf. W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* fasc. 2 [Heidelberg 1967] 89). Similarly, the information regarding gender should be altered on p. 89 s. vv. *hē hēt=* and *ho hra=*: the former is feminine, the latter masculine. P. 108 s.v. *grammateus*. Inadvertently Ch. points to an

instance of this word with *ⲛⲓ-*, even though the passage in question (122.46) has *ⲓⲛ-*; the same mistake is made with the other nouns in this passage: on p. 116 s.v. *presbuteros* and on p. 118 s.v. *pharisaïos* the text has *ⲓⲛ-*, not *ⲛⲓ-* (122.45 and 48).

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November 1980

GERALD M. BROWNE

KORTE AANKONDIGINGEN

ALTORIENTALISCHE FORSCHUNGEN V, Schriften und Kultur des Alten Orients. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin 1977 (287 Seiten + 26 Tafeln). Preis: 58,- M.

Dans ce recueil qui contient une bonne vingtaine de contributions (voir *BiOr* 34 [1977], p. 304-305), trois articles concernent l'égyptologie proprement dite.

Erika Endesfelder (p. 17-24) s'intéresse au travail d'esclavage dans le village de Deir el Medina en prenant comme point de départ les listes se rapportant à la distribution de blé parmi les ouvriers.

F. Steinmann (p. 25-31) s'interroge sur les prestations des esclaves dans le cadre de la production artisanale.

W. Vyčichl (p. 33-35) démontre, sur la base des orthographes existantes, de la vocalisation copte et du sens même des termes, que *rm.t* «hommes» et *hrd.t* «enfants» constituent les formations en *j.t*.

* *

ALTORIENTALISCHE FORSCHUNGEN VII, Schriften und Kultur des Alten Orients. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin 1980 (305 Seiten + 15 Tafeln). Preis: 62,- M.

Parmi les dix-neuf articles que renferme ce volume, quatre ont trait aux études égyptologiques.

Erika Endesfelder (p. 5-29) consacre un long exposé à quelques aspects de l'évolution économique à l'époque archaïque, en particulier à l'activité et au rôle des domaines.

Svetlana Hodjash et O. Berlev (p. 31-49) recomposent une scène de marché du mastaba de *D3d3-m-nh* (Mariette D 11) à l'aide de fragments répartis entre quatre musées et rassemblent, au cours de leur enquête, une documentation importante relative à des tableaux parallèles dans d'autres tombeaux de l'Ancien Empire.

St. Grunert (p. 51-76) analyse une série de contrats démotiques de Thèbes, appartenant au 2^e siècle av. J.-C., à la recherche d'une définition des droits et de la position juridique des propriétaires terriens parmi la population indigène.

Irene Danneskold-Samsøe (p. 299-305) établit la liste des publications de Wolja Erichsen (1890-1966).

L'Ancien Orient est, en outre, représenté dans ce volume par des articles H. Klengel (p. 77-87) sur l'irrigation des terres d'après les textes de Mari, de H. Freydank (p. 89-

117) sur des Hurrites déportés en Assyrie, de Evelyn Klengel-Brandt (p. 119-126) sur des jeux de dés d'Assur, de H. Neumann (p. 269-272) sur une lettre de l'époque d'Ur III, conservée à Halle-Wittenberg, de W. Thiel (p. 127-141) sur les débuts de l'agriculture aux premiers temps de l'histoire d'Israël et de A. Archi et H. Klengel (p. 143-157) sur un texte hittite (KUB XLVIII 105 + KBO XII 53) relatif à la réorganisation du culte.

ASSYRIOLOGIE

A. BERLIN, *Enmerkar and Enshūkešdanna*, A Sumerian Narrative Poem, Philadelphia, The University Museum, 1979 (36 cm, xi + 102 pp., 20 Pl.) = Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund, Bd. 2. Price: \$ 15.00. ISBN 0 937418 29 6.

Frau A. Berlin (-Feigenbaum) legt in diesem Buche die Bearbeitung von einem der Epen vom frühdynastischen Herrscher von Unug, Enmerkar, vor. Damit ist uns die sumerische literarische Überlieferung über Enmerkar gutteils (Vgl. Anm. 2) erschlossen: Das grosse 636 Zeilen umfassende Epos „Enmerkar und der en von Aratta“ hat vor sieben Jahren S. Cohen erneut bearbeitet¹), während uns C. Wilcke schon vor elf Jahren eine Bearbeitung von „Lugalbanda und Enmerkar“ geschenkt hatte²). In der akkadischen Überlieferung schliesslich kommt Enmerkar mehrfach in Verbindung mit Adapa vor³).

In Kap. 1 ihres Buches (S. 1-8) versucht Vf. in einer Einleitung eine Behandlung der Frage, welcher literarischen Gattung unsere Komposition zuzurechnen ist (S. 1-5), sowie eine kurze Beschreibung des Verlaufs der Handlung („plot“, S. 5-7) und einen Überblick über die Strophen, ihrer Ansicht nach 21 (A-U) an der Zahl (S. 7-8).

Kap. 2 (S. 9-31) behandelt die poetische Struktur⁴) und die „Technique“ des Textes. Vf. unterscheidet dabei im Aufbau der Komposition zunächst Stichen (Zeilen)⁵), diese erscheinen gewöhnlich in Gruppen von zwei oder mehr Zeilen, welche sie „stanza“ nennt. Es kann innerhalb dieser Gruppen sog. Enjambement auftreten, d.h., dass eine Stiche eine metrische Unterteilung ist, die mit der syntaktischen nicht zusammenfällt. Eine Gruppe von „stanzas“ bildet die nächsthöhere poetische Einheit, welche Vf. Strophe⁶) nennt und deren Aufbau sie S. 11-13 behandelt. Dabei geht sie auch auf das Prinzip hinter der Ordnung der Strophen kurz ein. Anschliessend handelt Vf. über die verschiedenen Stilmittel⁷), die in unserer

¹) S. Cohen, *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*, Xerokopie 73-24, 127, Philadelphia; Ann Arbor 1973.

²) C. Wilcke, *Lugalb.*, Wiesbaden 1969, 86ff. Zur Frage der Zugehörigkeit von Lugalbanda-Hurum vgl. Vf., S. 424.

³) S. A. K. Grayson, TCS 5, New York 1975, 145ff.; H. Hunger, ADFU 9, Berlin 1976, 23.

⁴) Vgl. auch H. Saurén, UF 3, 327ff.

⁵) Vgl. C. Wilcke, AS 20, 219ff.

⁶) Vgl. C. Wilcke, ebd. 233ff.

⁷) Vgl. C. Wilcke, ebd. 212ff.; H. Limet, AOAT 25, 327ff.

Komposition zur Anwendung kommen, u. zw. die unterschiedlichen Arten von Parallelismus (S. 13-21) und die Stiche und ihre Funktion innerhalb der Parallelismus-„patterns“ (S. 22-24). Weiter das Mittel der Wiederholung (S. 24-25)⁸⁾, die „Ring-Composition“ (S. 26), womit Vf. den Fall meint, dass „a segment begins and ends with the same word or phrase, or with the same subject or idea expressed in different words“, sowie den Chiasmus⁹⁾ (S. 26-27). Auf S. 28-30 wird dann die Bildsprache des Textes kurz behandelt, u. zw. die verschiedenen Metaphern (Vergleiche in der Form einer Identifizierung)¹⁰⁾ und „Similes“¹¹⁾ (Vergleiche mit -gim in der Form „wie X“, oder „wie X tut“). Die „Similes“ sind wohl auch deshalb im dichterischen Sumerischen häufig, weil der Gebrauch von Adverbien beschränkt ist (S. 30). Eine Zusammenfassung (S. 31) schliesst das Kapitel ab.

Die Bearbeitung der Komposition bringt Vf. in Kap. 3 (S. 32-59). Es bietet der Reihe nach eine Liste der heutzutage verfügbaren 33 Textexemplare, aus denen der Text zusammengesetzt ist (S. 33-34), (auf Versuche, ein Stemma der Textfamilien aufzustellen verzichtet Vf. offenbar), eine Rekonstruktion des Textes mit Angabe, durch welche Textexemplare jede Zeile jeweils vertreten ist (S. 35-37), eine Transliteration und Übersetzung, jeweils auf gegenüberliegenden Seiten (S. 38-59), wobei Vf. — wohl der hohen Anzahl der Textzeugen zufolge — das heutzutage immer üblicher werdende „Partitur“-Verfahren¹²⁾ nicht anwendet, sondern jeweils ein bestimmtes Textexemplar zu Grunde legt und die Varianten der anderen Zeugen in einen Fussnotenapparat verweist.

Kap. 4 enthält den Kommentar (S. 60-94), den Vf. nach Strophen (A-U) gliedert und in neuartiger Weise jeweils in einen literarischen und einen philologischen Teil aufteilt.

Ein vollständiges Glossar erfasst den Wortschatz unseres Textes mit Angaben, wo die betreffenden Vokabeln im Kommentar behandelt sind (S. 95-100). Eine Bibliographie in Auswahl (S. 101-102) und 20 Tafeln mit Photos der Textzeugen C, I, F, M, T, P, Q, R, S, U, X, Y, Z, AA, CC, DD, EE, GG und FF schliessen den Band ab.

Kurze Bemerkungen zur Textbearbeitung (Kap. 3) und zum Kommentar (Kap. 4):

Die Komposition begegnet mit ihrer Anfangszeile offenbar in leicht abgewandelter Gestalt wiederholt in literarischen Katalogen, s. S. Cohen, *Enm.*², S. 144ff.

Z. 3-5: Deutung vermutlich: „Der Name Unugs (ist) wie der Regenbogen, reicht bis zum Himmel in vielfarbigem Strahlenglanz, steht am Himmel, ist fürwahr der Neumond“. Vgl. etwa Wendungen wie mu-zu an-zà-šè (s. demnächst *Zikir šumim*, Festschr. für F. R. Kraus, zu CT 15, 15, 1). Ich verstehe ús-sa-bi und gub-ba-bi als pronominale Konjugation (vgl. D. O. Edzard, ZA 62, 14ff.). Zu verweisen wäre noch auf das Nebeneinander von Z. 3-4 Unu^k-ga mu-bi ... an-né ús-sa-bi und Z. 11 Unu^k-ga ka-tar-ra-bi kur-ra ba-te.

Z. 14: Inhaltlich nicht sehr klar (s. S. 64f.). Etwa scherzhaft gemeint, wie z.B. der Anfang mancher türkischer

Märchen (s. O. Spies, *Türkische Volksmärchen*, Düsseldorf; Köln 1967, 182; 221)? Die Übersetzung wäre dann etwa: „Damals, als der Tag (noch) en war“, usw. Zu den Herrschertiteln s. jetzt D. O. Edzard, RIA 4, 335ff.

Z. 20-21: Das Fehlen von -a (vgl. S. 65) erklärt sich m.E. kaum durch die Ausführungen von J. Krecher, Or. 47, 385ff.).

Z. 22: Man fragt sich, ob nicht besser a-da-min na-e-dè (vgl. S. 65) zu verstehen ist. Der ungewöhnliche Lokativ wäre dann behoben und die Agentivpostposition (Z. 23) stünde beim Subjekt einer finiten „trans.“ Verbalform (vgl. A. Falkenstein, AnOr. 28², S. 77). Zur Nachstellung des Subjektes vgl. A. Falkenstein, AnOr. 29², S. 6^{3a}; vgl. auch unten Z. 176-177 (189-190).

Z. 27-28 (58-59): Schwierig bleibt die nähere Bedeutungsbestimmung von a₁₄-gar (zur Lesung s. CAD I 39 *igaru* lex.; J. Krecher *apud* F. Ellermeier, SG 1, 1/1, 387). Ob etwa eine — gehässige — Anspielung aus der Sicht Ensu^hkešdanna auf die Sklavin Inannas aus der Geschichte „The Guilty Slavegirl“ (vgl. dazu Th. Jacobsen, TIT 205f.) vorliegt?? Vgl. dann etwa, trotz der Tatsache, dass dort bād, nicht a₁₄-gar steht, die Stelle ASKT 17 Rs. 11-14 (A) // ZA 29, 6-9 (B) (s. S. Langdon, BL, S. 79)

sig-sag-ki-na-ke₄ mu-ni-in-dab

ina pa-ni-a-at per-ti-šá is-bat-si

ki-sikil Ama-na-ág-tag-ga bād-úr-ta ba-šub ar-da-tu₄ ŠU-ma ina le-et du-ri it-tan-di (B: -ta-an-) „An der Vorderseite ihres Haupthaars packte sie sie, die Jungfrau Amana^htagga wurde von der Seite der Mauer heruntergeworfen“ (als Strafe für ihren unerlaubten Umgang mit Dumuzi).

Z. 33-38 (64-65): Unsicher bleibt die Bildsprache von der Gans, die vielleicht Inanna (nicht als Symboltier!) andeuten soll. Gemeint wäre vielleicht, dass Enmerkar nur einmal (oder vereinzelt) mit der Göttin Umgang haben darf, u. zw. am Neujahrsfest in Unug (vgl. J. Renger, RIA 4, 251ff.; Z. 29-32; 60-63), während Ensu^hkešdanna dieses Vorrecht dauernd Zuteil wird. Mit dem Ufer (Z. 37; 68) wäre dann Aratta gemeint, wo die Göttin, anders als in Unug, nach Ansicht des en dauerhaft beheimatet ist: Die Stadt lag nach Aussage von Z. 148-149; 161-162; *Lugalb.* 124, 374-376 am Wasser. Es fragt sich, wie Z. 108-109 zur obigen Vermutung passen würde. Vielleicht will Enmerkar sagen, dass er nur dann auf Umgang mit der Göttin Wert legt, wenn er sie auch ganz für sich alleine hat. Das Essen durch die unterworfenen énsi's (Z. 38; 69; 113) wäre mit Vf. nach unten S. 67f. zu erklären.

Z. 41: Bildet das schwierige gi₄-gi₄ mit è einen Ausdruck *per merismum* (vgl. Z. 50-51!)? Besagt wäre dann etwa, dass der Bote ununterbrochen unterwegs war. Anders S. 68f.

Z. 47: Zum Wechsel von /g/ und /d/ vgl. z.B. noch rig₇/ri(-d) „schenken“; a-gār neben Emesal a-da-ar „Feld“ (s. A. Sjöberg, TCS 3, 51; 51³).

Z. 49: Wohl „der ein Lamm genommen hat“ (šu-ti ist *hamtu*, vgl. D. O. Edzard, ZA 66, 51f.).

Z. 51: Bezieht sich das Infix -na- auf Enmerkar in Z. 52? Vgl. dann zur Stilfigur etwa SKIZ 218.

Z. 77: Vielleicht ist nach *Enm.*² 85, 503 (s. S. 73; 76¹⁶) eher [im]-gim zu ergänzen. In beiden Fällen heisst im dann in unserer Zeile wohl „Tontafel“. Zur genauen Bedeutung von šu-ra-ra vgl. S. Cohen, *Enm.*², S. 290;

Vf. hat an die Herstellung einer Tafel aus Ton gedacht; dies heisst — wenigstens im Schulbetrieb — (auch?) dub-dím/dù („Schooldays“ Z. 5 m.Var.B).

Z. 79: Die Verbalform hu-mu-da-anti(-e)-en enthält die Verbindung eines Personenzeichens der 3. sg. Präs.-Fut. des ‚transitiven‘ Verbums mit dem ‚Akkusativsuffix‘ der 1. sg. (vgl. A. Falkenstein, BagM 3, 32¹²; AfO 21, 48¹⁵).

Z. 82-87: Mit W. Heimpel, StP 2, 281 ist unsere Z. 82 wohl zu übersetzen: „nach seiner Rückseite ist es ein ug-Löwe, nach seiner Vorderseite ist es ein pirig-Löwe“. In Z. 85-86 liegt wohl pronominale Konjugation vor; sind die beiden Zeilen zu Z. 87 zu stellen??

Z. 90: „Sie [tritt] zu mir in mein reines Frauengemach (gi₆-pār) [ein]“.

Z. 99: Die Übersetzung der Vf. erforderte m.E. *nu-me-a; hier muss wohl eine 1. sg. vorliegen.

Z. 100-101: Die Zeile 100 ist nicht sicher zu ergänzen. Z. 101 scheint mir kaum mit der Vf. zu übersetzen. Besteht irgendein Zusammenhang mit *Enm.*² 66, 31-32? Unsere Zeilen könnten dann etwas heissen wie „[Nachdem (?) sie] aus ihrer Geburtsstadt aus[... war], / hatte keine Stadt (etwas für sie (?)) gebaut wie die wohl gebaute (für du-a? Vgl. A. Falkenstein, AnOr. 28², S. 145f.; J. Krecher, Or. 47, 396?) Stadt“ (d.h. Unug?) doch bleibt auch diese Lösung unsicher. Das von der Vf. S. 75 genannte šu-lu ma-tim ist unklar, vgl. AHW. 1270 *šulū(m)* 1.

Z. 102: Man könnte sich fragen, ob der zweite Teil der Zeile vielleicht heissen könnte: „Geht das Aratta etwas an?“ Allerdings bedeutet a-na-me-a-bi sonst „alles“; „ganz“ („soviel ihrer sind“), vgl. A. Poebel, GSG § 259; 262; UET 6/2, 151, 13, wo die Dupl. UM 1/2, 96, 14 // TMHNF 3, 42 VII 10 ni-na-me bieten. Für „Was geht es mich an?“ wird die Wendung nam-mu < *a-na-àm-mu „Mein: was ist es?“ gebraucht (vgl. u.a. S. Cohen, *Enm.*², S. 210).

Z. 104: Zum Zahlenspruch und ähnlichen Wendungen vgl. jetzt „Das sumerische Kurzepos ‚Bilgameš und Akka‘“, AOAT 209/1, Kevelaer; Neukirchen/Vluyn 1980, 66f.

Z. 114-115: Wohl nicht „to Ensu^hkešdanna“, sondern < En-su^h-kešda-an-na-ka (<-k-ak): Genetivpostposition, welche durch -a-ni aufgenommen wird.

Z. 122-123: Vgl. auch das kämpferische ‚Stiermotiv‘ in *Enm.*² 75, 255-258 m.Komm., ebd. S. 234.

Z. 124; 126: Wegen im-da-ab-ra (Z. 126) wäre in Z. 124 u.U. -rá zu lesen. Für A.KAL käme an sich vielleicht ausser usu (vgl. AHW. 216 *emūqu(m)* LL) noch liri₄/liru(m)₄ als Lesung in Betracht (vgl. dazu B. Landsberger, WZKM 56, 113¹⁷; F. Ellermeier, SG 1, 1/1, S. 413 (: M. Civil); 1, 1/2, S. 435). Die Deutung von r‘á‘ bleibt schwierig; das in SSA 115, 6//7 mit *mithušum* geglichene ra dürfte u.U. nicht vorliegen, da dies mit géšpu-lirum-ma verbunden ist (in NG 2, 202, 18 nur mit géšpu-ba, vgl. B. Landsberger, ebd. 116), während ersteres hier fehlt und auch an unserer Stelle anders als dort — sowie in HBA 86 II 5-7//14-15, wo a-da-min // ul-te-šu-ú (s. CAD A₂ 358 *ašū* lex.; 383; AHW. 1480) folgt (s. B. Landsberger, ebd. 115f.) — nicht *lirum₄-ma (so auch noch in Šulgi BC 256, 129: -lirum-ma; Verbum zerstört; s. B. Landsberger, WZKM 57, 22) steht. Vf. vermutet (in Z. 126-127, s. S. 78) eine Anspielung auf den Streit in *Enm.*² 83f., 457ff.

Z. 128-132: Wie S. N. Kramer, Iraq 39, 61¹³ m.E. mit Recht bemerkt, ist die Deutung dieser Zeilen durch Th.

Jacobsen, TIT 371f.¹¹ derjenigen der Vf. vorzuziehen. Zu beachten ist die Tatsache, dass in Z. 132 Q das Zeichen NA fehlt, was daraufhinweisen kann, dass nicht en-na gemeint ist, sondern na- als Präformativ, das auch fortbleiben kann.

Z. 139-162: Mit S. N. Kramer, ebd.¹⁴ wird vielleicht Z. 140-149 Rede des Beschwörungspriesters, Z. 153-162 des Ansiggaria sein.

Z. 143-144 (156-157): Weil es sich um Worte des maš-maš handelt, liesse sich erwägen, ob gú ga-mu-ni-ib-gar heisst: „ich will es (Unug)/ihn dort unterwerfen“ (vgl. Z. 144 R: -in-gál!) Der Name Arattas wäre dann wohl auch richtig (vgl. S. 79). Heisst Z. 143; 156, dass der Beschwörer den Unugkanal graben will, damit die Stadt Tribut nach Aratta schicken kann (vgl. Z. 148-149; 161-162)?

Z. 145 (158): Zu beachten ist das Prospektivpräformativ der Verbalform.

Z. 146-147 (159-160): Ein weiteres Beispiel für die Lage eines Zedergebirges im Osten (vgl. BiOr. 35, 182)!

Z. 148 (161): Die Zeile ist mir syntaktisch unklar. Vgl. die schwankende Überlieferung: In Z. 148 C ist Unu^k-ge Agentiv, während Unu^k-ga Genetiv sein dürfte, der durch -bi in -ba (Z. 161 U: -bi) wieder aufgenommen wird. In Z. 148 (161) dürfte -ke₄ < k-àm entstanden sein; Z. 148 C; Q: -ta, das hier wohl nur < -da entstanden sein kann (vgl. etwa UF 4, 179 (zu 29); 180 (zu 33); 188 (zu 87)). Zu beachten ist der teilweise abweichende Aufbau von Z. 148 in C und Q (s. S. 49, Anm.).

Z. 163: Vgl. W. von Soden, AS 16, 107.

Z. 169: Die Zeile bleibt mir auch nach der ausführlichen Behandlung einer (dieser?) Vokabel a-la durch A. Sjöberg, Or. 39, 75ff. unklar.

Z. 171: Zur Endung -en in im-ma-ab-gub-bé-en (Var. U: ma-a-b-gub-bé) in 3. sg. ist u.U. auf J. Krecher, ZA 57, 29f. zu verweisen.

Z. 179: Man erwartet wohl *unu₆-^dNisaba-ka-ke₄, da der GNF nach Z. 176-177; 189-190; CIRPL Ukg. 16 IX 1; Gud. Zyl. A XVII 15 genetivisch zusammengestellt ist. Zu me-te vgl. zuletzt A. Cavigneaux, JCS 30, 177ff.

Z. 180-182 (193-195): Als Bedeutung vermute ich: „Solange ich auch meinen Rahm aus der reinen Hürde gebracht haben werde, auch meine Milch aus dem reinen Pferche gebracht haben werde, wird die gute Wildkuh Nisaba, die älteste Tochter Enlils, die Menschen nicht aufbieten“ (etwa zur Versorgung der Göttin in Arbeitsdienst). In Z. 180-181 ist en-na ga- wegen Z. 193-194 FF en-na an-ga- vielleicht Sandhischreibung für en-na an-ga-. Zu en-na- ... a-aš vgl. CAD A₁ 112 *adi* lex.

Z. 198 (206): Für é-si-ga vgl. schon J. van Dijk, SSA 63.

Z. 207-208: Zu sibir (ENxKÁR) und sibir (U.ENxKÁR) s. F. Ellermeier, SG 1, 1/1, 266, 54 bzw. 413; weiter unten S. 86; S. Lieberman, SLOB, S. 459f.

Z. 217: Zu saḥar-húb s. jetzt M. W. Green, JCS 30, 147.

Z. 235: Es könnte -e in u₆-e (usw.) < -àm entstanden sein; so erklärte sich auch leicht, warum es mehrfach fortgelassen wird, z.B. in Z. 241; 243; 246. Die Annahme eines Fehlers (s. S. 89) wäre dann unnötig. Unwahrscheinlich wäre dagegen m. E. die Annahme einer ‚Akkusativpostposition‘ -e (vgl. dazu A. Falkenstein, AnOr. 28², S. 78¹; ²; D. A. Foxvog, Or. 44, 399). Es lässt die Var. X: eden-na

⁸⁾ Vgl. C. Wilcke, a.a.O.

⁹⁾ Vgl. C. Wilcke, ebd. 218f.

¹⁰⁾ Vgl. W. Heimpel, StP 2, 15ff.

¹¹⁾ Vgl. W. Heimpel, a.W. 24ff.; S. N. Kramer, JAOS 89, 1ff.

¹²⁾ S. zuletzt M. A. Powell, ZA 68, 174f. ¹¹.

die Frage aufkommen, ob dagal-še hier vielleicht adverbial gebraucht ist.

Z. 239: Das Verbum ku₄ bezeichnet hier wohl ebenso wie in Z. 247 das Verschwindenlassen des Opfers im Schilfdickicht bzw. den Wäldern, vgl. die Var. ur (Z. 239 BB; 247 AA) und s. Z. 235.

Z. 256: Zu sis „bitter sein/machen“ vgl. etwa noch UET 6/2,150, 3//TMHNF 3,42 IV 7//SLFN, Pl. 60:3 N-T 904, 170,1 (Edubbadialog „Enkimansum und Girine'isa“ Z. 3, s. demnächst in JCS 31 zu SLFN).

Z. 260: Die Wurzel dé in zi-dé scheint hamtu zu túm zu sein, vgl. CAD A₁ 10 abālu A lex.

Z. 280-282: „Dafür, dass im Streitgespräch (zwischen) sich Ensuhkešdanna gegenüber (und) Ensuhkešdanna Enmerkar sich Ensuhkešdanna gegenüber überlegen gezeigt hat (-ba) sei Nisaba Preis!“ Zum Schluss sei Frau A. Berlin herzlich gedankt für ihre wichtige Arbeit, durch die sie unsere Kenntnisse von der sumerischen Literatur beträchtlich erweitert hat.

Nimwegen, im Oktober 1980

W. H. PH. RÖMER

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E. SOLLBERGER, *The Pinches Manuscript*, Rom, Multigrafica Editrice, 1978 (34 cm., 16 S. + LXXVIII Taf.) = Materiali per il Vocabolario Neosumerico V.

In diesem Buche legt E. Sollberger die aus dem Nachlass von Th. G. Pinches stammenden Texte vor, deren Herkunft aus verschiedenen Sammlungen er in AfO 19, 120 schon kurz behandelt hatte. Das Textmaterial war zuvor in den Händen von N. Schneider und von E. F. Weidner gewesen und wird nun von E. Sollberger im vorliegenden Bande MVN 5 der Öffentlichkeit vorgelegt (vgl. die Einleitung, S. 3).

Den 78 Tafeln des Buches gibt Hg. einen Catalogue bei, in dem er für jeden Text die Numerierung im vorliegenden Bande, die ursprüngliche Nummer in der Sammlung, der der Text jeweils angehört hat (A: Amherst; HS: Harding-Smith; Kn: Knight; Liv: Liverpool (Institute of Archaeology); M.F.: Mockler-Ferryman; P: Pinches; Rm: Rassam), die Nummer, unter welcher N. Schneider den Text geführt hatte, die Datierung des Textes, sowie eine minimale Beschreibung der Tafel bietet (S. 7-13).

Die Ur III-Texte werden nach geographischer Herkunft geordnet vorgelegt: Umma; Puzrišdagān; Nibru; Ġirsu; unsicherer Herkunft. Dann folgen noch einige Texte aus altakkadischer und altbabylonischer Zeit, sowie zwei „literarische“ Texte: Nr. 301 (nach Angabe des Hg. „NB“) und 302 (seiner Angabe zufolge „OB“).

Eine Konkordanz zwischen der Numerierung von N. Schneider und der E. Sollbergers (S. 14-15), ein Index von schon zuvor veröffentlichten Texten (S. 15) und Anmerkungen (S. 16) schliessen den einleitenden Teil des Bandes ab.

Einige Bemerkungen zu einzelnen Texten:

22 1) 2 tūg-ni-lám-4-kam-ú[s] 2) ki-lá-bi 3 1/3 ma-n[a] 3) tūg-ki-lá-tag-ga 4) ki-šeš-sig₅-ta 5) Uš-mu šu ba-an-ti¹ Rs. 1) Ur-e₁₁-e 2) in-lá 3-5) mu

Amar-^dSu'ena lugal-e Ur-bi-lum^{ki} mu-hul (AS 2) 1) „2 ni-lám-Stoffe 4ter Qualität, 2) deren Gewicht 3₁ Minen (ist), 3) gewogene Stoffe, 5) hat 4) von Šešsig 5) Ušmu in Empfang genommen. Rs. 1) Ure'e 2) hat (sie auf ihr Gewicht hin) überprüft. 3-5) Jahr: Amarsuena, der König, hat Urbilum zerstört“. Anm.: Zu Ur-e₁₁-e und seiner Rolle als staatlicher Webereikontrolleur im Umma der Ur III-Zeit vgl. T. B. Jones; J. W. Snyder, SET, S. 322ff.; H. Waetzoldt, UNT, S. 100ff.

31 Opfer für Könige von Ur III finden sich auch in unserem Bande mehrfach, s. 31,6 (sá-du₁₁ für Šulgi und Amarsu'ena — in 3 für den Gott Šara von Umma); 34,1-2 (1 Ziegenbock für Š., in den Šaratempel eingebracht; s. auch 9; weiter Rs. 8-9 sá-du₁₁ šu-a-gi-na (s. dazu A. L. Oppenheim, *Wilb.* [= AOS 32] D5^c; J. P. Grégoire, AAS, S. 148f.) für Š.); 45,6/9 (sá-du₁₁ für Š. bzw. A. — in 3 sá-du₁₁ für Šara); 47,6-7 (sá-du₁₁ für Š. und A. — in 3 sá-du₁₁ für Šara); 50,9/Rs. 7 (sá-du₁₁ für Š. bzw. A.; s. auch Rs. 4); 51,4/6 (sá-du₁₁ für Š. bzw. A. — in 2 sá-du₁₁ für Šara). Da die Texte aus dem 5. (31; 34) und 6. (45; 47; 50; 51) Jahre des Amarsu'ena stammen, handelt es sich offenbar nicht nur um Opfer für verstorbene Herrscher (vgl. noch G. Wilhelm, JCS 24,83; H. Limet, CRRA 17,68; 68⁴; 5).

93 Unter den Opfertieren wird 4-5 genannt: 1 gemästetes Schaf für die Wehklage (ge-ra-núm, vgl. AHw. 285 gerrānu(m) 1), der Göttin Inanna.

101 Zu beachten ist der offenbar seltene PN (2) Sil-a-pa-da „Auf der Strasse Gefundener“ (d.h. Findling) (vgl. H. Limet, *Anthr. Sum.* 524); vgl. dazu den bekannten PN Túl-ta-pa-da „Im Brunnen Gefundener“ (s. A. Falkenstein, NG 3,168; H. Limet, a. W. 290; 290¹; 532f.).

111 Vgl. E. Sollberger, AfO 19,120ff. Es ist in Rs. 1 wohl lú-Ur-šū^{ki} zu lesen (vgl. D. O. Edzard; G. Farber, RGTC 2,225).

122 Erwähnt werden u.a. Opfer von jeweils einem grossen (? Vgl. H. Sauren, WMAH 1, S. 105) Ziegenbock für den Thron von Urnammu (5), Šulgi (6-7) und Amarsu'ena (8) (ŠS 1) (vgl. A. Salonen, MAM 37).

144 Vgl. den Duplikattext (s. K. Maekawa, ASJ 1,62) MVN 2,87 (Bearbeitung durch H. Sauren, WMAH 1, S. 107).

180 1) 1 anše mu en-Eridu^{ki} 2) 1 anše-kúnga mu ^dŠu-^dSu'ena lugal 3) 3 gu₄ mu má-dà-ra-Abzu ba-ab-du₈ 4) mu-de₃-de₃-ga-še Rs. 1) engar-ra ba-na-zi 2) kuš-bi la-ba-gid-da 3) gu₄-anše-bi 4) Nam-ḥa-ni su-su-dam 5) é-^dNin-dar-a 1) „1 Esel; Jahr: der en-Priester von Eridu (wurde inthronisiert); 2) 1 Zugesel; Jahr: Šusu'en wurde König; 3) 3 Rinder; Jahr: das Schiff (namens) ‚Steinbock des Abzu‘ wurde kalfatert. 4) An Stelle der verendeten (Tiere) Rs. 1) wurden sie an den Bauern ausgegeben, 2) ihre (der verendeten Tiere) Haut war nicht abgestreift worden. 3) Besagte Rinder (und) Esel 4) soll Namḥani ersetzen. 5) Haus der Nindara“. Anm.: 1-2); 3) Den Eseln ist die Jahresangabe AS 8, bzw. ŠS 1, den Rindern das Jahresdatum ŠS 2 beigelegt. Zur Lesung und Bedeutung von anše-kúnga (BAR.AN) vgl. F. Ellermeier, SG 1, 1/1, 177; 1,1/2, 501; A. L. Oppenheim, *Wilb.* E5; K. Maekawa, ASJ 1,35ff.; 4) mu- a(k)-še wird hier wohl im häufigen Sinne von „an Stelle von“ (vgl. etwa A. L. Oppenheim, *Wilb.* P 3^a; H. Sauren, WMAH 1, S. 354) stehen; Rs. 1) Zu dem vermutlich hier vorliegenden Gebrauch von ba-na-zi vgl. etwa noch CTNMC 29,4 ba-an-na-zi (vgl. Th. Jacobsen, a.W.,

S. 24; 82); UET 3,1018,10 (s. L. Legrain, a.W., Ind., S. 190; 238); s. daneben noch BIN 3,565 Rs. 3. Es hätte dann der Bauer, dessen Name nicht erwähnt wäre (oder wäre engar als PN [vgl. H. Limet, *Anthr. Sum.* 405, allerdings nur ein Beleg in einem Texte aus Umma!] zu verstehen?), die betreffenden Tiere als Ersatz für ohne sein Verschulden (vgl. A. L. Oppenheim, a.W. F24; TIM 6,49, 13) verendete Tiere ausgegeben bekommen. Es fragt sich, aus welchem Grunde Nam-ḥa-ni dann die besagten Tiere wohl als Ersatz zu stellen hatte (Rs. 4); 2) Zur Lesung RI.RI: de₃-de₃(-g) vgl. J. P. Grégoire, AAS, S. 88; Rs. 2) Zur Deutung von gid vgl. A. L. Oppenheim, a.W. 2; S. 51⁰; vgl. etwa auch DPOA E 21 Rs. 1. Wie ist die Endung -a genau zu verstehen?

182 Es handelt sich um 15 Schafshäute, welche zu Deckeln (ka-tab, vgl. A. L. Oppenheim, *Wilb.*, S. 3⁴, C 15; F. J. Stephens, JCS 13,12ff.; A. Salonen, HAM 1,167 (auch zu UDT 74,1-2); D. Loding, *A Craft Archive from Ur*, Xerokopie 75-74, 588, Philadelphia; Ann Arbor 1974, 114²⁷; 180⁶; S. J. Lieberman, SLOB 341f.) von ^{gis}BÍL.GA Gegenständen dienen sollten. Das mir unklare ^{gis}BÍL.GA begegnet in gleichem Zusammenhang noch in HSS 4,52 Rs. 3 (s. T. Fish, MCS 6,64). Ein ka-BÍL.GA findet sich YOS 4,292,34 (s. T. Fish, ebd. 29; A. L. Oppenheim, a.W. S. 28⁵⁰); vgl. schliesslich ŠL 296,66 c.

201 Siegel: Lú-^dDumu-zi/dumu-Ma-ni/sagi („Mund-schenk“) -Gù-dé-a. Mit Gù-dé-a könnte der Stadtälteste aus Ġirsu dieses Namens (Zeit des Šusu'en) (vgl. A. Falkenstein, NG 1,36f., 13; 48,17; 50,50) gemeint sein, da unser Text aus Ġirsu (ŠS 8) stammt.

202 Z. 4: mu Ū-ta saḥar-zi-ga-še „weil aus dem Ū (vgl. dazu u.U. H. Sauren, TUU 46⁸⁷; 65; 65¹⁸², 194 und 123: ŠA 78,1-3, wo von Nivellierungsarbeiten am Ū des Tigris-Kanals die Rede ist) Erde ausgehoben worden war“ (vgl. A. L. Oppenheim, *Wilb.* D 19^b).

224 Der Text bietet wohl einen neuen Beleg für den Feldnamen ‚Speicher‘ (Uš-gid-da) (2-3) in Ġirsu, vgl. G. Pettinato, UNL 1/2, S. 229. Es hatte offenbar ebenso eine Tenne (ki-su₇), wie das Feld gleichen Namens in Umma (s.a. W. 229; 230⁴).

281 1) 100 še-gur 2) ni-sa₁₀-gi-še 3) ki-Ur¹-^dEn-lil-lá-ta 4) ^dUtu-bar-ra dam-gār 5) š[u] ba-an-ti Rs. 1) iti-Ezen-^dŠul-gi 2) mu en-^dInanna- 3) Unu^{ki} máš-e i-pá 1) „100 Kor Gerste, 2) als Kaufpreis für Rohr 5) hat 3) von Urenlilla 4) Utubarra, der Kaufmann, 5) in Empfang genommen. Rs. 1) Monat: ‚Fest des Šulgi‘, 2) Jahr: der en-Priester Inannas 3) von Unug wurde ins Orakel berufen“.

Anm.: Rs. 1) Die Herkunft des Textes ist unsicher (s. oben S. 13). Nach H. Limet, *Anthr. Sum.* 543/566 begegnet der PN Ur-^dEn-lil-lá in Nibru und in Puzrišdagān, während der PN ^dUtu-bar-ra ebenfalls dort (sowie in Lagaš und Ur) belegt ist. Es könnte sich demnach um den 7. Monat von Puzrišdagān (vgl. N. Schneider, AnOr. 13, 113) handeln; 2-3) Als Jahresdatum müsste dann wohl IS 2 angenommen werden, nicht etwa ein Jahresdatum Urnammu (vgl. oben S. 13; E. Sollberger, AfO 17, 10ff.), da Puzrišdagān eine Gründung seines Nachfolgers Šulgi war (vgl. D. O. Edzard, ZA 63,293).

302 Sammlung von Beschwörungstexten (én-é-nu-ru), offenbar vom Weihungstyp (vgl. dazu A. Falkenstein, LSSNF 1,76ff.; E. Reiner, AfOBeih. 11: Šurpu IX; J. Nougayrol, RA 65, 155ff.; 155² (: J. van Dijk, HSAO

243ff.; 259ff.); W. Farber, BID 54; VS 17, 13-19), vgl. II 7'ff.; III 1'ff.; VI 1'ff. mit LSSNF 1,100,2. (Schlussstema). Zu IV 5'-6' En-bi-lu-lu kù-gál-i₇-da vgl. A. Falkenstein, ZA 56,78f.; zu V 12'ff. vielleicht LSSNF 1,78; 100,1. (Einleitung).

Zum Schluss sei E. Sollberger für die Herausgabe des ‚Pinches Manuscript‘ herzlich gedankt, durch die er uns wieder eine erfreuliche Vermehrung unsrer Kenntnisse des Sumerischen beschert hat.

Nimwegen, im Dezember 1980

W. H. PH. RÖMER

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G. PETTINATO, S. A. PICCHIONI, in collaborazione con H. WAETZOLDT, *Testi Economici di Lagaš del Museo di Istanbul*, Parte II: La. 7601-8200, Rom, Multigrafica Editrice, 1978 (34 cm., 236 S.) = Materiali per il Vocabolario Neo-sumero VII.

Im vorliegenden Bande setzen Vff. die Veröffentlichung in Umschrift der von L. Delaporte in ITT 4 beschriebenen Ur III-Texte fort, die G. Pettinato in MVN 6 begonnen hatte. Dafür, dass nunmehr diese wichtige Sammlung von Texten aus der Ur III-Zeit, soweit sie heute noch verwertbar oder auffindbar sind, in Umschrift vorliegt, schulden wir den beiden Vff. besten Dank.

Das Buch enthält zunächst ein Vorwort (S. 7) und einen Katalog (S. 9-57). Der Katalog bietet Angaben über Texte, welche nicht auffindbar oder durch Rasuren unleserlich sind (S. 9), über Unstimmigkeiten zwischen Nummern der Texte im Katalog von ITT 4 und der Nummer auf der betreffenden Tafel (in zwei Richtungen, S. 9-10), über schon in Autographie in ITT 4 oder bei H. Waetzoldt, UNT veröffentlichte Texte (S. 10-11); über Texte, welche schon zuvor bearbeitet worden sind (nach Angabe der Vff. nicht vollständig, S. 11-12); zu dem sehr reichhaltigen Inhalt der Tafeln (S. 12-16; s. unten); zu den Datierungen der Texte (I. Spät-altakkadische Periode; darunter fallen Texte aus der Zeit Gudeas und Urningirsus (s. zu deren Datierung BiOr. 26,161ff.; A. Falkenstein, AnOr. 30/1, 6ff.; RIA 3,676ff.; E. Sollberger, RA 62,137ff.; JCS 21, 279ff.; H. Sauren, ZDMG Spl. 1,115ff.; M. Çiğ, AOAT 25,75; 77f.; 77⁸; J. Renger, ebd. 367ff.; R. M. Boehmer, RIA 3,707f.; M. Lambert, RA 69,3; 3¹; E. Strommenger, RIA 3,680), sowie eine Anzahl von Tafeln mit nur Monatsangaben, oder Texte, bei denen eine Datierung entweder abgebrochen oder nicht vorhanden ist, S. 17-18; II. Tafeln aus der Ur III-Zeit, S. 18-26); einen Katalog (S. 26-49), der, soweit möglich, zu jedem Texte die Nummer im vorliegenden Bande, den Typus (nach der Inhaltsangabe, S. 12-16), die Periode und die Datierung (nach oben S. 17-26) bietet und schliesslich Konkordanzen zwischen den Museumsnummern, der Nummer in ITT 4 und derjenigen in MVN 7 eines jeden Textes.

Den Inhalt der Texte haben Vff. (ähnlich wie G. Pettinato in MVN 6, S. 14-18) folgendermassen eingeteilt (S. 12-16): I. Agrarwirtschaft (A. Felder: Oberfläche, Säen und Ernte; verschiedene Arbeiten und Arbeitskräfte; Produkte, Ablieferung und Abgaben; Produkte, Verarbeitung; B. Obst- und Gemüsegärten; C. Kanäle); II. Vieh-

zucht (A. Grossvieh: Futtermittel; Verteilung und Verwertung; B. Kleinvieh: Futtermittel; Verteilung und Verarbeitung; C. Gross- und Kleinvieh; D. Verschiedene Tierarten); Industrie (A. Gegenstände aus Metall und Mineralien; B. Textilien; C. Holz; D. Leder (Häute); E. Wolle; F. Rohr und Verwandtes; G. Verschiedenes); IV. Handel (A. Transporte; B. Ein- und Verkauf; V. Fischerei; VI. Personal (A. Funktionäre und Berufe; B. Arbeitskräfte; C. Bezeichnung von Gehältern); VII. Rationen (A. Gerste; B. Verschiedene Mehlsorten und Brote; C. Bier und Verwandtes; D. Öl; E. Obst; F. Fische; G. Wolle; H. Verschiedenes); VIII. Lebensmittelversorgung (A. Palast; B. Tempel; C. Verschiedene Verwaltungsbehörden); IX. Verschiedenes (A. Verwaltungsbrieft; B. Rechtsurkunden; C. Schulübungen; D. Pisandubba-Etiketten (vgl. dazu jetzt R. C. Nelson, AOAT 203,43ff.); E. Kult; F. Texte mit Siegel; G. Unsicheres); X. Archive (A. A-kal-la; B. Ad-da-mu; C. Di-ku₅; D. Lu-igi-sa₆-sa₆; E. Šu-na). Den Hauptteil des Buches bilden die Transliterationen der 592 Texte (S. 59-190). Indizes von 1. Götternamen, 2. Personennamen, 3. Bezeichnungen von Ämtern und Berufen und von 4. Toponymen (Städte und Länder; Flüsse und Kanäle; Herkunftsbezeichnungen von Personen (lu-ON); Felder: Bauten und Verwaltungssitze (S. 230-236) schliessen den Band ab.

Einige Bemerkungen zu einzelnen Texten:

116 Z. 7-Rs. 1: „2 Sila 2/30 Bier für Ġirine'isa, den Gendarm des Königs, der krank (tu-ra)/hereingekommen war, als er Ġirine'isa begleitete“ (der begleitete Ġirine'isa erhielt offenbar nach Z. 1-2 1 Krug 3/30 + 1 Krug 2/30 Bier; zu Rs. 1 vgl. J. P. Grégoire, AAS, Nr. 113,5-7; 168,11 (mit Komm., ebd. S. 206)). Zu Rs. 2-5 vgl. G. Buccellati, *The Amorites in the Ur III Period*, Neapel 1966,57; 311; 311¹¹⁸; falls es sich um einen Mardubeduinen handelt, dürfte mit den Vff. dūr (sg. marû, vgl. P. Steinkeller, Or. 48,55; 55f.⁶ -a zu lesen sein).

203 Vgl. A. L. Oppenheim, Wilb. B 6^a; Z. 2: Vgl. A. L. Oppenheim, a.W., W 34^a; A. Falkenstein, NG 2, S. 9 zu 6,5; Z. 3/5: S. D. O. Edzard, AS 20,88ff. (assertorischer Eid).

407 Rs. 3: sag-ni-GA-ka dürfte doch wohl mit dem bekannten Terminus der Buchführung sag-ni-gur₁₁-ra (-k), etwa „amount of goods in stock or of incoming items from which a series of expenditures is to be made“ (so A. L. Oppenheim, Wilb. E 34^a m.Lit.; s. auch D. Loding, *A Craft Archive from Ur*, Xerokopie 75-74, 588, Philadelphia; Ann Arbor 1974, 137: „... may perhaps best be defined as „capital“ or „goods on hand““; 137¹ m.Lit.) zu identifizieren sein; s. weiter H. Sauren, WMAH 1, S. 276; C. E. Keiser, BIN 3, S. 86; SACT 2, 242,15; MVN 5,92,2¹; 142,2; 8,147,8. Zu gar vgl. vielleicht etwa dasselbe Verbum im Terminus A. KA-a gar (s. dazu A. L. Oppenheim, a.W., C 16^a; J. P. Grégoire, AAS, S. 44).

526 Den Text ITT 4,7558¹ hat H. Sauren, ZA 60,72 bearbeitet. Trotz des Bedenkens von H. Sauren (ebd. mit Anm.¹²) möchte ich der Auffassung von A. Falkenstein, NG 1,117; 117³ den Vorzug geben, da wegen -e die Verbalform mu-túm-e-a 'trans.' Präsens-Futur sein muss.

Nimwegen, im Dezember 1980

W. H. PH. RÖMER

* *

Brian LEWIS, *The Sargon Legend*. A study of the Akkadian text and the tale of the hero who was exposed at birth. Cambridge, Mass., American Schools of Oriental Research, 1980 (22 cm, xxii + 298 pp.) = A.S.O.R. Dissertation Series No. 4. ISBN 0 89757-104-5.

K. 3401 + Sm. 2118 and K. 4470 are both fragments from the top left corners of two cuneiform tablets from Assurbanipal's library, now in the British Museum. Each contains, as far as preserved, the beginning of a text in the style of the so-called *narû* literature or "pseudo-autobiography", purporting to tell in his own words the story of the birth, upbringing, rise to power and subsequent achievements of Sargon of Akkad: how his mother — a high priestess — placed him as an infant in a basket and launched him on the river, how he was rescued and adopted by a gardener, how he gained the favour of Ishtar, rose to kingship and so conquered an empire. The text has been famous since its discovery and publication in 1870 by George Smith, who already pointed out its striking similarity to the story of Moses in Exodus. This short text, however, of only 32 lines, represents less than a quarter of the whole once contained on each of these duplicate tablets. The rest is lost, except for some half lines (slightly augmented by another duplicate fragment discovered more recently) from the second column of K. 4470, which are concerned with the movements of certain wild animals and have no obvious connexion with the legend in column I.

Dr. Brian Lewis made this text the subject of his dissertation for the doctorate at New York University in 1976, and the book under review is a revised version of this work. After an introduction describing the history of the fragments and their publication, there is a full critical edition of the text with philological commentary and a discussion of the literary genre to which it belongs, the date of composition and its possible historical value. Dr. Lewis is doubtful whether the text as a whole could properly be classed as a pseudo-autobiography and suggests that it may be a pastiche, its first section only being based on an older *narû* legend that has not come to light. Certain stylistic idioms point to the text itself being a rather late composition and Dr. Lewis interestingly suggests that it might well have been written to glorify Sargon II of Assyria by showing that he was a worthy successor to Sargon of Akkad. This would explain the curious selection of exploits attributed to Sargon, some of which are more reminiscent of the actual achievements of Sargon II than those of the hero himself.

The story of the exposure and adoption of the infant and his subsequent rise to fame belongs to the realm of folktale, and the second half of the book is devoted to a methodical study of this aspect of the "Sargon Legend". The tale has been applied over the centuries to gods, kings and culture heroes of many nations, and no less than 72 versions of it are here presented, from Gilgamesh to Superman, classified according to the language of the written source (a method of presentation which results, rather misleadingly, in Gilgamesh, Jesus and Romulus appearing under the heading "Greek"). These are then analysed into seven basic components, and each of these in turn into their variants, called factors, and the results are carefully tabulated in five tables (occupying 25 pages).

Two main types emerge, involving respectively exposure on water and exposure on land, the former mainly Semitic and Indian, the latter Indo-European (Greek, Latin, Persian). Dr. Lewis concludes that the former is more original and closer to the hypothetical archetype. He suggests for further investigation the possibility that, disregarding the exposure motif, the pattern "humble beginnings — divine favour — appointment at court — foundation of new capital — conquests — divine wrath and disgrace" may be found to apply to other prototypical heroes such as David.

There is a final appendix on the name Sargon and its various orthographies.

Both as an Assyriological monograph and as a study of a folktale type this book is a model on which the author is to be warmly congratulated. The study of the text is detailed and penetrating, including collation of the original tablets; that of the folktale type is no less thorough, methodical and comprehensive. The writing is clear and concise, the judgements always reasonable and well-founded. The book is also attractively produced, in paper covers, with a cover design showing the famous bronze head from Nineveh representing an Akkadian ruler, possibly Sargon himself.

Oxford, October 1980

O. R. GURNEY

KORTE AANKONDIGING

Harry van KRUININGEN, *Gilgamesj. De mens in verzet tegen zijn noodlot*. Amsterdam, De Driehoek, z.j. 1974 (72 blz., 16 platen). Prijs fl. 27.50.

Het Gilgamesj epos heeft de kunstenaar Harry van Kruiningen geïnspireerd tot het maken van zestien etsen. Deze etsen worden in dit boek gereproduceerd. De inhoud van het epos wordt door mevr. E. Th. van der Veer-Bertels naverteld. De inleiding is van de hand van Harry van Kruiningen. Een korte bibliografie verwijst naar de bronnen die beide schrijvers gebruikt hebben (p. 71).

HETHITOLOGIE

Johann TISCHLER, *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*. Mit Beiträgen von Günter Neumann. Lieferung 3 (*iškidahh- — -ku*). Innsbruck, Institut für Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft, 1980 (23 cm., II + 403-600 pp.) = Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, Band 20. öS. 240. ISBN 3 85 124537 7.

Tischler's third fascicle, two years after the second (1978, reviewed above in vol. 37 [1980], pp. 202-205),

approaches the end of K and thus gets close to the mid-way mark of the enterprise. The total is announced in 5 ("möglicherweise" 6) instalments of about 200 pages; unless scope is reduced, the remainder will require every line of three more fascicles. Compared to the tortoise-like progress of Kammenhuber's *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, Tischler has set a pace more worthy of a hare or the swift-footed Achilles.

But if progress is heartening, quality remains static; even the minimum of primary documentation offered is not seldom below par. Random examples:

P. 463 *galank-*: "Bisher nur als Ptz. *galankant-* belegt". There is also *KUB XXXIII 68 III 15 kalankaddu*.

P. 464 **kallarahh-*: Actually attested in *VAT 7671 I 8 kallarahhas* (3 sg. pret. act.) and *KUB XVIII 32 Vs. 4 kallarahh*.

P. 470, 597: 476/z, quoted from Berman's dissertation, is published as *KBo XXII 142* (1974); 635/d, from Otten's *Hethitische Totenrituale*, is *KBo XX 53*.

P. 499 *karat-*: for *ka-ra-a-ti-uš* read *ga-ra-a-ti-uš*; for *ka-ra-a-tu-uš* read *ka-ra-a-ta-uš*.

A string of entries which straddles fascicles 2 and 3 gets the kind of treatment which, at face value, would instil despair about the state of Hittite philology:

1. *išhuna*⁻¹ 'degradiere', in Law Code 175.
2. *išhuna*⁻² 'schütten, werfen' (alleged hapax in *KBo X 37 II 32 išhunauwar* '[Wurf]kraft').
3. *išhunahh-* 'sich durchsetzen, trotzen' (hapax in *KUB XXIII 13 Vs. 4*).
4. *išhunau* (n.), *išhuna* (c.) 'Oberarm'.
5. *iškunahh-* 'einsetzen, installieren' (hapax in *KUB I 16 III 42*).
6. *iškulant-* 'fleckig, schmutzig' (hapax in *KBo IV 2 I 45*).
7. *iškunešk-*, fragmentary iterative hapax in *KBo XII 19 I 6* (now edited by E. Neu in *StBoT 25* [1980], 231).

Tischler's interpretations are invariably fragmented, disjointed, and questionable:

1. *išhunānzi* 'they degrade (the children of a marital misalliance by a free woman)' is tentatively (in the footsteps of Hrozný and Imparati) tied in etymologically with *išhuzzi-* in the sequel of the same paragraph: *išhuzziyaš-a ŪL kuiški epzi*, which Tischler renders as 'and nobody will lift their bondage' (literally '[the matter] of their bond'). But in *išhuzzi-* the suffix is clearly *-uzzi-*, and the postulation of **išhu-uzzi-* is strictly ad hoc, the root being *išh(ai)-*, *išh(iya)-*. *išhuzzi-* seems to mean 'band, belt, girdle' rather than 'bond' (*išhiyal-*), and *ep-* 'take, seize' would be strange in the sense of 'remove' (one would expect either *karp-* 'lift' or *lā-* 'loose'). The literal sense (whatever its implications) is 'and none will seize by the belt'.
2. *išhuna*⁻² is illusory, since *išhunauwar* belongs under 4.
3. *išhunahh-* is derived by Tischler denominatively from *išhunau* 'upper arm' (following Kronasser who compared the denominative *GEŠPU-ahh-* 'to force' [literally 'use the fist']), thus 'apply muscle to, get one's way with, defy'. This rendering is achieved by quoting the hapax occurrence out of context (*nuyašši ... iš-hu-na-ah-hu-u-en*). It reads *nu-wa-šši wašdazza išhunahhuwen*, with a Luwian-like acc. pl. (< **waštanza*) as the direct object of the verb, corresponding to Hittite proper *waštauš*, from *wašta-* 'miss, fall short, act calamitously'. The meaning of *išhunahh-* is clearly akin to *išhuna-* 'put down, degrade', and the translation might be anywhere from 'we have thought

less of him for his shortcomings' to 'we have denounced his despoliations'.

4. Rather than labeling "überholt" Laroche's translation of *išhūnau-* as 'sinew, bowstring' (while unconvincingly sticking with Kronasser's 'upper arm') and connection with Vedic *snāvan-* 'sinew', Tischler should have at least recorded Oettinger's reconstruction of *išhūnauwar* as **sh₂nōur* and his game attempt to account for the irregularities (MSS 35 [1976], 93-97); an additional secondary meaning 'biceps, upper arm' might not be ruled out in the process. The gen. sg. *išhūnauwaš* can be from *išhūnauwar*, while the hapax nom. sg. *išhūnāu* (if correct) may be a secondary stem patterned on the ambivalent oblique cases; the variant stem *išhūna-* does not even exist, the hapax *išhūnaš* (KUB IX 34 II 25) being a "compressed" or erroneous gen. sg. besides *išhūnauwaš* in the parallel text KUB IX 4 I 25. In all such instances of hapax gegrammena a full attestational quotation is essential: KBo X 37 II 32-33 reads *nu-šši išhūnauwar šiyauwar pešten nu-šši šuhmilin* ... 'give him bowstring (and) shot, (give) him arrow'; here *išhūnauwar šiyauwar* is a hendiadys for 'bowshot' ('bowstring' being metonymous for 'bow'), unless it be assimilational for *išhūnauwaš šiyauwar*, much as *armahhuwazza waššiyaz* (KUB XXX 43 III 20-21) stands besides *armahhuwaš waššiyaz* (771/f Rs. 2) 'with the medication of pregnancy', or *tuedaza memiyanaz* 'on your command' (KUB VIII 48 I 12), replaces *tuel memiyanaz*.

5. For *iškunahhiš* in the Farewell Address of Hattusilis I Tischler sticks with Sommer's (and Kronasser's) interpretation (going back to Forrer) 'my grandfather' designated (his son Labarnas [as his successor] at Sanahuittas)', which led to rebellion by rival sons and factions; the verb *iškunahh-* is allegedly denominative from **iškuna-* 'a spot', as German *malen* 'to mark, paint' is from *mal* 'spot'. Tischler also records Oettinger's (per litteras) suggestion (elaborated in *Die Stammbildung des hethitischen Verbums* [Nürnberg 1979], 156-158) of an etymological tie-in with Vedic *skunāti* 'poke, rake, tear, mangle', sometimes used technically (*ā-skunōti*) of ear-slashing or perforation of domestic animals for marking purposes.

6. *iškunant-*, describing cloths which soap cleanses, is somehow derived (with unclear *-nt-*) from the **iškuna-* 'spot' assumed under 5, which latter Tischler hesitantly connects as **sku-no-* with Gothic *skaums* 'beautiful' and other dubious items.

It should be fairly probable that two pairs of verbal stems, *išhūna(hh)-* and *iškuna(hh)-*, occur in 1, 3, 5, and 6. Oettinger (op. cit. under 5) gets thus far but remains etymologically stymied by *išhūna(hh)-* which he glosses as 'treat shabbily'. Eichner (*Die Sprache* 25 [1979], 205-206) allows *išhūnahh-* < *iškunahh-* as some sort of regressive assimilation and advocates the same tie-in with Vedic *sku-*, postulating an improbable semantic range 'to mark' > 'designate; brand, demean, degrade; set limits for, put in one's place, defy; stain'.

For my own part I stand by what I proposed in IF 83 (1978), 141-143: *iškuna(hh)-* and *išhūna(hh)-* (cf. e.g. *iškiš-*: *išhiš-* 'back') have the base-meaning 'make ugly, stain' and cover the figurative range 'disgrace, degrade, denounce'. In the case of *iškunahhiš* this approach involves adherence to Sommer's own original assumption that Labarnas was the ringleader of the errant rebels and that as a result 'my grandfather disgraced (him) at Sanahuittas'

(i.e. demoted, rusticated him to the boondocks). This explanation would in fact fit better also Oettinger's proposed etymological connection with the Vedic perforation of animals, since 'brand' transferred from cattle to royal offspring should have come out as 'stigmatize, denounce' rather than 'designate, appoint, install'.

If, however, one still insists on Forrer's interpretation of the Labarnas affair, then *iškunahh-* should be separated from the rest (which belong etymologically with Gk. αἰσχύνω 'make ugly, disfigure, dishonor') and translated '(my grandfather) proclaimed (his son L. [as his successor] at S.)'; the etymon of *iškunahh-* might then be Lith. *aiškus*, *iškūs* 'clear, obvious' (cf. Latin *de-clārā-*), whereas 'designate' is seen rather in expressions like *n-an tekkuššami* 'I designate him' (cognate with Avestan *daxšta-* 'sign').

kaniniya- 'sich beugen' may have a nuance 'crouch, squat', as distinct from *henk-* 'bow (reverentially)', *ar(u)wai-* 'prostrate oneself, προσκυνεῖν (*ŠUKĒNU*), and 'kneel' (*haliya-*; *ginuššariya-*, *kanuššariya-*). Because of the last-mentioned it is strange that Tischler still pursues an etymological connection of *kaniniya-* (better: *kanenai-*) with *genu-*, *ganu-* 'knee', an idea dating back to the early dawn of hittitology (Harri Holma in JSFO 33.1 [1916], 24) and lately championed by Neu (KZ 86 [1972], 291-292), despite the fact that the verb shows no trace of the ancient *-u-* of *genu-* (matters are not improved by Eichner, *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* [1979], 59, deriving *kaneniya-* via "inner reduplication" from a dubious root **ḡen-* 'bend' which allegedly also underlies 'knee'). More plausibly the root of *kanenai-* is Indo-European **kney-*, seen with a suffix *-*gh-* in Latin *cō-nivēō* (perfect *cō-nixi* or *cō-nivi*), *nitor* 'bear down, strain' (perfect *nixus* or *nisus*, Festus *gnixus*; *genibus nixae* 'kneeling' in Plautus, *Rudens* 3.3.33), Gothic *hneīwan*, Old English *hnigan* 'bend, bow', and with a suffix *-*b-* in Old Norse *hnīpa* 'be downcast', Lith. *knibti* 'collapse'. Why not **kney-nā-* (vel sim.) > *kanena(i)-*?

For *gank-* 'hang': *gankuwar* 'weight' Tischler gives the correct etymon seen in English *hang* and the shift in meaning paralleled by Akkadian *šaḡālu*: *šuqultu* or Latin *pendō*: *pondus*. He also records a possible interpretation of the hapax *gangalaš* as 'tray of balance, weighscale'. But the Hittite word for '(pair of) scales', *ḡiṣelzi*, is for him "isoliert und ohne Etymologie" (fasc. 1 [1977], 106). Because a contraption like the Greek *τάλαντα* is involved, *elzi* can be interpreted as reflecting an Indo-European dual root-noun **Eelt-i* (cf. e.g. **wi-kmt-i* 'twenty') matched by *(*E*)*let-* seen in Old Irish *leth*, Welsh *lled* 'half', and Old Irish *leth*, Latin *latus* 'side'. The literal sense is '(instrument with) two bilateral halves', paralleling Latin *bilanx libra* 'pair of scales, balance' (*bilanx* 'twin-scaled' [*lanx* 'plate, scale'])). For a unit-dual involving the same etymon, cf. Old Irish *leth-sūil* '(one) eye', literally 'half-eye', back-formation from the dual (*dī*) *sūil* 'eyes'; similarly a neuter singular "*i*-stem" *elzi* may have come about, back-formed from the dual become plural and joining a common type (*ešri*, *etri*, etc.). The plural thus means '(pair of) scales', while the secondary singular *elzi* (like the possible *gangalaš*) denotes one scale-tray as opposed to the other. Thus may be explained the old crux in the Law Code (169): *ḡiṣelzi-mit-wa taknā aršikkīt* 'he has planted my scale in the earth'; it must mean roughly 'he (viz. the boundary-breacher) has tipped the scales against me' (i.e. has given me a raw deal), even as Hektor's

scale makes a chthonian dip all the way to Hades at Zeus's weighing in *Iliad* 22.209-213.

Tischler follows Riemschneider in severing *kappant-* as 'dunkel, schwarz' from *kappi-* 'klein'. *kappant-* seems to refer to the lightless phase of the moon in juxtaposition with parallel Akkadian moon omina; yet it cannot be 'dark' pure and simple, because the moon does appear with distinguishable "horns", and hence the rendering 'diminished, waned' may be right after all, perhaps as a participle from a verb **kapp-* or **kappai-* 'lessen' on which *kappi-* may also be based (rather than a denominative *-nt-* extension). The fragmentary juxtaposition *harki kappanza* (KBo XV 31 I 2) proves no antonymy to 'white', while *gapanza* (KBo XIII 1 I 51) is more probably cognate with *gapina-* 'thread, yarn', whether it be an erroneously collapsed spelling for **gapinanza* or a derivational variant; it is a near-synonym of the preceding (ibid. 50) *hanzana-* 'thread, yarn' (in *auwawaš hanzanaš* 'cobweb'). Thus *kappant-* 'dark, black' is just as illusory as *hanzana-* 'black' (Tischler, fasc. 1 [1977], 157; cf. my contribution to *Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* [Amsterdam 1980]); *dankui-* remains the only secure Hittite word for this color adjective.

Under *kariya-* 'cover, hide' Tischler lists a variety of abortive connections but fails to come up with the most plausible: Lat. *corium* 'leather', *scortum* 'hide', *cortex* 'rind, bark', Skt. *cārman-* 'skin, hide', Old High German *skirm* 'cover, shelter'. These point to an Indo-European *(*s*)*ker-* which should be kept distinct from the homophone meaning 'cut' (Pokorny's IEW [938-947] merges them under 'cut', in one of the many disservices of that wrongheaded compendium). The iterative *kāriški-* (KUB XIX 37 III 11 *nu iḷuzziuš UD-az kāriškinun*), which Tischler (p. 506) ranges under the homophone *kariya-* 'Halt machen, rasten', clearly signifies in the quote 'I had my troops take cover (literally: I would hide my troops) in daytime'; had it meant 'I would rest them in daytime', it should have been **karinuškinun*, i.e. causative *kari(ya)nu-* from intransitive *kariya-* 'stop, pause, rest'.

For *karitt-* 'Flut, Überschwemmung' Tischler has no clear etymon either. Perhaps he should have credited more the attempts of Čop and Schindler to connect Indo-European **ḡrey-* (Sanskrit *jrāyas-* 'movement, course', Avestan *zrayō* 'sea', German *krieg* 'war'). But *karitt-* has such specific reference to rain-caused flooding that a more directly "meteorological" etymon seems preferable. Nominatives *ka-ri-iz* and *gi-ri-e-iz-za* add up to /*grēts*/, while *ka-ra-i-iz* may show "hypercorrect" diphthong. This /*grēts*/ looks like a root-noun nom. sg. with long grade which has lost its irregular paradigm and joined the dental stems of the type *aniyaz*, *šiwaz*, thus accounting for the /-t-/ as originating in the nom. sg. before *-s*, without prejudice to its etymological origin. A **ḡhrēd-s* can then be connected with Vedic *hradā-* 'pool', *hrādin-* 'watery', *hrādini* 'lightning' (rain-bringer), *hrādūni-* 'hail(storm)'.

kišai- 'comb' need not be a "primary verb", in light of 3 sg. pres. act. *kišzi* (Bo 7568, 4); forms like *kišanzi*, *kiššir*, and *kišant-* may reflect either *kiš-* or *kišai-*, and the latter (*kišaizzi*, *kišāiddu*) can be a secondarily back-formed stem variant. Thus Indo-European **kes-* may be immediately present in Hittite *kiš(š)-*. Tischler makes a lot of the "iterative *kešk-*" with a meaning 'maltreat' ('schlecht behandeln'), literally 'comb with a hatchel,

heckle (flax or hemp)' and thence 'heckle, harass, harrow, despoil'. Unfortunately the attestations do not bear out the beauty of such semantics. In KUB XII 26 II 1 *kiškanzi* two deities are literally combing or carding sheep. KUB VIII 36 II 14 is not *PU-TÚ ki-iš-ki-it-ta-ri* 'the forehead is scratched' but rather *pu-ut-ki-iš-ki-it-ta(-)* 'is swollen' (vel sim.; StBoT 19 [1974], 38). KBo I 30 Vs. 14 is to be read *HUL-eš-ki-iz-zi* (MSL 12 [1969], 215), not *ki-eš-ki-iz-zi*. Thus the figurative sense of *kišk-* seems to vanish into thin air, taking with it Neumann's interpretation of Asianic Greek κιάλλης 'highwayman, robber' from a Hittite agent noun **kiškalla-*. Nor is there reason to consider *arha kiša-* a special lemma 'zerschlagen' (in the sense of 'maltreat'); it is simply 'dishevel, disarray, dismantle', in the same antonymical way as *arha aniya-* means 'undo' and Greek ἀπο-κοσμέω signifies 'clear (a table)' or 'tear down (a building)'. A further derivative from *kiš(š)-* can be seen in KBo XXI 100 Vs. 5 *kuškišuwalaš ḫnarī*; it shares the 'hide' determinative with *kuškurša-* '(sheep)skin' and may thus be akin to 'fleece', even as Greek κῶας and Mycenaean *ko-wo* reflect **kōswos* from the same root **kes-*.

On a work of this type critical prose can be generated ad infinitum. In fairness the author also merits sincere appreciation for the exemplary progress of a rich and laborious compendium.

Los Angeles, November 1980

JAAN PUHVEL

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H. METZGER u.a., *La stèle trilingue du Létôon*. Paris, Klincksieck 1979 (27 cm, xi + 186 Seiten. 5 Zeichnungen im Text. 23 Tafeln.) = Fouilles de Xanthos. VI. Institut Français d'études Anatoliennes. ISBN 2 252 02109 8.

Unter den Neufunden, die in den siebziger Jahren die Altertumswissenschaft bereichert haben, nimmt die Stele, die am 31. August 1973 im Letoheiligtum bei Xanthos in Lykien von dem dort wirkenden französischen Team zutage gefördert wurde, einen besonderen Platz ein. Trägt sie doch drei sachlich zusammengehörige Inschriften, die inhaltlich und vom äusseren Umfang her durchaus bemerkenswert sind und die unsere Kenntnisse in mannigfacher Hinsicht erweitert haben. Materiell handelt es sich um einen in die Mitte des 4. Jh. v. Chr. zu datierenden Volksbeschluss der Gemeinde Xanthos, durch den ein neuer Kult konstituiert wurde. Der Beschluss wurde je auf den gegenüberliegenden Längsseiten der rechteckigen Stele auf lykisch (41 Zeilen) und griechisch (35 Zeilen) publiziert. Auf der einen Schmal-seite, wahrscheinlich der ursprünglichen Stirnseite, steht ein aramäischer Text (27 Zeilen), der die 'Ratifikation' des Gesetzes durch den zuständigen persischen Satrapen, den karischen Dynasten Pixodaros, enthält. Auf die Einzelheiten wird noch einzugehen sein. Das Ganze wurde schon 1974 mit erfreulicher Promptheit durch H. Metzger, den Leiter der Ausgrabungen, E. Laroche, den Asianisten, und A. Dupont-Sommer, den Kenner des Aramäischen, in den Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des inscription et Belles-lettres (im folgenden CRAI 1974) provisorisch zugänglich gemacht.

Wiederum nach verhältnismässig kurzer Zeit legen nun dieselben Autoren, zu denen M. Mayrhofer als Iranist hinzutritt, die definitive Edition vor. Sie bringt alle nur wünschbaren Angaben über das Dokument und ist auch von ausführlichen Interpretationen begleitet.

Der anzuzeigende Band zerfällt in fünf Abschnitte, von denen jeder recht selbständig ist; zwei stammen von derselben Hand. Der blosse Familienname eines der vier Autoren weist im folgenden auf den betreffenden Abschnitt hin.

Die Einleitung (S. 5-28), verfasst von H. Metzger, beschäftigt sich mit dem Heiligtum. Es war der Leto und ihren Kindern, d.h. Apollon und Artemis, sowie, was wir nun aus mehreren Inschriften wissen, den Nymphen geweiht. Metzger gibt zunächst einen Ueberblick über die Erwähnungen des Ortes in der Antike und über die Entdeckungsgeschichte seit 1841. Dann wendet er sich der archäologischen Erforschung der letzten Jahre und ihren Ergebnissen zu. Da es sich dabei um die erste Gesamtschau seit *Revue archéologique* 1974, 313 ff. handelt, sei kurz darüber referiert.

Den ältesten Hinweis auf die Anwesenheit des Menschen bringen Keramikfragmente des 7. Jh.v.Chr. Die frühesten, vorläufig nicht zu deutenden Baureste gehören ins 6. Jh. Nach einem Unterbruch durch Überflutung zeichnen sich zwei Kernzonen der Besiedlung ab, die eine im Norden des freigelegten Gebietes, die andere im Südteil auf einer felsigen Terrasse.

Im westlichen Teil des Nordkomplexes existierte bereits im 5.Jh. ein Brunnengebäude; es liegt nahe, hier das alte Heiligtum der Nymphen zu suchen. Im Osten befand sich seit dem 4. Jh. ein Temenos mit einem Altar unter freiem Himmel; es kann keiner bestimmten Gottheit zugeschrieben werden. Auf der felsigen Terrasse im Süden erhoben sich mindestens seit hellenistischer Zeit drei Tempelgebäude, von denen der grosse jonische Tempel im Westen (Tempel A) sicher der Leto geweiht war, während der dorische im Osten (Tempel B) wahrscheinlich Apollon und Artemis gehörte. Das kleinste Gebäude (E) in der Mitte ist noch nicht eigentlich erforscht. In den beiden grösseren, die in der erhaltenen Form aus dem 2. Jh. stammen, sind Reste älterer Konstruktionen zu erkennen, die ins 4., vielleicht (im Tempel A) sogar ins 5. Jh. zurückgehen.

In späthellenistischer Zeit trat im Südwesten des Heiligen Bezirks ein weiterer Baukomplex dazu. Damals wurde am Fusse des Tempels A eine Quelle gefasst und ihr Wasser einem Gebäude mit einem Bassin zugeleitet. In römischer Zeit wurde dazu eine halbkreisförmige Porticus errichtet. Offensichtlich wurden hier die Nymphen verehrt. Ihr Kultbezirk war also aus unbekannten Gründen aus dem Nordkomplex in diese Gegend verlegt oder bis hierher ausgedehnt worden.

Auf die ferneren Umgestaltungen in hellenistischer (Bau einer Porticus im Nordkomplex) und in römischer Zeit sei hier nicht mehr eingegangen, auch nicht auf die byzantinische Besiedelung, die wenigstens bis in die Periode der Arabereinfälle im 7. Jh.n.Chr. weitergedauert zu haben scheint.

Soweit in aller Kürze die Entwicklung des Heiligtums, wie sie sich dem archäologischen Material entnehmen lässt. Einige Inschriften erlauben historische Präzisierungen, wenigstens für die ältere Zeit. So kann die Erweiterung

im späten 5. oder frühen 4. Jh.v.Chr. dem Dynasten Arbinas (lyk. *erbbina*) zugeschrieben werden, der bisher nur durch Münzen bezeugt war. Wahrscheinlich war er der Bauherr der ältesten fassbaren Konstruktion im Innern des hellenistischen Letotempels (A) und vermutlich war er auch im Nordkomplex tätig. Eine wichtige Etappe liegt sodann im 2. Jh.v.Chr. Kann man sie verbinden mit dem Beginn der lykischen Unabhängigkeit unter römischem Protektorat im Jahre 168 v.Chr.?

Die Zusammenfassung der bisher auf zahlreiche Ueberblicksreferate und Zeitschriftenartikel verstreuten Berichte über die Grabungen ist sehr willkommen. Hilfe für das Verständnis bieten die Pläne im Text und die Photographien im Anhang (planches I-XII). Sie wären noch hilfreicher, wenn die Ausstattung mit Legenden und Verweisen nicht so kärglich wäre. Dem Fernerstehenden wird es dadurch erschwert, den an sich sehr klaren Ausführungen Metzgers zu folgen. Die in den früheren Berichten übliche Bezeichnung der drei Tempel auf der Felsterrasse mit A, B und E (s.o.), die manches vereinfacht hätte, ist im allgemeinen preisgegeben, taucht dann aber auf den Seiten 22 und 31 vorübergehend auf.

Im ersten Hauptteil (S. 29-48) behandelt H. Metzger die griechische Inschrift. Zunächst wird ausführlich über die Fundumstände referiert und die — nicht zu klärende — ursprüngliche Aufstellung der Stele diskutiert. Ein genauer Plan des Tempels B, in dessen unmittelbarer Nähe die Stele in sekundärer Position entdeckt worden war (fig. 4), und einige axonometrische Zeichnungen des Steines dienen der Veranschaulichung.

An diesen Nachtrag zum archäologischen Teil schliessen sich dann der Text, eine französische Uebersetzung und ein ausführlicher Kommentar an. Eine vorzügliche Photographie der völlig unbeschädigten Inschrift findet sich im Bildteil (planche XIII). Jeder Interessierte ist dadurch instand gesetzt, einen genügenden Zugang zum Original zu gewinnen.

Um das Verständnis der einzelnen Ausführungen zu erleichtern, sei nun der Volksbeschluss in Paraphrase nach dem griechischen Wortlaut kurz vorgeführt. Die Bemerkungen zum Kommentar Metzgers werden an Ort und Stelle eingefügt.

(Z. 1-5) Das Gesetz beginnt mit einer Art Datierung. Es wird ausgeführt, dass Pixodaros, der Sohn des Hekatomnos, als er Satrap über Lykien geworden sei, Archonten über Lykien und einen Epimeleten über Xanthos eingesetzt habe.

S. 33 ff. Dass es sich um eine Datierung handelt, ergibt sich nicht nur aus dem Zusammenhang, sondern vor allem aus dem lykischen Text, der (in verkürzter Form) lautet: 'als Pixodaros Satrap geworden war und als Archonten ... und als Epimeleten ... eingesetzt hatte, da beschlossen die Xanthier usw.'.

Der Kommentar beschäftigt sich vor allem mit dem Geschick Lykiens in der Endphase der persischen Herrschaft. Das Problem der absoluten Datierung der Stele und die damit zusammenhängende Frage nach der Einordnung der Herrschaft des Pixodaros wird aber überhaupt nicht berührt, offensichtlich weil beide im aramäischen Teil diskutiert werden (S. 165 ff.).

(Z. 5-6) Auf diese ungewöhnliche Datierung folgt die

Feststellung, dass die Xanthier und ihre Periöken einen Beschluss gefasst hätten.

S. 37f. Dass hier eine mindestens für gewisse Teile Lykiens feste, inhaltlich aber nicht bekannte staatsrechtliche Verbindung zwischen Stadt und Chora begegnet, kann man nicht bezweifeln, da dieselbe Fügung ('Städter und Periöken') auch für Limyra und Telmessos bezeugt ist. Der lykische Text, der Z. 13f. und 31f. die 'Stadt' (*teteri*) den Periöken gegenüberstellt, spricht nicht gegen diese Annahme. *teteri* muss nicht identisch sein mit πόλις 'Stadtgemeinde' im staatsrechtlichen Sinn; wahrscheinlich trifft, wenn schon, eher das Gegenteil zu (vgl. unten S. 142f.).

(Z. 6-26) Der Beschluss bezieht sich auf die Errichtung eines Altars für die Götter Basileus Kaunios und Arkesimas. Die Besorgung des Kultes wird einem Priester und seinen Angehörigen übertragen; als Entschädigung erhält er die Atelie. Zur Ausstattung des Kultes wird ein Grundstück samt den zugehörigen Häusern gestiftet, jährlich von seiten der Stadt eine Summe von anderthalb Minen zur Verfügung gestellt und eine Freigelassenensteuer von zwei Drachmen pro Person zugewiesen. Dies alles wird den Göttern geweiht. Aus den Erträgen der Stiftung soll jeden Neumond ein Schaf und jedes Jahr ein Rind geopfert werden.

S. 38. Der wichtigere der beiden Götter, der 'König von Kaunos', ist aus Kaunos selbst sowie aus einer Inschrift von Kos bekannt. Ob auf der letzteren tatsächlich βασιλέως Καυνίου zu lesen war (die Editionen geben Καύνου), müsste natürlich am Stein selbst abgeklärt werden. Die zweite Gottheit, Arkesimas, ist sonst nirgends bezeugt.

S. 39. Dass die Summe von anderthalb Minen dem Priester als Salär zugewiesen wurde, ergibt der lykische Text nicht. Das enklitische Dativpronomen *-i* (*se-i-pibiti* 'und man gibt ihm' Z. 18f.) kann sich ebenso gut auf den Hauptgott bzw. die beiden Götter beziehen. Das gleiche *-i* steht auch bei der Zuweisung der Freigelassenensteuer (*me-i-pibiti* Z. 21f.), die nach dem griechischen Text dem Gott gehören soll (ἀποτίνειν τῷ θεῷ Z. 19f.). Die Formel ὅσα ἐν τῇ στήλῃ ἐγγέγραπται meint Z. 20f. nicht dasselbe wie Z. 28f.: an 'den ersten Stelle geht es nur um die materielle Ausgestaltung des Kultes, wie die Tatsache zeigt, dass man aus 'den Erträgen des Vorgenannten' (ἐκ τούτων Z. 24) die Opfer finanzieren soll, an der zweiten Stelle hingegen ist es der ganze Inhalt des Beschlusses (Besetzung der Priesterstelle, materielle Ausstattung, Opfer), der beschworen werden soll.

(Z. 26-32) Die Xanthier und ihre Periöken haben sodann geschworen, alles, was auf der Stele aufgezeichnet sei, den beiden Göttern und dem Priester voll und ganz zu erfüllen, nichts daran zu ändern und auch niemandem zu erlauben, etwas zu ändern.

S. 39. μετακινεῖν will Metzger nach der lykischen und der aramäischen Version nicht mit 'ändern', sondern mit 'retirer', offenbar 'wegnehmen, entziehen' übersetzen. Nun lässt sich dem lykischen Text (Z. 36f.) für die nähere Bedeutungsbestimmung allerdings nichts entnehmen, da das dort gebrauchte Verb χῡτα- semantisch zu wenig geklärt ist (so auch Laroche 74). Was die aramäische Fassung betrifft, so steht im betreffenden Passus (Z. 20) tatsächlich das Haphel von *nsł* 'wegnehmen', nicht das an sich zu erwartende Pael oder Haphel von *śnh* 'ändern', das in Sanktionsdrohungen gegen die Nichtbeachtung von Dekreten bezeugt ist, vgl. Esra 6,11.12 Dan. 3,28, während *nsł* in gleicher Verwendung nicht vorzukommen scheint. Man

wird aber auch daraus keinen sicheren Schluss ziehen dürfen, da gerade in der Formulierung der Fluchbestimmungen der aramäische Text am weitesten von den beiden andern abweicht. Die übrigen Belege des griechischen Wortes zeigen jedenfalls so viel, dass es vom Abändern gesetzlicher Bestimmungen ohne weiteres gebraucht werden kann, vgl. Xen. Lac. rep. 15,1 (die spartanische Verfassung ist immer noch die gleiche wie am Anfang) τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πολιτείας εὖροι ἂν τις μετακεκινημένας καὶ ἐτι καὶ νῦν μετακινουμένας. Dass an der Thukydidesstelle 5,21,3 die Bedeutung 'annuler' vorliege, ist mindestens nicht zwingend.

(Z. 32-35) Wer etwas ändert, soll schuldig sein vor diesen Göttern, vor Leto und ihren Nachkommen, sowie vor den Nymphen.

S. 40. Beachtenswert ist ἐγγονος als Bezeichnung der Kinder der Leto. Das Wort erscheint sonst auf den griechischen Inschriften Lykiens in seinen normalen Bedeutungen 'Enkel' und 'Nachkomme' (zur Frage des Verhältnisses von ἐγγ- und ἐκγ- vgl. K. Hauser, *Grammatik der griechischen Inschriften Lykiens*. Diss. Zürich. Basel 1916, 68f.). Dass es sich um einen Lykismus handelt, wie Metzger S. 42 vermutet, ist durchaus möglich. In der lykisch-griechischen Bilingue TL 6 wird lyk. *tideime* (Z. 2) mit ἐγγόνους (Z. 6) wiedergegeben (anders allerdings TL 56 *tideime* [Z. 3]/τέκνοις [Z. 6] und TL 117 *tideimi* [Z. 3, 4]/υἱός; bzw. υἱῶι [Z. 7,8]).

(Z. 35) Schliesslich wird noch festgestellt, dass der Satrap Pixodaros 'kompetent' (κύριος) sein soll.

S. 41. Über den Sinn der Bestimmung ist unten noch zu handeln (vgl. S. 144.148.150). Hier sei nur bemerkt, dass absolut verwendetes prädikatives κύριος ohne Angabe der Sache, wozu jemand kompetent ist, soweit ich sehe, anderweitig nicht zu belegen ist.

Den Abschluss (S. 41f.) des griechischen Teils bilden einige allgemeinere Ausführungen zur Sprache und zur Bedeutung des Dokumentes innerhalb der schriftlichen Ueberlieferung Lykiens.

Die Sprachform wird als 'koiné atticisante' beschrieben. Diese Qualifikation ist soweit richtig, sie gilt aber für die Koine überhaupt, die ja wesentlich durch das Attische bestimmt ist. Die Trilingue hat insofern auch in dieser Hinsicht eine besondere Bedeutung, als sie eines der frühesten Dokumente sein dürfte, welches (in nichtgriechischem Gebiet) diese Ausprägung der griechischen Sprache belegt. Die Bemerkungen im einzelnen — zum Teil sind sie von P. Burguière beige-steuert — bedürfen bisweilen der Präzisierung und der Berichtigung. Die Psilose, die sich klar in Schreibungen wie κατ' ἐκάστην (Z. 25) und κατ' ἐρώθη (Z. 21f.) äussert, kann in dem eindeutig attisch gefärbten Text nicht einfach als unmittelbarer ostjonischer Einfluss betrachtet werden. Sie ist in der Koine Kleasiens weit verbreitet und offensichtlich für den Verfasser des griechischen Textes bereits selbstverständlich (zur Psilose in der Koine vgl. z.B. A. Debrunner-A. Scherer, *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*. II [Sammlung Götschen. 114/114a]. Berlin 1969, 61.103). Was die Bildung der Genitive betrifft, wird man auch in ihnen nicht direkte dorische, bzw. jonische Dialekteinflüsse sehen, sondern wiederum die normalen Bildungen innerhalb der beginnenden Koine (vgl. zum Problem Hauser a.O. 77.83f.; die gleiche Regelung wie die Trilingue hat z.B. auch Xenophon). Insbesondere ist der Gen. ἑκατόμνω (Z. 2) keinesfalls dorisch; er gehört zu einem Nom. ἑκατόμνος. Und κατηγοράσατο (Z. 13f.) ist keine 'graphie curieuse', sondern diejenige der attischen

Inschriften des 4. Jh. (vgl. K. Meisterhans-E. Schwyzer, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*. 3. Aufl. Berlin 1900, 171 Zif. 11). Im übrigen ist ἀτέλειαν zu akzentuieren, wie dies in der Edition (Z. 11) richtig geschehen ist.

Was das Verhältnis der griechischen Version zur lykischen betrifft, wird man Metzger ebenfalls zustimmen, wenn er annimmt, dass die lykische primär, die griechische eine Übersetzung ist. Dafür sprechen die grössere Ausführlichkeit der ersteren und die — wenigen — Lykismen der griechischen. Dafür spricht aber vor allem — und das ist bisher nicht betont worden — das Formular, das keineswegs dem eines griechischen Gesetzestextes entspricht. Auf die eigenartige Datierung, deren Funktion im griechischen Teil verwischt ist, wurde oben schon hingewiesen. Innerhalb der eigentlichen Gesetzesdispositionen werden nicht nach griechischer Manier durch Infinitivkonstruktionen Normen aufgestellt, sondern es wird im Aorist über vollzogene Handlungen berichtet. Das Ganze ist formal mehr Protokoll als Gesetz. Diese Aoriste geben lykische Präterita wieder (einmal wird ein lykisches Praeteritum in einen Infinitiv umgesetzt, Z. 7 *m̄maitē* / Z. 6f. ἰδρύσασθαι). Nur an wenigen Stellen werden zukünftige Handlungen stipuliert; dann steht im Lykischen das Präsens, im Griechischen entweder ebenfalls Präsens (Z. 18f. *pibiti* / Z. 16f. διδοται) oder der Infinitiv (Z. 21f. *pibiti* / Z. 19f. ἀποτίειν, Z. 26 *kumezidi* / Z. 24 θύειν). Der Bericht über den vollzogenen Rechtsakt im Aorist anstelle der zukunftsgerichteten Normenbestimmung im Infinitiv ist auch in griechischen Gesetzestexten möglich, doch geschieht das in der Regel nur überschriftsartig am Anfang (vgl. F. Gschnitzer in H.J. Wolff [Hrsg.], *Symposion* 1971. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte. Köln-Wien 1975, 81 f.). All das ist nur zu verstehen, wenn der lykische Text der ursprüngliche war. Auf den chronikartigen Stil ist bereits hingewiesen worden (J. und L. Robert, *Bulletin épigraphique* 1974, 553 S. 290. Metzger 42, 'selon les usages du style chronique littéraire'), doch wurden daraus die vollen Konsequenzen nicht gezogen.

Anders als Metzger würde ich die Stellung der Trilingue im Rahmen der lykisch-griechischen Zweisprachigkeit beurteilen. Es ist m.E. nicht angängig zu behaupten, 'que le rédacteur du texte grec était un lycien, possédant évidemment moins bien le grec que les poètes de cour du V^e siècle' (S. 42). Der einzige namentlich bekannte 'Hofpoet' der älteren Zeit, Symmachos von Pellana, war offensichtlich ein Grieche, aber weder sein Gedicht noch die in der Gedankenführung recht schwerfälligen griechischen Verse der Stele von Xanthos bezeugen besondere Fähigkeiten, sich griechisch auszudrücken. Der Unterschied zwischen den älteren und den jüngeren Monumenten dürfte anders liegen. Die älteren Monumente, die keine Bilinguen im engeren Sinne waren — für die Verse der Stele von Xanthos liesse sich wohl eine kompositorische Übereinstimmung mit dem lykischen Text aufzeigen, mehr nicht — verdanken ihre Existenz dem Gräzisierungswillen der lykischen Dynasten. Die griechische Durchdringung des Landes machte dann offenbar im 4. Jh. rasche Fortschritte, und nun wurde es wünschbar, bisweilen vielleicht sogar notwendig, Dokumente rechtlicher Natur — und dazu gehörten gerade in Lykien auch die Grabinschriften — nicht nur in lykischer, sondern auch in griechischer Sprache zu publizieren. Dass sich dabei Übersetzungsschwierigkeiten ergaben, wird nicht erstaunen. Im allgemeinen wird man sagen können — und

dies gilt gerade für die Trilingue — dass diese nicht schlecht gemeistert wurden.

Das grösste Interesse beansprucht naturgemäss der zweite Hauptteil (S. 49-127), in welchem E. Laroche den lykischen Text bearbeitet. Ist dieser doch eines der längeren Stücke im Corpus dieser Sprache, dazu von Anfang bis Schluss praktisch unbeschädigt auf uns gekommen und zudem von einer Übersetzung in einer voll verständlichen Sprache begleitet. Die Bedeutung für die Erforschung des Lykischen ist evident, und dementsprechend erhält dann auch Laroche's Kommentar auf weite Strecken Ansätze zu einem eigentlichen Kompendium lykischer Sprachwissenschaft.

Am Anfang (S. 53f.) steht eine Edition des Textes in lateinischer Transkription. Gegenüber der ersten Veröffentlichung in CRAI 1974 sind Korrekturen anzubringen; Anm. 1 auf S. 53 fasst sie zusammen (sie sind bei G. Neumann, *Neufunde lykischer Inschriften seit 1901* [Denkschriften der Oesterreich. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Kl. 135] Wien 1979, 44f. [N 320] bereits berücksichtigt). Eine einzige Photographie (planche XIV) genügt auch hier als Kontrollmöglichkeit.

Hierauf (S. 54-57) — etwas ausserhalb des erwarteten Rahmens — greift Laroche die nie systematisch behandelte Frage der Entwicklung der lykischen Buchstabenschrift auf. Obschon er nur die einigermaßen datierbaren Inschriften benutzt und die wichtigen Münzlegenden nicht beigezogen hat, ergeben sich einleuchtende chronologische Reihen, so dass jedenfalls grundsätzlich die Ansätze richtig zu sein scheinen. Zu ähnlichen Ergebnissen ist auch T.R. Bryce, *Kadmos* 15, 1976, 168 ff. gekommen; teilweise anders ordnet O. Carruba, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, 1978, 850ff. Ein besonderes Problem, das erst durch die Trilingue in dieser Form aufgeworfen wurde, bildet der Lautwert des fünfstrichigen *m*. Der Buchstabe wurde traditionsgemäss durch griechisches Beta umschrieben, sicher nicht grundlos, da mögliche Gleichungen mit -b- bestehen (vgl. O. Carruba, *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* [= SMEA] 18, 1978, 294). Dass er nun im Götternamen *arßazuma* auftaucht, der im Griechischen mit Ἀρκεσιμας wiedergegeben wird, ist eine wirkliche Überraschung. Am nächsten liegt es natürlich, mit Carruba a.O. einen Labiovelar zu postulieren, doch lässt sich das nicht erhärten. Die Annahme von Laroche, das Zeichen sei aus dem Karischen entlehnt und erscheine deshalb in einem Götternamen karischer Herkunft, bietet sich nicht eigentlich an. Der entsprechende Buchstabe ist im Karischen selten und dort, wo er vorkommt, auf zwei Inschriften von Silsilis (Aegypten) (Friedrich Nr. 53 und 62), weist nichts darauf hin, dass er einen Lautwert gehabt hätte, der zu einem griechischen -k- passen würde.

Auf eine synoptische Zusammenstellung der drei Versionen folgt die minutiöse Einzelinterpretation (S. 60-76). Dazu seien einige Bemerkungen angeschlossen.

S. 61f. (Z. 4) Die Herleitung von *Natri-*, Name des mit Apollon gleichgesetzten lykischen Gottes, aus griech. ἀνάκτωρ, einer hochpoetischen Variante von ἀναξ (Aischylos lyr., Euripides iamb.) ist lautlich nicht einleuchtend und historisch unwahrscheinlich — weshalb sollte Apollon im Lykischen mit einem seltenen griechischen Wort benannt worden sein? Die iranische Wiedergabe mit *maître du pouvoir* (d.h. **ṣaθrapati*, vgl. unten S. 151) ist dafür gewiss keine Stütze.

S. 63f. (Z. 7) Das lautlich etwas auffällige Wort *m̄maitē*, offenbar 'errichteten' wird auf ein älteres *m̄me(i)-* zurückgeführt, doch lässt sich das jedenfalls durch keine Parallele stützen: *h-* vor Konsonant scheint sich im allgemeinen zu halten. Syntaktisch dürfte wohl die in lykischen Rechtstexten auch sonst zu treffende Asyndese vorliegen: 'sie haben beschlossen: ... sie haben errichtet'.

S. 64 (Z. 8) Dass *χbide* und griech. Καῦνος zwei völlig verschiedene Namen seien (vgl. auch S. 83 Anm. 7), scheint mir nicht so sicher. Setzt man, wofür einiges spricht, als karische Form *kbade* an, so lässt sich daraus unschwer mit Metathese ein älteres **kabde* erschliessen, das von griech. Καῦνος nicht mehr so weit entfernt ist. Dass die griechischen Formen der Orts- und auch der Personennamen teilweise einen älteren Lautstand wiedergeben als die erhaltenen epichorischen Inschriften, ist für das Lykische sicher, vgl. Κάνδυβα, lyk. A *χākba*, lyk. B *χāzbi*. Die gleiche Erscheinung mag für das Karische gelten. Vielleicht macht deshalb auch die Entzifferung der karischen Schrift solche Mühe.

S. 66 (Z. 12) Auf *ehbijē* wird hier nicht eingegangen. Zu verweisen ist auf S. 87, wo es mit Recht als Neutr. Sg. des Possessivpronomens erklärt wird, 'das Seine'.

S. 66f. Aus Z. 13-14 ergibt sich, dass *teteri* das lykische Wort für 'Stadt' ist, das man bisher hinter *wedri* gesucht hat. Laroche verbindet nun das letztere etymologisch einleuchtend mit heth. *udne* 'Land' (luwisch wahrscheinlich **watna-*, aus dem sich *wedri* lautgesetzlich entwickeln konnte). Selbstverständlich ist damit eine genauere semantische Eingrenzung der beiden Wörter nicht gegeben. Eine solche liesse sich nur vom lykischen Material, nicht von der Etymologie her geben. Da ist bei unserem gegenwärtigen Wissenstand so viel deutlich, dass *teteri* 'Stadt' in Opposition steht zu den Bewohnern des Umlandes, den Periöken, also die Stadt in ihrer geographischen Funktion bezeichnet. Es stellt sich damit die Frage, ob nicht *wedri* der umfassendere Begriff ist, der Stadt und Periöken zusammenschliesst, also etwa die Gesamtgemeinde, die civitas meint. Mehr wird sich kaum sagen lassen.

S. 68 Die syntaktische Struktur der Z. 16-18 bildet ein ungelöstes Problem, das hier nicht diskutiert werden kann, vgl. z.B. O. Carruba, SMEA 18, 1978, 302 Anm. 53. Dass, wie Laroche anzunehmen scheint, *se* die Apodosis einleite und -*t(e)-* als 'c'est' zu übersetzen sei, ist ein etwas willkürlicher Ausweg.

S. 69 (Z. 18f.) Dass das iterative Präsens *pibiti* einem griechischen Perf. Pass. entspreche, lässt sich von der Übersetzung her, die das Präsens διδοται (Z. 16f.) verwendet, jedenfalls nicht behaupten. Auch das aramäische *jhjbn* (Z. 13) 'gegeben' erlaubt keinen Schluss auf das Lykische, da im Aramäischen passivische Konstruktionen ausserordentlich beliebt sind.

S. 69f. In der Interpretation der kontroversen Z. 20-22 (vgl. *Incontri linguistici* 4, 1978, 89ff. 235ff.) hält Laroche an seiner in CRAI 1974 vertretenen Auffassung fest, dass nämlich *hāti* 3. Pers. Pl. des Verbuns 'sein' sei. *arawa* 'frei' wäre dann Nom. Pl., was ohne jede weitere Erläuterung angenommen wird, und *k̄m̄mētis*, das akkusativische Relativpronomem, müsste virtuell das Subjekt zu *hāti* sein, im Kasus durch Attraktion an das übergeordnete *χdazaz* angeglichen. Alles steht und fällt mit der Annahme, *arawa* sei Nom. Pl., und dafür gibt es, soweit ich sehe, vorläufig keine zwingende Beweisgrundlage.

S. 70 (Z. 20ff.) Festgehalten sei die sehr plausible Etymologie des verallgemeinernden Relativpronomens *k̄m̄mēt-*. Es wird auf ein älteres **kumant-* 'quantus' zurückgeführt.

S. 72 (Z. 25) Für *hl̄m̄mi-* hat O. Carruba, SMEA 18, 1978, 306ff. die Bedeutung 'Zusatz, Hinzufügung' vorgeschlagen. Das würde für das Kompositum *hl̄m̄mipijata* 'ἐχφοριον' (Z. 23f.) den passenden Sinn 'Zusatzgabe' ergeben.

S. 74 (Z. 32-34) Der Inhalt des Z. 30-32 geleisteten Eides wird in der Form eines selbständigen, mit *me* eingeleiteten Hauptsatzes ausgedrückt, wiederum ein Beispiel für die Asyndese der Gesetzestexte: '(sie) ... haben einen Eid ... gemacht: sie werden aufrecht erhalten (*epituwēti* Praes.) diese Bestimmungen etc.'. Zu beachten ist auch *tuwe-* 'aufstellen' in übertragenem Sinne.

S. 75 (Z. 36-38) Von der Fügung *me pddē mahāna sm̄mati sbette*, dem griechisch Z. 33f. ἀμαρτωλὸς ἔστω τῶν θεῶν τοῦτων entspricht, wird man nicht sagen können, dass sie voll verstanden sei. Die Schwierigkeit beruht darin, dass hier der Übeltäter das Subjekt zu sein scheint, während bei der Parallelstelle TL 84,7 *mene pddē q̄la sm̄mati ebi Surezi* Subjekt die strafende Instanz, Akkusativobjekt (-ne) der Übeltäter ist. Wenn Laroche meint, an der zweiten Stelle antizipiere -ne das Subjekt (*q̄la ebi Surezi*), so widerspricht das dem, was man sonst über die Verwendung dieser Partikel feststellen kann.

S. 75 (Z. 38f.) Dass *ēni q̄lahi ebijehi* die lykische Bezeichnung der griechisch Leto genannten Göttin ist, wird durch die Stelle definitiv erwiesen. Die Einzelheiten, d.h. die lediglich auf etymologischem Wege gefundene Erklärung von *q̄la* als 'Bezirk' und *ebi-* als 'hiesig', scheinen mir aber nicht gesichert. Das letztere ist deshalb schwierig, weil hier auf der Trilingue, TL 94,3 (Myra) und TL 102,3 (Limyra) das Ethnikon *p̄itrēni-* dazutritt, das bald mit *ēni*, bald mit *q̄la ebi-* korrespondiert (vgl. auch TL 109,6 [Limyra]). 'Mutter des hiesigen Bezirks von P.' oder 'Mutter von P. des hiesigen Bezirks' ist jedenfalls befremdlich. Eine Erklärung für **p̄itri-*, das Grundwort von *p̄itrēni-*, ist im übrigen noch nicht gefunden. Bezug auf Patara und auf Pandaros ist unwahrscheinlich. Von der Sache her gegeben wäre die Annahme, **p̄itri-* sei der Name des Ortes, an dem die 'Mutter' ein wichtiges Heiligtum hatte. Dann kann man vielleicht an das Letoon denken, bzw. den Ort oder die Flur, mit denen das Heiligtum verbunden war.

S. 76 (Z. 40f.) Die letzte Bestimmung des Gesetzes, die mit *Pigesereje* (Dat.) beginnt, ist leider ganz dunkel. Das ist sehr bedauerlich, da nach der kürzeren Entsprechung im griechischen Text (Z. 35) Pixodaros darin als kompetent erklärt wird, etwas zu tun. Was, sagt die griechische Version nicht. Es kann aber nach der ganzen Situation kein Zweifel daran bestehen, dass die 'Ratifikation' des Gesetzes durch den Satrapen anvisiert wird, die dieser dadurch vollzieht, dass er das Gesetz als sein eigenes in der Reichssprache Aramäisch verkündet. Dass es für die staatsrechtliche Würdigung des gesamten Dokumentes sehr wichtig wäre, diesen lykischen Passus genau zu verstehen, bedarf keiner näheren Begründung. Die Hauptschwierigkeit liegt darin, dass der Satz in Protasis und Apodosis zu zerfallen scheint (... *meije- ... me ...*), in der Apodosis aber kein Verbum finitum zu erkennen ist. Man wird sich deshalb fragen, ob das zweite *me* wirklich Partikel und nicht vielmehr Bestandteil eines Wortes ist, das dann *mehriqla* lauten müsste. Das Ganze wäre wohl ein einziger Satz, an dessen Spitze proleptisch die Hauptperson steht, auf die mit

enklitischem Dativpronomen zurückverwiesen wird (dem Pixodaros, nun ihm ...). Das Hauptverb wäre *eserihhati*, von dem der Infinitiv *asine* abhängt, der seinerseits *mehriqla* als Objekt regiert. Eine weitere Schwierigkeit ist die, dass *pzzititi* offenbar, nach einer unveröffentlichten Inschrift des Letoons, als nominale Form, nicht als Verb mit Relativpronomen (-*ti*) aufgefasst werden muss. Eine Lösung gibt es nicht. Die rein etymologisierende Erklärung von Laroche, *hri-gla* sei die ‚Ober-burg, die Akropolis‘ mit der daraus resultierenden Übersetzung ‚à P., si l'on désobéit, alors l'acropole (d'Arna/Xanthos) (d.h. wohl die lokale Provinzverwaltung) fera respecter sa décision‘, bzw. ‚interviendra‘ ist sachlich nicht gerade wahrscheinlich und passt überhaupt nicht zur Formulierung der griechischen Version.

Im Anschluss an den Kommentar wird der Text nochmals im Zusammenhang übersetzt (S. 76f.), dann schliessen sich zusammenfassende Abschnitte über Grammatik und Lexikographie des Lykischen an.

Es beginnt mit Notes stylistiques (S. 77-80). Der Titel führt etwas in die Irre, denn Laroche befasst sich in allgemeiner Weise mit dem Verhältnis zwischen lykischem und griechischem Text in den aus Lykien erhaltenen Bilinguen (im allgemeinen wird dabei der lykische Text als primär zu gelten haben) und gibt sodann sachliche und sprachliche Parallelen zur lex sacra des Letoons aus dem Corpus der späthethitischen Weihinschriften. In diesem Zusammenhang wäre zu fragen, aus welchem älteren Texttypus der lykische ‚Gesetzesstil‘ mit seinem protokollartigen Charakter formgeschichtlich herzuleiten ist. Es bietet sich die Weihinschrift an, natürlich auch die Grabinschrift, die in altanatolischer Zeit allerdings nicht belegt werden kann. Genaueres wird sich vorderhand nicht erkennen lassen. Im übrigen wird en passant (S. 78 Anm. 7) der Text der lykisch-griechischen Weihinschrift an Artemis aus dem Letoon (vgl. Neumann, *Neufunde* 29 Nr. N 312) vollständig publiziert. Zu lesen ist aber Z. 5 *zemuris*, jedenfalls nach der Umzeichnung bei Neumann a.O. Wichtig ist auch S. 78 Anm. 5 die Bestätigung der Neulesung der Weihung des Arbinas (bei Neumann a.O. 28 Nr. N 311 schon berichtet) gegenüber der Übersetzung in CRAI 1975, 141. Arbinas war Sohn des Xeriga und der Upêni.

Die Bemerkungen zur Lautlehre des Lykischen (S. 80-84) betreffen, soweit es den Vokalismus angeht, die Vokalassimilation, die Aphärese des vokalischen Wortanlautes, den Einschub von -*j*- zwischen Vokalen und die Frage der Herleitung von *ê* und *â*, vor allem im Wortauslaut und in der Gruppe *êi*, bzw. *âi*. Bei den Konsonanten wird die Verteilung der Velare (*k*, *χ*, *g*, *q*) untersucht. Die vermehrte Zahl der etymologisierbaren, d.h. auf ein luwisches Wort zurückführbaren lykischen Wörter, in denen diese Buchstaben, bzw. Laute auftreten, erlaubt es, eine klarere ratio der Verteilung herauszuarbeiten, ohne dass freilich alle Fälle eingeordnet werden können. Gar nicht eingegangen ist Laroche auf die beiden allerdings eher beunruhigenden Beiträge des Aramäischen zur lykischen Lautlehre, die aus der Transliteration **wrn* (Z. 3.6.11) ‚*Arina*, Xanthos‘, gelesen wohl **orna*, zu erschliessende Verdampfung des *a* sowie die Wiedergabe von lyk. -*t*- durch aramäisches emphatisches -*s*- in *kndws* (Z. 7.12.16.21) bzw. gewöhnliches *s* in *kndws* (Z. 22), beide aus lyk. *χntawati*. Darf man letzteres als eine Tendenz der Dentale zur Assimilierung vor -*i* deuten?

Aus der Formenlehre (S. 85-90) wird nur wenig heraus-

gegriffen (manches steckt im Kommentar zum Text, so die Unterscheidung des enklitischen -*i* ‚ihm‘ von -*ije* ‚dort‘ [S. 69], *ebehi* als Dat. Sg. des Demonstrativpronomen [S. 71]). Beim Nomen wird das Problem des Gen. Pl. der a-Stämme behandelt; voll gelöst werden kann es allerdings nicht. Die Endung scheint -*âi* zu sein. Verhältnismässig sicherster Beleg ist nach wie vor TL 39,4 *θurtâi lada* ‚den Frauen der θ.‘. Bei *ahnâtai* Trilingue 17 ist der syntaktische Zusammenhang recht unklar, und *Arinâi* (Trih. 6f.32) ist wortbildungsmässig nicht eindeutig festzulegen. TL 107,1 lässt sich *ladâi* zwar nicht zwingend, aber einfacher als Nom.Pl. auffassen, und *epewêlhmêi* Trilingue 6.13f.32 *περίοικοι* ist gesicherter Nom. Pl. der i-Stämme. Klarer sieht man hingegen dank der Trilingue in der Frage des Nom.Sg. der Neutra, der bei den a-Stämmen auf -*â*, bei den i-Stämmen auf -*ijê* ausgeht. Was die Verben betrifft, so ist durch den Neufund die bereits seit dem letzten Jahrhundert gültige Bestimmung der Formen bestätigt worden. Mehr zu sagen ist über die Präpositionen, die als Präverben, als Präpositionen im engeren Sinne und als Adverbien vorkommen können. Genauer besprochen werden *êti*, *ntewê* und *nte*.

Besonders wertvoll sind die Kapitel über die Satzsyntax (S. 91-98). Die Ausführungen über die Sätze mit *mei* ‚wenn‘ und die Relativsätze mit *ti* zeigen eindrücklich den Fortschritt, der durch die Untersuchungen von Laroche und Carruba angebahnt und nun durch die Trilingue evident geworden ist. Auch die Abfolge der Wörter im Satz gehorcht, wie die Zusammenstellungen zeigen, mehr Gesetzmässigkeiten, als man zum vornehieren annehmen möchte: sie wird stark durch das Bedürfnis nach Hervorhebung einzelner Glieder bestimmt.

Der Rest des Hauptteils (S. 98-115) gilt lexikalischen und verwandten Problemen. Er beginnt mit einer Übersicht über die Berufs- und Standesbezeichnungen auf -(*a*)*za*. Das Suffix wird von Laroche vermutungsweise auf -*asha* zurückgeführt. Der Abschnitt über die Zahlzeichen und die Münzbezeichnungen wurde offenbar ohne Kenntnis der Darlegungen des Verfassers dieser Zeilen in Schweiz. Numismat. Rundschau 55, 1976, 5ff. und 56, 1977, 66ff. (nur der letztere Aufsatz wird nachträglich zitiert S. 100 Anm. 1) geschrieben. Es ergeben sich immerhin einige Übereinstimmungen, vor allem in der Annahme, dass das halbmondförmige Zeichen in TL 47,3 und 114/115,3 nicht als Zahl- sondern als Satzzeichen betrachtet werden muss. Festzuhalten ist die Neufundierung des alten Vorschlages, TL 35,1 *III uhi χntawati ptule* zu lesen und zu übersetzen ‚im Jahre 4 dem (?) König Ptolemaios‘ (S. 100, vgl. auch S. 56).

Die Bemerkungen zur Etymologie sollen an ausgewählten Beispielen die lexikalischen Beziehungen innerhalb des Anatolischen beleuchten. Selbstverständlich werden in diesem Zusammenhang auch Textstellen neu interpretiert. Zustimmung und kritische Bemerkungen drängen sich auf, doch kann dem allem hier nicht nachgegangen werden.

Zum Schluss werden die Namen besprochen, diejenigen der Menschen und diejenigen der Götter. Im Zusammenhang mit den Ausführungen über den Namen Pixodaros/*Pigesere* (S. 111f.) wird der Anfang von TL 45 rekonstruiert. Vielleicht war der betreffende Stein ein Pendant zur Trilingue, sofern auch auf ihm je ein lykischer und ein griechischer Text auf zwei gegenüberliegenden Seiten standen. Möglicherweise ging mit den abgesplitterten Querseiten eine ara-

mäische Fassung verloren. Sonst betreffen die Bemerkungen zu den Menschnennamen fast ausschliesslich lautliche Probleme. Noch einmal kommt die Aphärese des anlautenden Vokals zur Sprache. Ausgangspunkt sind einerseits *Katamla*, dem griechisches *Ἐκατόμυλος* (u.ä.) entspricht, und andererseits *Eseimija* für griech. *Σιμία*. Laroche betrachtet die Aphärese als eine typisch lykische Lauterscheinung. Im Falle von *Eseimija* wäre auch mit Einfluss des vorhergehenden auf -*e* endenden Wortes, d.h. mit Sandhi zu rechnen. Dasselbe gelte für *Esedeplêmi* (TL 85,1) gegen *Sedeplhmi* (TL 29,8); aber 85,1 geht-ê voraus, was wohl nicht dasselbe ist wie *e*. M.E. ist *Eseimija* als überkorrekte Form zu betrachten, während sich über *Katamla* nicht urteilen lässt, da wir gar nicht wissen, wie der Name im Karischen aussah. Das zweite lautliche Problem ist die Verwandlung von -*s*- zu -*h*-, die ein verhältnismässig junges Phänomen des Lykischen sein muss, da in der griechischen Form lykischer Namen oft das -*s*- noch festgehalten ist, was gerade für den auf der Trilingue begegnenden Namen *Qnturahi* (Z. 10) / *Κονδορασις* (Z. 9) / *kdwrs* (Z. 10) gilt. Im übrigen zeigt sich auch hier, dass der Verfasser der aramäischen Version sich auf den griechischen Text gestützt hat; das fehlende -*n*- widerspricht dem nicht. Zu *Κεσινδηλις* (Z. 13) / *χesîtedi* (Z. 15) wäre wohl auch karisches *Πισίνδηλις* zu vergleichen (vgl. L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prag 1964, § 1268).

Bei den Götternamen werden einerseits Kurzinterpretationen der Belegstellen vorgeführt (TL 44c,7ff. wird dabei auf S. 114 anders behandelt als es auf S. 89 behandelt worden ist), andererseits die altanatolischen und natürlich auch die griechischen Entsprechungen diskutiert. Der durch die Trilingue bekannt gewordene lykische Name der Nymphen *Elijâna*, wird durchaus plausibel mit luw. *ali(ja)*-, Bezeichnung einer Art Gewässer (‚lac, étang ou rivière‘), verknüpft. Weniger befriedigend ist die Annahme, dass hinter *leθθi* TL 44b,61, sicher als Gen.-Adj. aufzufassen, der Name der Leto stecke. Dass in einem Kontext, in dem vorher die Perserkönige Dareios und Artaxerxes auftreten (Z.b, 59f.), bald nachher die Spartaner (*sppart*- Z.b, 64), dann Tissaphernes (Z.c,1) und die Athener (Z.c,3) erwähnt werden, von der Gründung des Letoons die Rede sein soll, kann nicht überzeugen.

Die Bemerkungen über die religiösen Verhältnisse in Lykien und speziell im Xanthostal bleiben notwendigerweise unvollständig. Zu den Götternamen zu vergleichen ist die Abhandlung von G. Neumann in *Florilegium Anatolicum*, Paris 1979, 259ff. und ein in ‚Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt‘ erscheinender Aufsatz des Verfassers dieser Zeilen.

In einem Anhang schliesslich (S. 115-118) publiziert Laroche das Fragment einer lykischen Inschrift, das die französische Expedition im Jahre 1977 in der Mauer der byzantinischen Basilika auf der sog. römischen Akropolis von Xanthos gefunden hat. Die Inschrift ist nicht mit der gleichen Perfektion geschrieben wie der lykische Text der Trilingue. Schlimmer ist der sehr fragmentarische Erhaltungszustand, der keinen einzigen vollständigen Satz erkennen lässt. Deutlich ist nur, dass es sich ebenfalls um ein öffentliches Dokument handelt, und zwar, wie Laroche meint, um eine Ehreninschrift. Auch diese Inschrift ist in einer vorzüglichen Photographie im Anhang abgebildet (planche XV). Überflüssig ist hingegen die gleich zweimal publizierte Transliteration in lateinischen Majuskeln.

Der dritte Hauptteil (S. 129-178) ist dem aramäischen Text gewidmet. A. Dupont-Sommer bespricht diesen mit der Ausführlichkeit und Eindringlichkeit, die er verdient. Haben wir in ihm doch einerseits die längste Inschrift des sog. Reichsaramäischen, d.h. des Aramäischen der Achämenidenzeit, und ausserdem ist er als eine Urkunde der persischen Reichsverwaltung an sich ein beachtenswertes Dokument. Um so mehr bedauert man es, dass die Unklarheiten der aramäischen Schrift dieser Epoche (vgl. unten S. 149) die Interpretation in mancher Hinsicht erschweren. Ausserdem sind, was sonst nur im griechischen Teil einmal geschah, dem Steinmetzen verschiedene Lapsus unterlaufen. Aus diesen Gründen ist die aramäische Seite der Stele im Bildteil mehrfach wiedergegeben, nämlich durch eine photographische Gesamtaufnahme, durch eine Umzeichnung und durch mehrere Photographien eines Abklatsches (planches XVI-XIX). Der Leser ist also in der Lage, die epigraphischen Probleme selber zu beurteilen. Auch der sehr ausführliche Kommentar, der sich offensichtlich nicht nur an den Semitisten richtet, ist von grossem Nutzen. Es ist nicht erstaunlich, dass manches noch nicht geklärt ist. Beachtlich ist vielmehr, wie sehr das Verständnis seit der ersten Veröffentlichung in CRAI 1974 gefördert werden konnte.

Der Verfasser greift zunächst weit aus mit einer kurzen Sprachgeschichte des Reichsaramäischen und gibt dann die notwendigen äusseren Angaben zu der Inschrift (S. 133-135). Die Edition (S. 136f.) enthält wiederum einige nicht unbedeutende Änderungen und Korrekturen gegenüber dem in CRAI 1974 publizierten Text; diese sind — anders als diejenigen des lykischen Teils — bei Neumann, Neufunde S. 46 N 320 noch nicht berücksichtigt.

Auf die Übersetzung (S. 137) folgt der Kommentar, der an manchen Stellen dank der Berücksichtigung des gesamten einschlägigen Sprachmaterials des Reichsaramäischen eine über den Zusammenhang hinausweisende Bedeutung erhält. Der mit dem Aramäischen weniger Vertraute wird auch von den auf weite Strecken durchgeführten Vokalisierungsvorschlägen (nach der biblischen Tradition) profitieren.

Bemerkungen drängen sich an einigen Stellen auf.

S. 139f. (Z. 3) Wenig Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich hat der Versuch, die aus der aramäischen Schreibweise **wrn* zu erschiessende Form **Orna* des lyk. Stadtnamens *Arîna* ‚Xanthos‘ (vgl. oben S. 145) mit dem Namen des Jebusiters Opva (so nach der Septuaginta, der masoretische Text gibt den Namen in verschiedenen Formen, die a.O. erläutert werden), der II Sam. 24,16-24 I Chron. 21,15-28 II Chron. 3,1 erwähnt wird, in Verbindung zu bringen. Dass ein Stadtname ohne weitere Modifikation als Personennamen gebraucht werden kann, dürfte durch die angeführten, ausschliesslich modernen Beispiele nicht erwiesen werden. Dazu kommt, dass die aus der aramäischen Umschrift zu erschiessende Verdampfung in der Aussprache des lykischen *a* jung sein wird. Schliesslich spricht an sich wenig dafür, dass der Jebusit der Davidszeit, auf dessen fremde Herkunft nichts hinweist, aus dem fernen und damals sicher wenig bedeutenden Xanthos in Lykien stammte.

S. 142f. (Z. 6) Etwas genauer einzugehen ist auf das Verb **t'stw*, welches den Akt des Volksbeschlusses bezeichnet, also inhaltlich griech. *ἔδοξε* entspricht. Die allgemeine Bedeutung der Wurzel **st*, die auch sonst im Itpael auftritt, ist ‚denken an, gedenken‘. Deshalb hat Dupont-Sommer in der Bearbeitung CRAI 1974, 137 übersetzt ‚les citoyens

d'Orna ont projeté'. Dem hat J. Teixidor, *Syria* 52, 1975, 288 widersprochen unter Hinweis auf die griechische Formulierung und dementsprechend für das aramäische Verb die Bedeutung 'einen Beschluss fassen' vorgeschlagen. Er will sie auch in der berühmten Bittschrift der jüdischen Gemeinde von Elephantine an Bagoas, den persischen Statthalter in Juda, (A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*. Oxford 1923, No 30. P. Grelot, *Documents araméens*. Paris 1972, No. 102) Z. 23 finden: 't'št 'l'gwr' zk lmbnh 'fass einen Beschluss über den Tempel, damit man ihn baue'. Dupont-Sommer hält nun an seiner früheren Interpretation fest, und man wird ihm insofern recht geben, als die Bedeutung 'beschliessen' sonst für die Wurzel 'št nicht nachzuweisen ist. Gerade in der Bittschrift an Bagoas ist sie nicht anzunehmen, da der Satrap von Juda hinsichtlich der Rekonstruktion des jüdischen Tempels in Ägypten nichts beschliessen kann. Ob man das Verb freilich, wie Dupont-Sommer will, technisch in dem Sinne auffassen darf, dass der Beschluss der Gemeinde Xanthos expressis verbis als rechtlich verbindliches 'Projekt' hingestellt werden soll, das erst durch die Verfügung des Satrapen Gesetzeskraft erhält, scheint mir auch wieder nicht sicher. Wir wissen ja nicht, welches Verb im Aramäischen verwendet wurde, um die Beschlussfassung durch eine lokale Selbstverwaltungskörperschaft zu bezeichnen (vgl. immerhin unten S. 150f. zum Fragment B), und es könnte sein, dass mit dem Itpael von 'št einfach etwas ausgedrückt werden sollte, für das dem Schreiber keine vorgeprägte Formulierung bekannt war. Selbstverständlich sind alle diese philologischen Überlegungen für die staatsrechtliche Wertung des Dokuments von grosser Bedeutung. Unsere Kenntnisse sind aber zu beschränkt, als dass man aus der Formulierung juristische Schlüsse ziehen könnte. An der Tatsache, dass der Satrap den Gemeindebeschluss ratifiziert, kann man allerdings nicht zweifeln, zumal die griechische Version (Z. 35) diese Tatsache klar zum Ausdruck bringt.

S. 145f. (Z. 8) Es ist nicht richtig, *kndws* gewissermassen als lykisches Lehnwort im Aramäischen aufzufassen und zu übersetzen 'le Roi le Dieu de Caunos'. Wie schon A. Garbini, *SMEA* 18, 1978, 270 mit Recht betont hat, wird das lykische Wort *χitawati* 'König' vom aramäischen Sekretär als Eigennamen behandelt. Zu beachten ist die gegenüber CRAI 1974 völlig geänderte Lesung des Schlusses der Zeile: *wknwth* und seinen Gefährten'. Die Lesung ist nach der Abbildung plausibel (offenbar wurde *t* nachgetragen) und sie ist an der parallelen Stelle Z. 22f. eindeutig. Zu denken ist natürlich an die griechisch Arkesimas genannte Gottheit. Schwierig zu verstehen ist dann der Plural; es wird nur übrig bleiben, ihn mit Dupont-Sommer als 'pluriel d'intensité' aufzufassen.

S. 150 (Z. 16) Die Lesung des letzten Wortes ist unklar; es enthält aber sicher nicht die aramäische Entsprechung des Namens Arkesimas, wie CRAI 1974 vermutet worden war.

S. 152 f. (Z. 19) Damit ein verständlicher Text entsteht, muss konjiziert werden: statt *mhsn* ist zu lesen *mhsn*, Partizip des Haphel von *hsn* 'besitzen, Macht haben'. Die syntaktische Verknüpfung des Wortes ist aber offen.

S. 154 (Z. 22) Unerklärt ist die Form *nhwj*, so zu lesen für überliefertes *nhwjg*. Nach Dupont-Sommer ist sie Partizip Niphal von *hwh* 'sein', syntaktisch zu *kmr* 'gehörig, le prêtre (alors) existant'. J. Teixidor, *Syria* 56, 1979, 394 (schon JNES 37, 1978, 184 Anm. 19) fasst sie als Im-

perfekt derselben Wurzel mit Präfix *n-*; syntaktisch wäre das Wort zu verbinden mit den folgenden Partizipien: 'er möge weggerissen sein'. Beide Annahmen sind nicht unbedenklich. Die letztere scheint aus formalen Gründen weniger wahrscheinlich, würde aber aramäischem Sprachgebrauch entsprechen, vgl. z.B. Esra 6,8 *nqqt' thw' mtjhb'* 'die Kosten seien gegeben'.

S. 156 (Z. 24-26) Seltsam ist die Wiederholung der Apodosis der religiösen Sanktionsformel der Z. 20-23 (*hn' js ... jhns'l mn kndws ... nhwj* [??] *mn kndws ... mhnsl*) durch einen vollständigen Satz mit erneutem Subjekt 'š (bzw. *js*) 'man', mit Wiederaufnahme des vorher *kndws* genannten Gottes durch allgemeineres 'lh', der Gott' und mit Erwähnung der Götter des Letoons. Offenbar hat der Übersetzer hier selbständig und nicht sehr geschickt den griechisch-lykischen Text erweitert. Die Protasis der Sanktionsformel hat er in der Apodosis zunächst zu einem paronomastischen Wortspiel ausgebaut ('wer von *kndws* wegnimmt, sei von *kndws* weggenommen'), und nachträglich in einem zweiten Satz zu der hauptsächlich betroffenen Gottheit noch die Götter des Letoons als strafende Instanzen hinzugefügt.

An den Kommentar schliesst sich eine Würdigung des Inhaltes der Inschrift und eine nützliche Synopsis der drei Versionen (S. 161f.). Der aramäische Schreiber habe sich bald an den lykischen, bald an den griechischen Wortlaut gehalten. In Wirklichkeit gibt es in der aramäischen Version nichts, das zwingend aus dem lykischen Text stammen würde, hingegen können die Namensformen *Sjmjn* (Z. 9), entlehnt aus dem Akk. Σιμίαν der griechischen Fassung (Z. 8f.), und *kdws* (Z. 10) (griech. Κοιδωρασις, lyk. *Qnturahi*) wegen des -s- nur aus dem Griechischen übernommen sein (vgl. oben S. 146).

Wertvoll sind die Ausführungen über die paläographischen Fragen S. 163f. Da in der aramäischen Schrift der Zeit mehrere Buchstaben sich formal nur schwer unterscheiden lassen oder gar zusammengefallen sind — der Schreiber der Trilingue geht hier besonders weit —, ist eine gewisse Vertrautheit mit den Problemen für jeden, der sich mit der Trilingue beschäftigen will, notwendig. Eine Tabelle stellt die Buchstabenformen aller kleinasiatischen Inschriften in aramäischer Sprache zusammen und bringt zum Vergleich die ungefähr zeitgenössischen Belege aus den Papyri und den Steininschriften Ägyptens.

Den Abschluss bildet auf den Seiten 165-169 die Erörterung der historischen Situation, in welche die Urkunde hineingehört. Zur Frage der Datierung hält Dupont-Sommer daran fest, dass mit Artaxerxes, in dessen erstes Jahr das Dokument im aramäischen Teil gesetzt wird, nur Artaxerxes III. gemeint sein könne, Pixodaros also im Jahre 358 anstelle seines Bruders Maussollos Satrap von Karien und Lykien geworden sei, was sonst in keiner Quelle überliefert ist und zu unserem sonstigen Wissen nicht recht passt; danach herrschte Maussollos von 377/76 bis zu seinem Tode 353/2 und Pixodaros kam erst 341/40 nach der Verdrängung seiner Schwester Ada an die Macht. Der Versuch von E. Badian, *Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean* etc. Studies presented to F. Schachermeyr. Berlin 1977, 40ff., Artaxerxes als sonst nicht bezeugten Thronnamen des zweitletzten Achämenidenkönigs Arsēs zu betrachten, der 337 den Thron bestieg, und die Errichtung der Stele also in dieses Jahr zu setzen, wird S. 166 Anm. 1 als zu hypothetisch abgelehnt. Immerhin hat R. Schmitt, *Beiträge zur Namensforschung* NF 12, 1977, 422ff., bes. 424 wahrscheinlich

gemacht, dass alle Achämenidenkönige seit Dareios I. programmatische Thronnamen trugen. Sollte das nicht auch für Arsēs gelten? Überliefert ist es nirgends, aber dass Pixodaros im Jahre 358 vorübergehend an die Stelle seines Bruders getreten wäre, entspricht auch nicht dem, was unsere Quellen berichten. Ein non liquet dürfte angebracht sein.

Im übrigen wird dann das Dokument in den lokalen Zusammenhang eingeordnet. Einerseits spiegle es das Interesse der persischen Verwaltung an den religiösen Verhältnissen der Untertanen, andererseits die Politik des neuen Satrapen, der im abhängigen Gebiet seine Vertrauensleute einsetze und durch die von ihm vermutlich angeregte Einführung eines Kultes seiner Heimat eine politische Absicht verfolge. Die verwaltungsrechtliche Seite müsste, darauf ist oben schon hingewiesen worden, in grösserem Zusammenhang durch den Einbezug jüdischer und ägyptischer Dokumente genauer durchforscht werden. Nahe liegt es natürlich, in der Konstituierung des karischen Kultes eine politische Massnahme des karischen Dynasten zu sehen. Nur ist zu beachten, dass irgendwelche Beziehungen mit Kaunos und seinem 'König' genannten Gott schon vorher bestanden haben müssen, wie dies die auch von Dupont-Sommer zitierte Stelle der Stele von Xanthos (TL 44c, 6ff.) zeigt. Wir verstehen sie allerdings in ihrem Kontext zu wenig genau, um sagen zu können, wo das dort erwähnte Heiligtum des *χitawati χibidēni* stand; dass es sich auf der Akropolis von Xanthos befand, ist mindestens nicht sicher.

Im Anhang publiziert Dupont-Sommer zwei aramäische Fragmente, die im Letoon gefunden wurden (Photographien der Steine und der Abklatsche sowie Umzeichnungen sind im Abbildungsteil beigegeben, planches XX-XXIII). Das erste, als Fragment A bezeichnet, erwähnt die Bürger von Pinara (Z. 3 *b'lj pnr*), und wahrscheinlich, wie Dupont-Sommer nachträglich in einem Aufsatz *Semitica* 29, 1979, 101ff. darlegt, ihre Nachkommen (Z. 3f. *w[bn]hwm / wbnj bnjhw*), sowie möglicherweise die kleine Stadt Pydna an der Mündung des Xanthos in das Meer (Z. 5 *zj lpdnh*). Sonst ist über den Inhalt nichts zu erkennen. In seiner neueren Arbeit vermutet Dupont-Sommer, es liege ein 'pacte relatif à une confédération de Xanthos et d'autres villes lyciennes' vor. Wenn auch die neuen Lesungen der Zeilen 3f. eine Parallele in den aramäischen Bündnisverträgen von Sfire (Nordsyrien, Mitte des 8.Jh.v.Chr.) haben, muss die Annahme doch Hypothese bleiben. Festgehalten sei, dass das Fragment bereits von H. Metzger, *Rev. arch.* 1970, 307 kurz vorgeführt worden war; die dort geäusserte Vermutung, das Bruchstück gehöre zu einer Weihung an eine *b'l*, bzw. *b'lt* genannte Gottheit, ist wohl aufzugeben.

Das zweite Fragment (B) steht auf einem Eckstück; auf der rechts an den aramäischen Text angrenzenden Seite sind vier Zeilenanfänge in lykischer Sprache erhalten. Was den Inhalt angeht, erscheinen wieder die Bürger von Pinara (Z. 5 *b'lj pnr*). Z. 3 ist von einer Überquerung des Meeres die Rede (*htr bjm*). Am interessantesten ist Z. 4. Sie lautet *i'jb lb'lj* ..., was Dupont-Sommer versteht als 'il a plu aux citoyens de ...'. Hat man hier den Terminus für einen Volksbeschluss? Semasiologisch ist allerdings die von Dupont-Sommer herangezogene Stelle Dan. 6,24 *mlk' šggj' i'b' lwhj* 'der König war sehr erfreut darüber' keine Parallele. Vergleichbar ist nur Achiqar 67 (Cowley) *tjbt 'l knwth* 'es gefiel seinen Gefährten', doch ist hier wohl ein feminines Subjekt zu ergänzen. 'es scheint gut' im Sinne

von 'jemand beschliesst' ist sonst, so weit ich sehe *jb 'l*, vgl. z.B. Esra 5,17. Die Bedeutung des Fragments liegt vor allem darin, dass es eine weitere Parallele zur Trilingue bildet. Vielleicht geben die nicht publizierten lykischen Reste wenigstens einen Hinweis auf den Gegenstand, der in der Inschrift behandelt wurde. In seinem Aufsatz über Fragment A möchte Dupont-Sommer, wenn ich ihn recht verstehe, beide Bruchstücke (A und B) als Teile desselben Bündnisvertrages betrachten.

Im vierten und letzten Hauptteil (S. 179-185) begründet M. Mayrhofer seine bisher nur im Endergebnis bekannte Deutung des iranischen Sprachgutes, das im reichssprachlichen, d.h. im aramäischen Text begegnet. Während Wörter wie *hštrpn* (Z. 4) 'Satrap' und *dth* (Z. 19) 'Gesetz' zu keinen besonderen Bemerkungen Anlass geben und *dm* (Z. 17) 'Stätte, Wohnsitz' im Sinn von 'Grundstück' nicht belegt ist, aber ohne weiteres akzeptiert werden kann, braucht *krp* 'Kult' (Z. 7) einige Erläuterungen, die hier kurz rekapituliert seien. Die Bedeutungssphäre des Wortes ist zwar vom Kontext her zwingend gegeben. Die Schwierigkeiten kommen einerseits daher, dass wegen des oben berührten Formenzusammenfalls in der aramäischen Schrift die ersten beiden Konsonanten je *d*, *k*, und *r* gelesen werden können, so dass vom Text her der Lautbestand des Wortes nicht gesichert ist. Akzeptiert man die Lesung, so ist die zweite Schwierigkeit die, dass ein entsprechendes Wort im Iranischen nicht bezeugt ist; es kann aber von altindischem *kalpa-* 'Ritual' und avestischem *kar(a)pan-* 'Opferpriester' her erschlossen werden, wobei das Verhältnis **karpa-/kar(a)pan-* wortbildungsmässig offenbar nicht problemlos ist. Auf jeden Fall ist Mayrhofer's Lösung ingenios, und sollte sie richtig sein, so wäre sie für die iranische Religionsgeschichte von einiger Bedeutung, da *kar(a)pan-* den Priester antizarathustrischer Religionsgemeinschaften meint. Es hätte also ein nichtzarathustrisches Wort in die offizielle Reichssprache Eingang gefunden. In noch weitere Bereiche der Religionsgeschichte hinein führt die Wiedergabe Apollons durch iranisches *hštrptj* (Z. 25), d.h. **χšaθrapati-*, etwa 'Herr der Herrschermacht'. Mit diesem erstaunlichen Faktum hat sich bisher vor allem Dupont-Sommer beschäftigt (S. 155f. mit weiteren Literaturangaben). Mayrhofer gibt a.O. die Belege der iranischen Überlieferung und fügt eine mögliche armenische Parallele hinzu. Sehr nützlich innerhalb der fünf inhaltsschweren Seiten ist auch die Übersicht über die verschiedenen Formen des Satrapentitels (S. 181f.).

Dass die Trilingue aus dem Letoon ein Dokument ist, welches das Interesse einer ganzen Reihe von altertumswissenschaftlichen Disziplinen für sich beanspruchen darf, ist aus den vorstehenden Bemerkungen wohl deutlich geworden. Der Scharfsinn der Herausgeber hat in manchen Punkten Wesentliches bereits geklärt und in andern die Klärung eingeleitet. Weitere Forschung ist vonnöten. Sie hat an dem in jeder Hinsicht hervorragend ausgestatteten Band eine sichere Grundlage.

Zum Schluss seien die wichtigsten Druckfehler berichtet: S. 9 Strabonzitat Z. 1: Lies *ἐκάλου* statt *ἐκαλοῦν*. Appianzitat Z. 1: lies *στρατιάων* statt *στρατίων*. S. 53 lykischer Text Z. 10: lies *Qnturahahi* statt *qnturahahi*. Anm. 1 letzte Zeile: lies 33 statt 23. S. 57 Anm. 12: lies *mrbb-* statt *mrßß-*. S. 59 Zif. VIII 2. lykische Zeile: lies *ebeiya* statt *ehbiya*. S. 62 Z. 1: lies 44 c 33 statt 35. S. 63 Anm. 10 lies *Incontri*

Linguistici 2, 1975. S. 64 Anm. 13: lies Meier statt Maier. S. 68 lykischer Text Lignes 16-18: lies *sê-nîte* ... *seyêti* statt *se-nîte* ... *seyeti*. S. 71 Z. 4 und 5 der französischen Übersetzung von TL 83: lies leurs femmes statt leur femme. S. 74 Anm. 43 Z. 2: lies 75 statt 76. Z. 4: lies *[ti]be* statt *Iti]be*. S. 78 Anm. 5 lykischer Text Z. 2: lies *Upêneh* statt *Upeneh*. S. 82 § 11 Abschnitt 3 Z. 4: lies *êi* statt *ei*. S. 85 Zif. 2 Z. 3: lies *massanassis* statt *massanassia*. S. 89 Abschnitt 3 Z. 5: lies *qlahibiyehi* statt *qlabihiyehi*. S. 114 Zif. 2 Abschnitt 2 am Ende: lies: p. 63. S. 115 Anm. 10: lies 62 statt 67. S. 140: Z. 3 von oben: lies XXIV statt XVI. Ligne 4 Z. 2: lies *Katamlah* statt *Katamla*.

Winterthur, CH. Oktober 1980

P. FREI

ALGEMEEN SEMITISCH

A. M. R. ARISTAR, *The IIwy Verbs and the Vowel System of Proto-West Semitic*. Malibu, Undena, 1979 (28 cm., 18 pp.) = Monographic Journal of the Near East. Afroasiatic Linguistics, Volume 6, issue 6. ISBN 0 89003 001 4.

In this challenging article Mr. Aristar puts his finger on methodological errors and other weaknesses in the proto-west semitic reconstructions of the G perfect of the IIwy class of roots, both in the reconstruction of *w/y* (**qawama* etc.) and in the so-called biliteral reconstruction (**qa:ma* etc.).

Using arabic data concerning *imāla* and *tafkhim*, the author argues that, while a IIIwy class can be reconstructed for Proto-West Semitic, there can have been no semivowels in the IIwy class at the same time. He concludes that the only conceivable solution for Arabic is the adoption of two early midvowels */e:/ and */o:/ (later merging with /a:/), the short grades of which merged with /i/ and /u/ respectively. Ethiopic and Hebrew data are found to be in general agreement with the Arabic conclusions and a system of five vowel-qualities is proposed for the proto-language.

Irrespective of the question whether Mr. Aristar will convince his readers on all the points he makes, his criticism on present theories has to be taken into account by all those interested in the reconstruction of Proto-West Semitic.

Utrecht, sept. 1980

ROEL OTTEN

UGARITISCH

M. DIETRICH, O. LORETZ and J. SANMARTÍN, *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit, einschliesslich der keilalphabetischen Texte ausserhalb Ugarits*. Teil 1, Transkription. Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, Kevelaer, Verlag Butzon & Bercker 1976 (30 × 22, xx + 507 pp.) = Alter Orient und Altes Testament,

Band 24. DM 115.—. ISBN 3-7887-0485-3 (Neukirchener Verlag), 3-7666-8911-8 (Butzon & Bercker).

We regret that due to circumstances beyond our control this review could not be completed in time. However, since up to this date the number of published reviews of KTU is relatively small for a work of such prestige, we decided that in spite of the unfortunate delay it might be worth while to print our comments.

First of all it should be acknowledged that the scholarly world owes the editors of KTU a great debt because they have made available almost all known Ugaritic tablets in one manageable volume. 376 of these, mostly small fragments, had not been published before. They form a welcome addition to the corpus of alphabetical texts. Moreover, Dietrich and Loretz collated most of the tablets in Aleppo, Damascus and Paris themselves. This resulted in a large number of important new readings in the texts that had already been published (e.g. 1.5:I.22; 1.6:V.4; 1.161:1). For these reasons alone KTU will become a standard work no Ugaritologist can afford to dispense with. It forms an adequate foundation for the Ugaritic dictionary the German team is preparing.

However, it is regrettable that such a fine work suffers from a number of serious flaws. It is pardonable of course that the editors could not include recent finds like those from Ras Ibn Hani, but in view of their explicit claim to have included *all* tablets kept in the museum it is strange to discover that apparently they were not allowed to see the tablets AO 21.086, AO 21.088 and AO 21.090, kept in the Louvre since 1961 (see *Semita* 27 (1977) 5-19; *UF* 10 (1978) 419). Pardonable too is the fact that some fragments were edited twice as a result of wrong RS-numbering in the original publications (e.g. KTU 4.546 = 4.660 and 4.622 = 4.663).

A more serious point of criticism concerns the numbering of the tablets. Apparently the editors were unable to resist the temptation to introduce their own numbering-system, the fifth major system next to those of Virolleaud, Gordon, Eissfeldt and Herdner (for these and other systems we already needed M. Dietrich-O. Loretz, *Konkordanz der ugaritischen Textzählungen*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1972). They divided the texts into 8 categories:

1. Literary and religious texts.
2. Letters.
3. Contracts.
4. Lists and economic texts.
5. Alphabets and school texts.
6. Legends and inscriptions.
7. Unclassified material.
8. Undecipherable fragments.

Within every rubric the tablets have been numbered in accordance with the sequence of the RS-numbers. This system is bound to encounter difficulties when wrong RS-numbers have been adopted or when texts have been included that do not bear a RS-number. For KTU 1.1-25, however, the editors had the wisdom to follow the numbering of Herdner, CTA, no. 1-25.

The new system has two clear advantages: 1) Within each category an infinite number of new texts can be accommodated. 2) The number gives a general idea about the content of the text. Sadly enough it also has a number of disadvantages. Even if one defines the categories as wide as has been done here (which limits their informative

value!) classifying these texts is no easy task. Is KTU 1.91 a religious document or an administrative text (rubric 4)? Is KTU 2.19 a letter or rather a contract (rubric 3)? Many fragments are so small that any attempt at classification is extremely hazardous. A duplicate, a successful join or even an improved understanding of the text might easily necessitate a change of number. All this means that the system of KTU will be subject to constant change and will therefore become a major source of confusion.

A further objection to the new system is the regrettable fact that it is often impossible to omit the letters "KTU" from a quotation. Otherwise the numbers will resemble the RS-numbers too much (e.g. RS 1.17 = KTU 1.47). Especially when it is desirable to cite both RS- and KTU-numbers this results in a very cumbersome procedure.

Next to the new numbering of the tablets themselves, the editors also changed the numbering of the lines in some cases. This was necessary and unavoidable, but it also creates an extra problem for those who want to check a passage referred to in the secondary literature (e.g. CTA 3:C.1 = KTU 1.3:III.4; CTA 3:D.29 = KTU 1.3:III.32; CTA 4:I.7 = KTU 1.4:I.6; CTA 17:I.2 = KTU 1.17:I.1).

The editors have rendered Ugaritologists an eminent service by personally collating the tablets. However, it should be remembered that the condition of many of the tablets has deteriorated ever since their discovery. In Assyriology this is a well-known phenomenon. Therefore it is possible that in some cases the early copies and photographs, as well as the early readings by Virolleaud, are superior to what was found by the German team (e.g. KTU 1.4:VII.13,30-32; 1.6:V.6; 4.279:1). For these reasons it is desirable that the second volume of KTU, containing the copies and photographs (see p. xi), is published as soon as possible. Only this will enable the user to check and, if necessary, challenge the readings of KTU. P. Xella who collated himself a number of tablets in the Louvre found a number of different readings for KTU 1.27, 1.41, 1.43, 1.48, 1.53, 1.61, 1.75, 1.76, 1.77 (see *OrAnt* 17 (1978) 227-230). The outstanding photographs published in *Ugaritica V* and *VII* sometimes seem to contradict the proposals of the editors of KTU (see below on 1.161 and 2.39). Such findings give rise to unnecessary doubts and uncertainty which can only be alleviated by the prompt publication of KTU 2.

The edition itself leaves much to be desired. The printing was executed with the help of an adapted chain-printer. The quality of the printing is often so poor that *b*, *h* and *g* and *y* may easily be confused. Moreover, an edition like this one should be absolutely free from misprints, but unfortunately it is not (e.g. 1.4:I.41; 1.16:II.33; VI.10,30; 1.39:6; 1.41:50; 1.82:43; 1.100:68; 2.10:2; 4.728:1). We also regard it as a serious shortcoming that the number of letters missing in damaged passages is not estimated, even where this was perfectly possible. The blank spaces often create a totally false impression or are even entirely superfluous (e.g. 1.4:IV.62; VI.13; VII.43; 1.5:I.22; 1.6:I.52,65; V.3; 1.24:28f., 31; 2.17:15; 2.70:22, 27; 2.71:14).

Whereas Herdner set a good example by discussing various proposals to restore broken passages in the notes of her CTA, the editors of KTU have adopted an attitude of greater reserve in this respect. They were, of course,

entitled to do so. However, it does not explain why they themselves sometimes adopt extremely doubtful restorations (e.g. 1.4:V.51; 1.6:V.5f.; 1.16:II.25; 1.19:III.40; 2.4:7; 2.39) whereas in other cases they seem to have overlooked that the text can be restored with absolute certainty (e.g. 1.4:III.34; V.27,51; 1.4:VII.13,30-32,50; 1.6:VI.33; 1.24:15; 2.13:16f.; 2.32:10).

In order to give an impression of the relative value of KTU we give a detailed discussion of the text of the important tablet KTU 1.161, comparing it with the readings of Caquot in *Annuaire du Collège de France* 75 (1974-75) 427-429, as well as with the excellent photographs published in *Ugaritica VII*, Pl. VII-IX. Normal type indicates uncertainty.

KTU 1.161, revised version

- (1) *spr . dbh . zlm*
- (2) *qri'tm . rp'i . 'a[rs]*
- (3) *qbi'tm . qbs . d[dn]*
- (4) *qr'a . b'lk . rp[a]*
- (5) *qr'a . trmm . rp[a]*
- (6) *qr'a . sdn . wrd[n]*
- (7) *qr'a . tr . 'llmn*
- (8) *qr'a . rp'im . qdmym*
- (9) *qri'tm . rp'i . 'ars*
- (10) *qbi'tm . qbs . dd[n]*
- (11) *qr'a . 'm[tmr] . m[llk]*
- (12) *qr'a . 'u nqm [d] . mlk*
- (13) *ksi' . nqmd . td . nh*
- (14) *wydm' . <[d] . tdm . 'nh*
- (15) *lpnh . ybky . ilhn . ml[a]*
- (16) *w . ybl' . 'udm'th*
- (17) *'dmt . w . 'dmt . tdm*
- (18) *'ishn . šps . w . 'ishn*
- (19) *nyr . tbt . 'ln . šps . tsh*
- (20) *'atr . b'lk . l . ksi' ! . 'atr*
- (21) *b'lk . 'ars . rd . 'ars*
- (22) *rd . w . špl . 'pr . tbt*
- (23) *sdn . w . rdn . tbt . tr*
- (24) *'[k]lmn . tbt . rp'im . qd[mym]*
- (25) *tbt . 'm[tmr] . mlk*
- (26) *tbt ! . 'u . nq[md] . mlk*
- (27) *'šty . w . t[y] . tn . w . t[y]*
- (28) *tl . w . t'y . [rb'] . w . t[y]*
- (29) *hms . w . t'y . tdt . w . t'y*
- (30) *šb' . w . t'y . tqdm' šr*
- (31) *šlm . šlm . 'mr[p'i]*
- (32) *w . šlm . bnh . šlm . [a]ryh*
- (33) *šlm . bth . šlm . 'u[g]rt*
- (34) *šlm . tgrh*

Translation, stichometrically arranged:

Report on the sacrificial banquet of the shades.

*You (priests) invoked the Saviours of the country,
you summoned the Assembly of Didanu.*

*He (the king Ammurapi) invoked Baalkenu, the Saviour,
he invoked Tarmennu, the Saviour,
he invoked Sidannu and Radanu,
he invoked Tharru, the usurpator,
he invoked the Saviours of old.*

You (priests) invoked the Saviours of the country,
you summoned the Assembly of Didanu.

He (the king) invoked Ammithamru, the king,
he invoked — woe ! — Niqmaddu, the king.

You (priests) placed the throne of Niqmaddu.

He (the king) waited and began to shed tears,
his eyes did <not> cease,
before him (the shade of Niqmaddu) he wept.
But the table was full and he swallowed.
His tears disappeared
and his grief disappeared.

(Incantation :)
Be hot, Shapshu !
Yea, be hot you good Illuminator !
May Shapshu cry from above :
After your owner, o throne,
after your owner descend into the earth,
descend into the earth
and lower yourself in the dust
under Sidannu and Radanu,
under Tharru, the usurpator,
under the Saviours of old,
under Ammithamru, the king,
under — woe ! — Niqmaddu, the king.

The first (spirit) and he (the king) sacrificed,
the second and he sacrificed,
the third and he sacrificed,
the fourth and he sacrificed,
the fifth and he sacrificed,
the sixth and he sacrificed,
the seventh and he sacrificed,
you (priests) offered a bird.

(Benediction :)
Hail, hail to Ammurapi !
And hail to his son !
Hail to his relatives !
Hail to his house !
Hail to Ugarit !
Hail to its gates !

Commentary

Line 1 :
zlm — KTU's reading is more likely than Caquot's qlm.
The scribe tends to neglect the lower horizontal wedges
(see, e.g., spr in the same line). zlm is a plural of the
attested word zl "shade" (cf. KTU 1.4:II.26f., with Qoh.
7:12).

Line 4 :
b'ln — With KTU, but Caquot's b(.)lkn is also possible.
rp[']a — Because lines 1-3 and 6ff. are much shorter,
KTU's proposal to restore rp[']i . 'ars] in lines 4-5 has to
be rejected.

Line 5 :
trmn — With Caquot. The photograph is relatively clear
at this point. KTU : rk/trmn.

Line 6 :
sdn — The reading of KTU s/l/ddn . w . rd[n] is clearly
preferable to that of Caquot, although we do not discern
a word-divider between w and rd[n]. It is unlikely that
the name of ddn, presumably the founder of the dynasty,
would occur here, cf. lines 3 and 10. Since the reading
sdn is reasonably clear in line 23 and the PN sdn is attested
we opted for sdn. Compare the Assyrian PN Sidannaja.

Line 7 :
'llmn — KTU assumes a lacuna at the end of this line.
This is unlikely in view of lines 23-24.

Line 13 :
td [.] nh — The photograph makes it absolutely certain
that my proposal of 1976 to read 'd[b . 'a]ty cannot be
sustained. However, neither Caquot's 'p[l]]ty nor KTU's
'(?)d(?)ty is convincing. Caquot rightly noted the visible
lacuna between the second and the fourth sign, whereas
KTU's reading of the second sign as d is definitely more
likely than Caquot's l. The first sign is rather t because
the other -signs have the upper point of the "Winkelhaken"
in the middle of the sign.

This results in the reading td (2 sg m impf., cf. line 30
tqdm) which reminds us of Akkadian kussâ nadû, used in
an almost identical context (ZAW 88 (1976) 343). Because
in Ugaritic the verb corresponding with Akkadian nadû is
ydy, the form td should be derived from that root.

The fourth sign is rather too long to be a t and the
photograph suggests at least one more notch, so that either
'a or n is possible. The fifth sign is either y or h. Of the
resulting possibilities 'ay, ty, 'ah, th or ny would seem to
make no sense. The reading nh, however, is acceptable:
it could very well be a perfect of nwh in the meaning of
"to wait quietly, to abide" (cf. 1 Sam. 25:9; Hab. 3:16).
Everywhere in the text perfects alternate with imperfect,
see ZAW 88 (1976) 335.

Line 14 :
<l> — See ZAW 88 (1976) 343.
tdm — KTU : p'nh, but no sign is visible on the photo-
graph between the word-divider and 'nh. Probably the
editors misinterpreted the slight crack which is running
through the tablet at this point.

Line 15 :
ml[']a — With Caquot; see KTU 1.4:I.38 as well as Isa.
28:8. KTU : mlk, but the very clear photograph of the edge
of the tablet (Pl. IX) only shows a damaged spot.

Line 17 :
tdmt — Although the first sign is slightly damaged, Caquot's
reading tdmt is clearly superior to KTU's 'dmt. Cf. ZAW
88 (1976) 344.

Line 19 :
tbt — Unfortunately the tablet had to be repaired at this
point. However, the traces are in favour of Caquot's tbt.
It would seem impossible to accept KTU's w . bt.

Line 20 :
ksi' ! — Caquot : ksh; KTU : kp(?)s(?)h; De Moor : ksi',
because of line 13 and the impressive parallels from else-
where (ZAW 88 (1976) 335, 344f.). Although it is possible
that the clearly visible crack below the three horizontal
wedges destroyed the small wedge below 'i, it is also
possible to assume that it was omitted accidentally by
the scribe himself (cf. Gordon, UT, par. 4.13).

Line 23 :
sdn — See the note on line 6.

Line 24 :
'k(.)lmn — We doubt the existence of this redundant word-
divider which was read by Caquot and KTU. The small
wedge might be part of a crack.

Line 24 :
qd<mym> — So with Caquot, see lines 7-8! The photograph
Pl. IX makes it abundantly clear that qdš (KTU) is im-
possible.

Line 26 :
tht ! — Caquot and KTU are doubtlessly right in reading
thm, but in view of the context this reading can only
have been caused by a lapsus calami (confusion with the
frequent word thm "message").
mlk — Contrary to the impression created by KTU only
traces of the upper half of the signs have been preserved.

Line 27 :
t[y] — The second sign is faintly discernable, as seen by
Caquot.

Line 28 :
At this point the quality of the photographs is so poor
that we have simply taken over the reading of this line
as presented in KTU, although we had obviously to
replace 'arb' by the ordinal rb' (see the comment on line 29).
Caquot's reading of the line deviates at six points from
that of KTU : tlt [. w .] t'y [. 'arb' . w .] t[y].

Line 29 :
tdt — Between the traces of the two t's the left lower
corner of d is faintly visible, as had to be expected on
the basis of 'šty in line 27. KTU : tt. The word-divider after
tdt is invisible on the photograph and omitted by Caquot,
but printed as if certain by KTU.
w [.] — The w with KTU, the lacuna with Caquot.

Line 30 :
tqdm — Caquot : tq[] . 'sr; De Moor 1976 : tq[ry] . 'sr;
KTU : tqdš (?). KTU rightly assumed a d, the lower left
corner is visible. The last sign, however, is definitely m.
The verb qdm D in the meaning of "to bring forward (an
offering or present)" occurs in KTU 2.36:8 (cf. A. Caquot,
Ugaritica VII, 124) and in Micah 6:6. The speaker of
the latter passage is a man whose language betrays that
he is more acquainted with the religion of Canaan than
with Yahwism — a subtle use of irony ! Moreover, a
Punic offering called qdmt is attested (DISO, 252).

Line 32 :
w — Damaged sign, not indicated as such in KTU.
[']aryh — Caquot : [']ary[h]; KTU : [q]ryt[h] which requires
too much space.

Line 33 :
'u[gl]rt — With Caquot; KTU's 'ugrt ignores the small
lacuna.

Line 34 :
šlm — The first sign is damaged which was not indicated
in KTU.

It appears that even if we leave line 28 out of considera-
tion (see the comment ad loc.) more than twenty readings
of KTU 1.161 could be improved. In many instances we
found it advisable to follow the readings of the provisional
edition by Caquot. It would seem abundantly clear that

a fresh collation of the tablet itself is desirable. The
editors were kind enough to inform us by letter dated
March 27, 1981 that unfortunately they had experienced
some difficulties in collating this particular tablet: "Uns
standen leider keine Foto's zur Verfügung, und der Text
wurde uns nur für einige Minuten in Aleppo zur Verfügung
gestellt". Certainly an honourable excuse, but not quite
in agreement with the impression created in the intro-
ductory part of KTU 1 (see pp. v, vii, xi). It might have
been expedient to indicate the provisional nature of the
edition of texts which were not examined as thoroughly
as is the custom of the editors who have earned a well-
deserved reputation as meticulous epigraphists.

Further details :

- 1.4:I.41 — s' read s' (same error in CTA !).
1.4:III.34 — Xm read km "we want to give you presents".
1.4:IV.62 — l bnt read lbnt.
1.4:V.27 — ytn is impossible because of IV.62; read y[b]n.
1.4:VI.13 — w p[im] read wptm (cf. 1.4:III.13 !) "he has
mocked me, has spitten on [my daughters ?]".
1.4:VII.13 — bXXXb : Virolleaud was able to read more,
see his copy; therefore : [b](13)bt . [']rb, cf. AOAT 16,156.
1.4:VII.30-32 — On the basis of Virolleaud's copy :
(30) y[im]ny . b'l . s[at . š]p[th]
(31) q[th] . q[dš] . t[rr] . 'ars
(32) [s[at . š]p[th] [.] grm.
1.4:VII.43 — bl mlk read blmlk.
1.4:VII.50 — l ymr'u read d!ymr'u, cf. AOAT 16,165.
1.5:I.22 — kl : a very important new reading; read, how-
ever, k l, cf. UF 11 (1979) 640.
1.6:I.52 — k tmsm read ktmsm.
1.6:I.65 — 'il . k lh read klh.
1.6:III.1 — zb[l b'l . 'ars] is unlikely, see AOAT 16,216.
1.6:V.3 — dk ym read dkym.
1.6:V.4 — šgrm is an important new reading.
1.6:V.5 — y['] ? AOAT 16,226 as well as CTA.
1.6:V.6 — Virolleaud still discerned an l at the beginning
of this line, cf. AOAT 16,226.
1.6:V.22-24 — Improbable readings which should be com-
pared with Virolleaud's early copy.
1.6:VI.33 — The restoration [lks'i] should have been
mentioned.
1.16:II.25 — q[br] is unwarranted.
1.16:II.33 — ilhu read ilhu.
1.16:II.34 (2) — Neither [w] qt nor [t]qt is acceptable;
read [n]qt.
1.16:VI.10 — trhs read trhs (same error in CTA !).
1.16:VI.30 — [. udm . k] read [. udnk].
1.16:VI.31 — [g]rm read [g]rm.
1.17:II.41-44 — Deviating remarkably from CTA, cf. UF 7
(1975) 180.
1.19:III.40 — For yb the editors would read ybky even
though no parallel text supports this emendation. For
a more conservative view see UF 7 (1975) 208.
1.24:3 — b srr is not in accordance with the early copy of
Virolleaud. Read bsgsg.
1.23:5 — bk read bn, cf. W. Herrmann, Yarih und Nikkal,
Berlin 1968, 5 and JAOS 90 (1970) 534.
1.24:15 — [snr]wt rather [sn]nt, see line 41.
1.24:17f. tn nkl yrh possibly tn nkl <l>y <y>rh (double
haplography).
1.24:14 — Read dgn tt[l], cf. Syria 47 (1970) 171.

- 1.24:28f. — *itr t* read *ygr* *itr* (29) <*t*>*rh lk* (haplography) which restores the parallelism: "He (Baal) will ask Astarte (his wife) for her permission (root *gr*). Pay the betrothal gift for yourself".
- 1.24:31 — *w n'n* read *wn 'n*.
- 1.39:6 — *tkmn* read *tkmn*, cf. *OrAnt* 17 (1978) 229.
- 1.41:50 — *šarn* read *šqrn*.
- 1.82:43 — *tiggn* read *tiggn*.
- 1.100:68 — *yšql* read *yšql*.
- 1.103:4 — *hwtm* read *hwtm*, cf. *OrAnt* 17 (1978) 125, n. 15.
- 1.103:46 — *yddl* (*yddl*) read simply *yd dll* // *yd hrdh*, cf. *Ugaritica* VII, 56, and for *dll*, AOAT 16, 168.
- 1.111 — According to the list on p. 458 KTU 1.111 = RS 24.255, but according to Milik, *Ugaritica* VII, 135ff. RS 24.255 is a different tablet which we did not encounter in KTU.
- 1.130 — According to p. 459 = RS 24.284, but according to Milik, art. cit., 140ff. RS 24.284 = the text published as KTU 1.111.
- 2.2 — A letter?
- 2.3 (note) — The join of lines 1-7 would seem to be confirmed by 2.8:4.
- 2.4:6 — Read perhaps *t'zz[k b'd]lm*, cf. 5.9:4-6.
- 2.4:7 — *w t[ltb . ly .š]lmk* — Correct? See Herdner, CTA, 146, nn. 1-2.
- 2.5 — A letter?
- 2.10:2 — *d . p[ly] read l . p[ly]*.
- 2.13:15 — *mlkt* perhaps *mlkn*, compare 2.13:18 *bn*.
- 2.13:16f. — *llqt* read *lhlqt*, cf. CTA, 140, n. 3; De Moor, JNES 24 (1965) 358; Hoffner, VTS 16, 132, n. 2, against UF 6 (1974) 461.
- 2.17:8 — *b'lyskn* read *b'ly skn* and see for this unusual sequence I Sam. 24:9; 26:19, etc., also KAI 200:1.
- 2.17:15 — *tst 'il* read *tst'il* and compare *yšta'l* in 2.70:12 and 2.71:10f.
- 2.19 — Rather a contract.
- 2.22 — A letter?
- 2.24:12f. — Read perhaps *rgm* [*ltb*] (13) [*l'bdk*], compare 2.12 and 2.64.
- 2.27-29 — Letters ??
- 2.31 — Letter?
- 2.32:10 — Restore [*d'is*] *t'ir*, cf. UF 7 (1975) 195, n. 208.
- 2.38:13 — There is insufficient reason to emend *mtt* into *mtt*, cf. Frankena, TLB 4, 35:25, 27, etc.
- 2.39 — Apparently the photographs *Ugaritica* V, 723ff. were not consulted. See Dijkstra, UF 8 (1976) 438 and De Moor, UF 11 (1979) 650f.
- 2.49 — Is the join certain?
- 2.52 — According to ESS a "Wirtschaftstext".
- 2.59-60 — These texts should have been included in rubric 7. It is possible that 2.60 is an epical fragment, cf. 1.3:IV. 31ff. and 17:VI.39ff.!
- 2.70:22 — *klt in* read *k l tn*.
- 2.70:27 — *yšb'l* read *yšb' l*.
- 2.71:14f. — Read *dbr . hmhkm* (15) *b(k)b'k 'al tst*, compare 2.30:22 and 2.38:26f.
- 3.1:6 — [*nhš*] read [*nhš*] = *nuhašše*, cf. 2.36:17 and gent. *ngty*; furthermore Coote, UF 6 (1974) 2f.
- 4.279:1 — The entire word *yn* is omitted, cf. PRU 2, 86.
- 4.728:1 — *'rb . b'l* read *'rk . b'l*, cf. *Ugaritica* VII, 144.
- 5.10 — According to p. 493 = RS 17.434, but according to Caquot, in: Caquot, Cohen (eds.), *Actes du Premier Congrès International de Linguistique Sémitique*, The

Hague/Paris 1974, 203, this is an unpublished letter. The editors corrected their error in UF 10 (1978) 420 without noting, however, that the edition of Caquot in *Ugaritica* VII, 392ff. deviates from theirs in many respects. Both Caquot and the German scholars failed to identify an obvious scribal omission in line 4: *hytn lp(n)* *špš*.

All taken together we believe that this edition of the main body of known alphabetic Ugaritic texts is a very useful and welcome tool for all those who are interested in the written heritage of the Canaanites. The German team deserves our gratitude for the impressive work they have produced. Nevertheless we regard this volume as a provisional edition. First of all the second volume containing the copies and photographs should be published without further delay. When this has been studied for some years and when the team has completed the Ugaritic dictionary in which the flaws of KTU 1 will probably have been suppressed, it is to be hoped that a revised edition of the latter will be possible.

Kampen,
August 1980

M. DIJKSTRA-J. C. DE MOOR-K. SPRONK

* * *

UGARITICA VII, avec la collaboration de Abou-l-Faradj Al-Ouche, A. Caquot, J.-C. et L. Courtois e.a. Paris, Librairie orientale Paul Geuthner, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1978 (28 cm, pp. vi + 564 with 68 plates) = Mission de Ras Shamra XVIII.

Recently an Italian colleague commented to me that in his opinion the Ebla discoveries would so eclipse the Ugaritic finds as to render them peripheral and would cause them to lose much of the attention they have enjoyed these past fifty years. I replied that I read the situation quite differently. With their syllabic writing the Ebla tablets would render the unvocalized Ugaritic documents more intelligible and consequently more important for Semitic philology and Near Eastern studies in general. For instance, on pp. 147-148 of this volume, M. Dietrich and O. Loretz in their short study "Die keilalphabetische Krugaufschrift RS 25.318", maintain that *ršp gn* signifies "Reschef des Schutzes" from the root *gnn*, "to protect", but the frequent occurrence of *ra-sa-ap gu-nu*^{ki}, "Rashap of Gunu", in the Ebla tablets reveals that Ugar. *gn* should be read *gunu* from a middle weak root such as *gwn* witnessed in the biblical personal name *gūnī* (Gen 46:24), which some have related to the root found in Aram. *gawwēn*, "to tinge, dye". Given that the textile industry was the largest in volume at Ebla and that the economic texts often mention multi-colored garments, a toponym reflecting the dyeing industry makes sense in the cultural framework of Canaan as represented by Ugarit and Ebla. See M. Dahood and G. Pettinato, "Ugaritic *ršp gn* and Eblaite *rasap gunu(m)*^{kt}" in *Orientalia* NS 46 (1977) 230-232. I am aware that though *Ugaritica* VII bears the date 1978, the articles were written years before, so that the authors in question could not have known of our proposal.

In her detailed edition of "Nouveaux textes alphabétiques de Ras Shamra — XXIV^e campagne, 1961" (pp. 1-74), A. Herdner correctly observes that *trt* has been identified with Heb. *tirōš* and that a deity is intended, but she is unable to decide whether *trt* is male or female (p. 5). In a list of equivalences from Ebla the Sumerian deity *baḥar-ak* is equated with Eblaite *te-ri-iš-tu* whose feminine ending reveals the gender of the deity. Another instance, thus, of Ebla illuminating Ugaritic and making it more useful and relevant for biblical and Near Eastern studies. For the list of divine equivalences, see G. Pettinato, *Ebla: Un impero inciso nell'argilla* (Milano: Mondadori, 1979), p. 281. On the same page Herdner relates Anath's epithet *hbly* to the root meaning "to destroy", an etymology that seems to be supported by the Eblaite personal name *ha-bil*, an apocopted form in which the divine element is missing. The text is 2 rev. VII 21 in G. Pettinato, *Materiali epigrafici di Ebla*, 2 (Napoli, 1980). In *MEE*, 2, 43 obv. IV 3 there is a formally and semantically similar PN *qā-til* which, like *ha-bil*, expresses the destructive potential of the divinity. Incidentally, those who consider the few occurrences of *qāṭal*, "to slay", in Hebrew as Aramaisms must now come to terms with Eblaite *qā-til*.

On p. 6 Herdner seeks to interpret some PNN through Arabic and Akkadian etymologies. Thus for her *ygbhd* means "Hadd hears" (Arab. *ajāba*, "to reply"); *yrgbb'l* signifies "Baal is honored" (Arab. *rajjaba*, "to honor"); *ydbil*, "Il speaks" (Akk. *dabābu*); *yrgmil*, "Il gets irritated" (Arab. *rgm* V, "to be irritated"). In the last instance, however, she does consider the possibility that *rgm* may equal Heb. *r'm*, "to thunder". That *yrgmb'l* signifies "Baal thunders" is clear from the subject of the verbal form, and that *yrgmil* means "Il thunders" becomes apparent from comparison with Ps 29:3, *'ēl hakkābōd hir'im*, "the El of Glory thundered".

What is emerging from the study of the Ebla documents is the delineation of Canaan as a cultural entity linguistically and religiously distinct from Mesopotamia and Arabia, so that to appeal to Akkadian and Arabic etymologies today becomes very hazardous. I have always considered that approach fraught with danger and the Ebla discoveries merely reinforce my conviction. The same discourse obtains for the contributions of John Gray, "Canaanite Religion and Old Testament Study in the light of New Alphabetic Texts from Ras Shamra" (pp. 79-108), and of William Johnstone, "Lexical and Comparative Philological Contributions to Ugaritic of the Mythological Texts of the 24th Campaign at Ras Shamra" (pp. 109-119). Both these studies rely too heavily on Arabic cognates that will surely be upset by the new finds from Tell Mardikh. In other words, sound methodology today requires that solutions to Ugaritic problems first be sought in Canaanite, that is, in Hebrew, Phoenician, Moabite, and now Eblaite, before having recourse to Arabic and Akkadian. Instead of rendering *yrgbb'l* by "Baal is honored" one should prefer a derivation from the root witnessed in Heb. *regeb*, "clod, glebe", especially in view of Herdner's sensible remarks on p. 24 concerning the phrase *š' rgt* where she cites Heb. *reḡābīm*, "clods", in Job 21:33 and 38:38 and asks, "S'agirait-il ici d'un vase contenant des mottes de terre végétale?" In the PN *yrgbb'l* the verbal form *yrgb* may mean that Baal is the clod or that he causes clods, should the form

be *piel* or *hiphil*. In any case, it helps establish the reading of the Ebla PN *ir-kab-du-lum* which most immediately relate to *rkb*, "to ride", but when the true meaning of *du-lum* emerges, then the root appears to be *rgb*. It is the Ugaritic PNN *iytlm* and *ibrtlm*, both of which reveal the existence of a god *tlm*, Heb. *telem*, "Furrow", that help identify the reading of *du-lum* as *tu-lum*, "Furrow", an agricultural deity of whom the verb *rgb* may aptly be predicated in the Ebla PN *ir-kab-du-lum/yir-gab-tu-lum*, "Furrow is a clod". Cf. Job 31:38 which describes the furrows as weeping, hence as alive.

In the recurring phrase *š šrp wšlmm kmm* (p. 16), plural *kmm* may well be a byform of *kwm*, from the root *kwy*, "to scorch, burn". The balance with *šrp*, "burned", recalls Prov 6:27-28 which pair *tiššārāpnāh* and *tikkāwēnāh*. In her edition of RS 29.93, "Lettre de deux serviteurs à leur maître" (pp. 75-78), Herdner has difficulty with lines 25-27 because she misconstrues *lšlm* as an infinitival phrase "to pay", instead of taking it simply as adverbial "safely"; cf. Gen 37:4, *w'elō' yāk'elū dabb'ro l'sālōm*, "They could not speak to him peaceably". Cf. also Exod 4:18, *l'ēk l'sālōm*, "Go in peace!" where the use with the verb of motion resembles that of Ugar. *ymgy lšlm*. In the light of the biblical usage the Ugaritic sentence now reads and translates, *w kymgy bdk lšlm mk*, "and when your servant(s) reaches you safely". For adverbial *l* in Ugaritic, see CTA 4 I 27-29.

John Gray follows a widely held opinion based upon an Arabic etymology when rendering *trrt* "well-watered" in the recurring phrase *aršh rbt waršh trrt*, "Aršh the great, even Aršh, the well-watered" (p. 83). Ebla now weighs in with evidence to support the translation of *trrt* as "small" based upon the Egyptian and Akkadian cognates *šrr*, Heb. *šrr*, "to belittle". In the geographical atlas from Ebla published by G. Pettinato in *Orientalia* NS 47 (1978) 50-73, in col. VII 19-20 one encounters the pair of cities *il-tā-num-maḥ* (AL)^{ki} and *il-tā-num-tur*^{ki}. The former means "Iltanum the Great" and the latter "Iltanum the Small". It appears that Sumerian *maḥ* answers to Ugar. *rbt* while *tur* corresponds to *trrt*. Since Sumerian *tur* means "small", it seems to sustain the translation of *trrt* as "small". This does not, of course, settle the question, but given the continuity of Canaanite culture during the third and second millennia, the Ebla evidence should not be overlooked.

The Ebla bilingual vocabulary which equates Sumerian *hul*, "evil", with Eblaite *ba-ri-um* suggests that *ltn bīn brh* be understood as "Lotan the evil serpent" rather than as "Lotan the primeval serpent" (p. 93); see most recently E. Zurro in *Biblica* 61 (1980) 412-415.

In his discussion of *bknr wltb btp w msltm*, T. Johnstone makes the sound suggestion (p. 111) that since *tp* and *msltm* are percussion instruments, *knr* and *tlb* should designate string instruments. Biblical *kinnôr* will account for *knr*, but what etymology will produce the meaning congenial to *tlb*? Perhaps *šālap*, "to pluck" (Ps 129:6) will provide the needed underpinning. Variants such as *ybk* and *yppy* show that *tlb* and *šlp* may be non-phonemic variants of the same root. Less felicitous is Johnstone's derivation of *ylmn* from Arab. *lāma*, "to reprove" (p. 110) and his version of *ylmn htm*, "he reproves with the rod". This cannot pass in view of CTA 2 IV 16, *ylm ktp zbl ym*, "He smites the shoulders of Prince Sea", where *ylm*

derives from *hlm*, "to smite". As stated above, one would be well advised to eschew Arabic etymologies as much as possible since there is such a wealth of Canaanite lexical material at our disposal, thanks to recent epigraphic discoveries at Tell Mardikh, Ugarit and Ras Ibn Hani. On p. 112 *šb't brqm tmmt isr r't* should probably be rendered "Seven lightning bolts, eight storehouses of evil winds". In several biblical passages such as Jer 1:14; 4:6 and 25:32, *rā'ah* alone connotes "evil wind", and in the Ugaritic context this fits nicely.

On pp. 121-134 A. Caquot presents a valuable edition of "La lettre de la reine Puduhepa", which is fragmentary and hence difficult to interpret. In lines 13 and 19 of fragments B and D (p. 130) we have what looks like a negative command, *p at mk tškḥ*, "but you, do not forget!" Caquot was stumped by consonantal *mk* which may be parsed as the emphatic negative *mā* followed by the enclitic particle *kī*, which is always emphatic in function. In other words, a doubly emphatic negative; on the double negative *mā'ên* in Hebrew and Eblaite, see M. Dahood in *CBQ* 37 (1975) 458-459. Obviously, the emphatic negative must not be confused with the interjectional homograph *mk*, "behold!"

Other studies which render this volume indispensable include C. Jacquiot, "Résultat de l'examen de six échantillons de bois provenant des ruines de Ras Shamra" (pp. 155-159); Thérèse Poulain, "Études de la faune, de quelques restes humaines et de coquillages provenant de Ras Shamra (sondages 1955 à 1960)" (pp. 161-180); J. C. Courtois avec la collaboration de Liliane Courtois, "Corpus céramique de Ras Shamra-Ugarit: Niveaux historiques d'Ugarit, Bronze Moyen et Bronze Récent (deuxième partie)" (pp. 191-370); C. F. A. Schaeffer, "Remarques sur les ancres en pierre d'Ugarit" (pp. 371-381); *idem*, "Ein Steinanker vom Mittelmeer auf der Heuneburg?" (pp. 383-388).

All those who have contributed to this volume and have seen it through the press, despite numerous vicissitudes, deserve our gratitude.

Pontifical Biblical Institute
Rome, October 1980

MITCHELL DAHOOD

* *

Kjell AARTUN, *Die Partikeln des Ugaritischen*. 2. Teil. *Präpositionen, Konjunktionen*. Kevelaer, Verlag Butzon & Bercker, u. Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 1978 (30 × 21, x + 177 pp.) = *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 21/2. Preis: DM. 102,-. ISBN 3-7666-9049-3 (Butzon & Bercker) u. 3-7887-0567-1 (Neukirchener Verlag).

Le second tome de l'ouvrage de K. Aartun sur les particules ugaritiques est consacré aux prépositions (pp. 1-62) et aux conjonctions (pp. 63-98). Près de la moitié du volume est réservée aux index et à la bibliographie. Si l'index des mots ugaritiques et d'autres mots sémitiques (pp. 99-118) se rapporte au second tome seul, l'index des passages cités (pp. 119-143) porte, en revanche, sur les deux tomes, indiqués chaque fois au moyen des chiffres I

et II. La bibliographie (pp. 145-157) et la liste d'abréviations (pp. 159-164) sont suivies d'une série d'additions et de corrections apportées respectivement au tome I (pp. 165-171) et au tome II (pp. 172-177).

L'auteur cite les textes ugaritiques d'après les numéros de C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, au lieu de renvoyer au *Corpus* ou à l'*editio princeps*. Ceci ne facilite guère la comparaison de ses transcriptions avec les copies de Ch. Virolleaud et avec les nouvelles lectures recueillies dans le *Corpus*. La numérotation différente de *KTU*, qui n'était pas encore paru au moment où l'auteur travaillait à son manuscrit, a compliqué depuis lors la situation d'une manière, à notre sens, exagérée et inutile.

La consultation du travail de K. Aartun n'est pas facilitée, non plus, par l'alignement compact de tous les passages relevés dans son fichier. Une autre présentation typographique aurait probablement pu remédier à cet inconvénient. Un choix limité d'exemples typiques, avec renvoi à d'autres textes, aurait du reste suffi pour étayer l'étude des valeurs sémantiques des prépositions et conjonctions passées en revue.

Parmi les prépositions, l'auteur distingue celles qui dérivent d'un morphème (pp. 1-50) et celles qui se rattachent à un sémantème (pp. 50-62). Au premier groupe appartiennent les prépositions *b* (pp. 1-26), *k* (pp. 26-31), *l* (pp. 31-49) et *m* (pp. 49-50), ainsi que leurs formes augmentées. Le second groupe comprend les mots *'air* (pp. 50-51), *bn* (pp. 51-52), *b'd* (p. 52), *'d* (pp. 52-53), *'l* (pp. 53-56), *'m* (pp. 56-60), *qdm* (p. 60), *tht* (pp. 61-62) et *yd* (p. 62). La même distinction s'applique aux conjonctions. Les conjonctions de coordination *w* (pp. 63-86), *p* (pp. 86-88), *'ap* (pp. 88-90) et *'u* (pp. 90-91), les conjonctions de subordination *'im* (p. 95), *hm* (pp. 95-96), *'id* et *kd* (p. 97), ainsi que la conjonction bivalente *k(y)* (pp. 92-95), dérivent de morphèmes. La conjonction de subordination *'d* est jusqu'à présent la seule qui se rattache à un sémantème (pp. 97-98).

Les analyses de l'auteur pourraient donner lieu à une longue série de remarques de détail qui porteraient sur des textes précis. Cela dépasserait cependant les limites d'une recension. Nous nous bornerons donc à quelques observations de portée plus générale.

L'auteur s'efforce de déterminer la valeur sémantique distincte des formes simples et augmentées des prépositions qu'il analyse. Ceci est une approche méthodique et correcte au stade heuristique du travail. L'esprit de système a cependant amené l'auteur à présenter séparément l'emploi des formes augmentées, alors même qu'elles n'expriment aucune nuance particulière. C'est notamment le cas de *b-m* (pp. 24-25), *k-m* (pp. 29-31), *l-m* et *l-n* (pp. 48-49), *'m-m* et *'m-n* (pp. 59-60). Faut-il en conclure que les enclitiques *-m* et *-n* avaient perdu leur fonction originelle? Par ailleurs, doit-on traiter séparément de *-m* et de *-n* ou les considérer comme des variations phonétiques d'une seule et même particule, ce qui simplifierait déjà le problème? Voilà des questions qui demandaient une étude plus poussée et auxquelles nous aimerions trouver une réponse.

L'on notera, en tout cas, que l'existence de *b-n* en ugaritique (pp. 25-26) est sujette à caution. Les seuls cas allégués sont *bn.glmṭ* et *bn.ṭlmṭ* (CTA 4 = KTU 1.4, col. VII,54-55 et CTA 8 = KTU 1.8, lignes 7-8), que l'auteur traduit «dans l'obscurité» et «dans les ténèbres».

Ces expressions peuvent cependant se comprendre comme «fils de la jeune femme» et «fils de celle aux cheveux noirs». Le parallélisme est parfait et *Salimtu(m)*, «celle aux cheveux noirs», est un nom propre féminin bien attesté en akkadien. Ici, c'est une épithète de la mère de Gupan et Ugar, appelée *'mmym* (CTA 8,8 = KTU 1.8,8), nom que l'on rapprochera de *ḥa-am-me me-e* (Hh XIV,345 = MSL VIII/2, p. 38, 345), peut-être «méduse» (AHw, p. 318a), et que l'on décomposera en *'m-mym* (et non en *'mm-ym*). Il est vrai que l'auteur peut se prévaloir du parallèle *bglmt* (CTA 4 = KTU 1.4, col. VII,54), mais l'assimilation ou l'aphérèse du *n* de *bn*, «fils», est attestée dans les anciennes inscriptions gyblites (cf. J. Friedrich-W. Röllig, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*, § 99b) et *bglmt* pourrait être ainsi un exemple intéressant d'une orthographe phonétique (cf. UT, p. 373, n° 481). Bien sûr, il faut alors admettre que *bn* est employé au singulier, mais ceci ne signifie pas pour autant que «Gupan et Ugar» est un nom double porté par un seul personnage: les deux épithètes *bn.glmṭ* et *bn.ṭlmṭ* peuvent se référer respectivement au premier et au second messager de Baal (cf. H. L. Ginsberg, *BASOR* 95, 1944, pp. 25-30).

Comme on le voit, l'existence de la préposition augmentée *b-n* dépend, en définitive, de l'interprétation de CTA 8 = KTU 1.8, lignes 6-9. A notre sens, ce passage n'est intelligible que dans le cas où *bn* y signifie «fils»:

'n.gpn 'w 'ugr «Ils répondent, Gupan et Ugar,
bn.glmṭ 'mmym fils de la jeune femme, de la Méduse,
bn.ṭlmṭ 'rmt.pr't fils de celle aux cheveux noirs, illustre
par (sa) chevelure».

Sans entrer ici dans une discussion de problèmes de mythologie comparée, l'on ne peut s'empêcher de noter que le motif de la chevelure de Méduse se retrouve plus tard en Grèce, de même que celui des deux fils de Méduse, dont le plus connu, Pégase, devait entrer au service du dieu de l'orage (cf. Hésiode, *Théogonie*, 276ss.).

Une autre préposition, dont l'existence est plus que problématique, est *m* qui correspondrait à l'hébreu *min*, *mē* (pp. 49-50). L'auteur en relève plusieurs attestations qui se ramènent en définitive à l'emploi du mot *mrḥqm* ou *mrḥqtm* dans la formule de salutation de plusieurs lettres, ainsi qu'au mot *m'ab* de la phrase *w'um tšmh m'ab* (PRU II,15 = KTU 2.16, lignes 10-11). Le *m* initial de *mrḥqm* et de *mrḥqtm* est cependant la préformante nominale *m-* des noms de lieu, tout comme en hébreu et en araméen. Le *-m* final est en revanche la désinence du locatif adverbial, analogue au *-um* de l'akkadien (W. von Soden, *GAG*, § 66), dont l'usage fut progressivement supplanté par celui des prépositions *ina* et *ana*. Une évolution semblable s'est produite dans les langues sémitiques de la Syro-Palestine. L'hébreu *m-mrḥq* correspond donc approximativement à l'ugaritique *mrḥq-m* et *mrḥqt-m*, mais la préposition *mē/min* y a pris la place de la désinence locative *-m*. On ne peut cependant pas dire que le sens des deux tournures est identique: *mrḥq-m* et *mrḥqt-m* signifient «au loin», tandis que *m-mrḥq* et *m-rḥ(w)q* veulent dire «de loin». C'est une légère nuance dont il faut néanmoins tenir compte.

Le cas de la phrase *w'um tšmh m'ab* est différent. L'auteur a certainement raison de récuser le recours à une correction textuelle (*m'ad*) que d'aucuns ont préconisée. Il n'a cependant pas remarqué que le nom propre *m'ab* est encore attesté à Ugarit sous la forme *Ma-a'-a-[b]i*

du génitif (PRU VI,45,8). Ce nom, qu'il convient d'analyser comme *Mā'abu*, «qu'est (devenu) le père?», est un «nom de substitution» que l'on rapprochera de la formule *mā'immēkā* d'Ézéchiel 19,2, «qu'est (devenue) ta mère?» Le verbe *šmh* est donc utilisé au piél avec un complément direct, comme souvent en hébreu: «et que (ma) mère fasse se réjouir Mā'abu».

L'existence d'une conjonction *kd* est pareillement sujette à caution, car le *k* du seul texte cité à l'appui (p. 97) est très incertain (CTA 3,E,11 = KTU 1.3, col. V,3). La question se pose aussi de savoir si *by* (p. 24) et *ky* (p. 94) sont réellement des formes augmentées d'un morphème *-y* ou tout simplement des exemples d'une *scriptio plena* de *bi* et *ki*. Ces formes ne sont attestées que dans des lettres, dont la plupart furent trouvées dans le four de la cour V du Grand Palais (PRU V,59-61 = KTU 2.38, 39, 46). On sait que ces tablettes datent de l'extrême fin d'Ugarit.

Ce problème nous amène à mettre aussi en doute la signification que l'auteur paraît accorder aux transcriptions syllabiques *bi-i* et *le-e* des prépositions *b* et *l* (p. 1, n. 1, et p. 31, n. 294). En effet, ces graphies ne semblent pas avoir pour but d'indiquer une voyelle longue, qui serait ici surprenante; elles précisent plutôt la qualité de la voyelle. On sait en effet que les signes BI et LI peuvent se lire respectivement *bi* ou *bé* et *li* ou *le*. Les signes monophonémiques *i* et *e* font dès lors office de compléments phonétiques.

L'auteur ne prête que rarement attention aux syntagmes qui constituent pourtant une des données essentielles dans l'étude des prépositions. Aussi sépare-t-il l'emploi du syntagme *škn l* dans PRU II,12 = KTU 2.23, lignes 23-24, où il le traduit par «imposer à» (p. 45), de l'emploi du même syntagme dans PRU II,143 = KTU 4.280, ligne 14, où il le rend par «réserver pour» (p. 47). Il ne fait pas de doute que cette dernière traduction convient aux deux textes. Le recours aux syntagmes se remarque surtout quand une préposition est employée dans une «acception impropre», comme dans CTA 4 = KTU 1.4, col. III,17 (p. 25 et n. 241). Mais la lecture *bm* est ici incertaine et il faut probablement lire *dm tn dbḥm šn'a b'l*, «car Baal abomine deux (sortes) de banquets». On retrouve la conjonction *d* renforcée par *-m* dans CTA 3,C,17 = KTU 1.3, col. III,20 et dans CTA 17 = KTU 1.17, col. VI,34.

L'ouvrage de K. Aartun fera avant tout office de concordance raisonnée des textes comportant une particule. La compréhension même des particules et de leur fonction dans la phrase exigera des études ultérieures. En particulier, l'examen des prépositions devra tenir compte d'une manière systématique de tous les syntagmes et les distinguer, dans la mesure du possible, de l'emploi des prépositions ou des locutions prépositives qui introduisent un complément circonstanciel. On évitera de la sorte la distinction — peu grammaticale — entre un «sens propre» et un «sens impropre» des particules. Souhaitons que l'auteur poursuive ses recherches dans ce sens.

Leuven, septembre 1980

E. LIPIŃSKI

SYRIË-GODSDIENSTGESCHIEDENIS

Monika HÖRIG, *Dea Syria*. Studien zur religiösen Tradition der Fruchtbarkeitsgöttin in Vorderasien, Kevelaer, Verlag Butzon & Bercker — Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 1979 (22 cm., xvi + 334 SS. und 9 Tafel) = *Alter Orient und Altes Testament*, Band 208. ISBN 3-7666-9060-4 (B. & B.); 3-7887-0604-X (Neukirchener Verlag).

Eine in den sechziger Jahren im nordsyrisch-kommanischen Grenzgebiet entdeckte kleine Kultstatue einer zwischen zwei Löwen thronenden Göttin, die sich nun im Museum von Gaziantep in der Türkei befindet, dient der Verfasserin als Ausgangspunkt für eine ausgedehnte Studie zur Tradition der Fruchtbarkeitsgöttin in Vorderasien, die hauptsächlich ikonographischer Art ist. Nach einer allgemeinen Einleitung über die verschiedenen Kulturen, die ihren Einfluss im nordsyrischen Raum geltend gemacht haben, in welcher die Verfasserin mit Recht die religiöse wie politische Verschiedenheit der betreffenden Gegend benachdruckt, die ganz im Einklang ist mit ihrem Charakter als typisches Durchzugsgebiet, folgt eine detaillierte Beschreibung der Kultstatue. Sie stellt eine zwischen zwei Löwen thronende Göttin mit einer Mauerkrone dar. Sie trägt einen Halsschmuck mit einem muschelförmigen Anhänger; ihr Ärmelchiton ist mit skorpionartigen Fibeln auf den Schultern gerafft. Die Statue ist ziemlich stark beschädigt, sodass nicht mehr festzustellen ist, ob und was die Göttin in ihren Händen hatte. Verglichen mit der Beschreibung, die Lukian vom Kultbild in Hierapolis gibt, wären das vielleicht Szepter und Spindel. Den Hauptteil der Untersuchung bilden oft weitausholende Studien über die ikonographischen Merkmale der auf das Ende des zweiten Jahrhunderts n. Chr. zu datierenden Statue, die im Schnittpunkt verschiedenartiger Traditionen stand. Der Reihe nach wird die symbolische Bedeutung der Löwen, der Mauerkrone, der Skorpionartigen Fibeln und des Halsschmucks mit der Muschel erörtert, wobei die Verfasserin den Leser unter Aufwand einer ausgedehnten Materialsammlung aus mehr als zwei Jahrtausenden sowohl zum griechischen als kleinasiatischen, mesopotamischen und syrischen Kulturbereich führt. Hier liegt der bleibende Wert dieser Arbeit, die als Materialsammlung von Nutzen bleibt, auch wenn man in Einzelpunkten anderer Meinung sein kann und vielleicht zu anderen Schlussfolgerungen gelangen wird.

Die in der Nähe von Kilis, dem antiken Ciliza, aufgefundene Statue weist eine grosse Ähnlichkeit mit dem hierapolitanischen Kultbild der Dea Syria, jedenfalls in der Beschreibung von Lukian, auf, sodass es von vorneherein klar war, dass es sich um eine lokale Erscheinung der grossen syrischen Göttin handelt, die an und für sich eine synkretistische Gestalt war. Wichtig ist, dass die Statue in Gaziantep nicht dem Kultbild in Hierapolis entspricht, sondern eigene Merkmale hat, wie die Skorpionen und die Muschel. So zeigt sich auch hier, dass in jedem lokalen Heiligtum eigene Traditionen wirksam waren und dass die Künstler eine gewisse Freiheit hatten in der Kombination der vielen vorhandenen ikonographischen Motive, die niemals kanonischen Wert bekommen haben. Die Schlussfolgerung, dass die Statue die Dea Syria, wie sie in einem örtlichen Heiligtum verehrt wurde, darstellt, ist un-

bestreitbar, und liefert wiederum ein Beweis, wie weitverbreitet jener Kult war. Wenn im folgenden zu Einzelpunkten andere Meinungen oder Hypothesen vorgetragen werden, und das Material noch ein wenig vermehrt wird, soll das als ein Diskussionsbeitrag betrachtet werden, der den fundamentalen Wert dieser Arbeit keineswegs verringert, sondern nur herausstreicht wie komplex und vielschichtig die Probleme auf diesem Gebiet sind.

Die Verfasserin nimmt häufig Bezug auf die bekannte Abhandlung Lukian von Samosatas über die Dea Syria, fast die einzige literarische Quelle aus griechisch-römischer Zeit zur Kenntnis eines einheimischen Syrischen Kults. Leider hat sie R. A. Oden, *Studies in Lucian's De Syria Dea*, Harvard Semitic Monographs 15, 1977, nicht zur Kenntnis genommen, der m.E. überzeugend nachgewiesen hat, dass es keinen Grund gibt, Lukian's Verfasserschaft anzuzweifeln (siehe u.a. S. 3, Anm. 2). Ebenfalls fehlt die grundlegende Studie von A. Dupont-Sommer/L. Robert, *La déesse de Hiéropolis Castabala (Cilicie)*, Paris 1964, die einen lokalen Kult aus derselben Gegend und derselben Zeit umfassend erörtert.

Wenn Dr. Hörig in der Einleitung das Aramäische erwähnt, das erstmals am Anfang des ersten Jahrtausends v. Chr. in Nordsyrien in den sogenannten altaramäischen Inschriften als sprachliche Grösse in Erscheinung tritt, betont sie mit Recht die Wichtigkeit dieser Sprache für den wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Austausch im syrisch-mesopotamischen Raum. Es ist aber höchst zweifelhaft, ob man von einer aramäischen Religion als Sondererscheinung reden kann. Das charakteristische der aramäisch redenden Stämme war, dass sie die Kultur der sesshaften Bevölkerung teilweise übernahmen, sodass es schwierig, ja fast unmöglich ist, festzustellen, was zu der eigenen kulturellen Tradition der einwandernden Stämme gehörte, eine Frage, die eng mit dem Problem der genauen Stellung des Aramäischen innerhalb der semitischen Sprachen verknüpft ist.

Die Verfasserin nimmt vielfach Bezug auf Dura-Europos, wo Statuen und Reliefs aufgefunden worden sind, die dem Kultbild in Gaziantep nah verwandt sind oder die Bedeutung der ikonographischen Motive aufhellen können. Für die Skulptur aus Dura-Europos soll noch verwiesen werden auf die Arbeit von Susan B. Downey, *The Stone and Plaster Sculpture, The Excavations at Dura-Europos Final Report III, Part I, Fasc. 2, Monumenta Archaeologica* Vol. 5, The University of California, Los Angeles 1977, die S. 153ff. die Ikonographie der Göttinnen erörtert.

S. 41f. diskutiert Dr. Hörig die umstrittene Bedeutung des $\kappa\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ der zum Schmuck der Atargatis gehört (Lukian, *De Syria Dea*, 20). Hier vermisst man die diesbezügliche Arbeit von C. Bonner, $\kappa\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\iota\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ and the Saltire of Aphrodite, *AJPh* 70, 1949, 1-6, der überzeugend nachgewiesen hat, dass der $\kappa\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ Teil der Kriegsausrüstung der Göttin war (siehe auch: Y. Yadin, *Symbols of Deities at Zinjirli, Carthage and Hazor, Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck*, ed. J. A. Sanders, N.Y. 1970, 199-231).

S. 51ff. erörtert Dr. Hörig die symbolische Bedeutung der Löwen, die Atargatis flankieren, und erwähnt die Verbindung der Löwen mit der Sonne, die z.B. in römischen Quellen bezeugt ist. Es ist durchaus möglich, dass diese Beziehung zur Sonne lediglich auf der Gleichheit der Farbe beruht, die Löwe und Sonne aufweisen, und dass

die Erklärungen, die Macrobius und Aelian dafür anführen, reine Rationalisierungen sind. Obwohl der Löwe im Alten Orient oft einen apotropäischen Charakter hat, meint Dr. Hörig, dass die Löwen als attributive Tiere nur aus der Funktion der Dea Syria als Potnia Theroon erklärt werden müssen, die sie mit Kybele gemeinsam hatte. In diesem Zusammenhang darf auf einen mehr als 3.60 m. hohen Orthostat hingewiesen werden, der im Heiligtum der palmyrenischen Allât aufgefunden worden ist. Er stellt einen Löwen mit einer Antilope zwischen den Beinen dar, der so die Asylfunktion des Heiligtums symbolisiert und ursprünglich beim Eingang des Heiligtums aufgestellt war. Es scheint mir unzweifelhaft, dass der Löwe hier einen apotropäischen Charakter hat, den auch die Dea Syria aufweist, mit welcher Allât jedenfalls in der Ikonographie grosse Übereinstimmung zeigte (siehe: Drijvers, *De Matre inter Leones sedente. Iconography and character of the Arab goddess Allât, Hommages Vermaseren* I, Leiden 1978, 331-351; *idem*, *A New Sanctuary at Palmyra, Archaeology* 31, 1978, Fasc. 3, 60ff.). In diesem Sinne sind auch Dr. Hörig's Darlegungen auf S. 72f. zu nuancieren. Die Verfasserin scheint auf S. 79 einem Missverständnis unterlegen zu sein, wenn sie meint, dass ich die Identifikation der Allât mit der Göttin Artemis auf die griechische Artemis beziehe. Die Ikonographie der Allât ist teilweise von Atargatis übernommen worden, die, wie bekannt, der Artemis gleichgestellt wurde. Mit Artemis ist in diesem Zusammenhang daher immer Atargatis gemeint; für weitere Beispiele siehe: Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs at Edessa*, EPRO 82, Leiden 1980, 117ff. Wenn Dr. Hörig auf den S. 111ff. die Ikonographie der hierapolitanischen Atargatis erörtert, erwähnt sie S. 114ff. auch die Münzen aus dieser Stadt, die schon zur Zeit der Priesterdynastie des 'Abd-Hadad geprägt wurden. Leider kennt sie nicht den wichtigen Aufsatz von H. Seyrig, *Le monnayage de Hiéropolis de Syrie à l'époque d'Alexandre, Revue Numismatique* VI^e série, 13, 1971, 11-21, der für die Interpretation der Münzbilder grundlegend ist. Für den Kult der Atargatis in Palmyra gründet Dr. Hörig sich auf den bekannten Aufsatz von M. Rostovtzeff, *Hadad and Atargatis at Palmyra, AJA* 1933, 58-63, aber kennt nicht die Richtigstellung seiner falschen Deutungen durch H. Seyrig, *Le culte de Bêl et de Baalshamîn à Palmyre, Syria* 14, 1933, 238. Anm. 1. Überdies scheint es angebrachter, für die palmyrenischen Tesserae den Katalog von H. Ingholt-H. Seyrig-J. Starcky, *Recueil des tessères de Palmyre*, Paris 1955 zu verwenden und sich nicht nur auf R. du Mesnil du Buisson, *Les tessères et les monnaies de Palmyre*, Paris 1962, zu stützen, der oft phantastische und philologisch unhaltbare Deutungen bietet. Wenn Dr. Hörig überdies behauptet, dass in Palmyra kein eigenes Heiligtum der Atargatis nachgewiesen werden konnte (S. 117), ist das nicht richtig. Das Heiligtum der Atargatis ist sehr wohl belegt in einer Inschrift aufgefunden im Heiligtum von Baalshamên, die das $\iota\epsilon\rho\nu\nu$ 'Atargatis' erwähnt; siehe: C. Dunant, *Nouvelle inscription caravanière de Palmyre, Museum Helveticum* 13, 1956, 216-223. Für die Etymologie des Namens Atargatis (S. 119ff.) ist noch auf den Umstand zu verweisen, dass das theophore Element 't' oder 'th' Bestandteil von vielen Personennamen im syrischen Bereich ist, sodass nicht ohne weiteres angenommen werden darf, dass Atargatis eine Fusion von Aštart und 'Anat ist. Wenn Dr. Hörig den astralen Charakter der Aštarte erwähnt

(S. 123), kann verwiesen werden auf den wichtigen Aufsatz von J. Henninger, *Zum Problem der Venussterngottheit bei den Semiten, Anthropos* 71, 1976, 129-168, der für den ganzen von ihr erörterten Problembereich aufschlussreich ist.

In ihrer Besprechung des symbolischen Wertes der Mauerkrone unterscheidet Dr. Hörig zwischen der Stadttyche und der Stadtpersonifikation (S. 139), obwohl namentlich der letzte Typus schwer vom ersten abgegrenzt werden kann, wie sie zu Recht betont. Es scheint mir daher angebracht, den Unterschied gar nicht in der Systematik zu verwenden, weil er speziell im semitischen Bereich nicht funktionell ist. Wenn die Tyche mit der Stadtgottheit verbunden wurde und beide zusammen dargestellt werden, handelt es sich meistens um seleukidische Stadtgründungen, wo die seleukidische Tyche, die auf den antiochenischen Typus zurückgeht, mit einer einheimischen Gottheit verbunden wurde. Wenn Dr. Hörig in diesem Zusammenhang erwähnt, dass auch Artemis als Stadttyche in Gerasa begegnet, sollte doch in Betracht genommen werden, dass es sich hier wahrscheinlich um die kleinasiatische-semitische Artemis, d.h. Atargatis handelt (siehe: Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs at Edessa*, 118).

Bei der Besprechung des semitischen Äquivalents der Tyche, des Gad, ist zu verweisen auf J. Starcky, *Gennéas (l'inscription), Syria* 26, 1949, 248-257 und auf D. Schlumberger, *Le prétendu dieu Gennéas, MUSJ* 46, 1970-71, 209-222, die beide nachgewiesen haben, dass Gennéas dem arabischen ginn gleich ist und eine Gottheit meint. Daher ist die Erwähnung der gny in der palmyrenischen Inschrift auf einem Relief aus Khirbet Farwane (und in anderen palmyrenischen Inschriften!) nicht den römischen Genii gleich, wie Dr. Hörig S. 171 behauptet, sondern damit werden in diesem arabischen Milieu einfach die lokalen Gottheiten gemeint, wie aus derselben Inschrift klar hervorgeht. Es handelt sich also ganz sicher nicht um eine römisch beeinflusste Motivgabe.

Nach einer ausführlichen Erörterung der möglichen symbolischen Bedeutungen der Skorpione entscheidet Dr. Hörig sich für eine astrologische Bedeutung, die in Zusammenhang mit dem Zeitpunkt der Stadtgründung bzw. der Neugründung stand. Das scheint mir zweifelhaft. Dr. Hörig bezieht sich selber auf ein Relief aus Hatra, das den Gott Nergal zusammen mit Atargatis darstellt (S. 217: 'das sogenannte Kerberosrelief') und betont die Parallelen für das Halskollier der Göttin, die sich in hatrenischen Skulpturen finden. Der Gott Nergal auf dem Relief aus Hatra hat Löwen und Skorpionen als Attribute, die in diesem kulturellen Milieu fast immer eine schützende und übelabwehrende Funktion hatten, wie Dr. Hörig selber S. 212 darlegt (siehe: Drijvers, *Mithra at Hatra? Some remarks on the problem of the Irano-Mesopotamian syncretism, Études mithriaques, Acta Iranica, Textes et Mémoires* IV, 1978, 171ff. für eine Interpretation des Nergal Reliefs). Das scheint mir mehr in Übereinstimmung mit dem ganzen Charakter der Statue aus Gaziantep zu sein, die als Stadttyche eine glücksfördernde und übelabwehrende Hauptfunktion hat, eine Funktion die auch Nergal innehatte, wie aus der Deutung des hatrenischen Reliefs hervorgeht. Nergal schützte die Stadt gegen Feinde und das Nordtor war ihm geweiht. In gewissem Sinne war auch er Gad oder Tyche, der jedenfalls in Hatra die Dea Syria als Partner hatte. Wenn, wie Dr. Hörig vermutet, die Statue in Gaziantep von

einem hatrenischen Bildhauer angefertigt wurde, könnte das die hier vorgeschlagene Deutung der Skorpionen unterstützen, obwohl Sicherheit auch hier nicht zu erreichen ist.

Dr. Hörig schliesst ihre Monographie mit einer Übersicht über die Bestimmung der Statue, die Aspekte der Dea Syria aufgrund der von Lukian angegebenen Identifizierungen, und skizziert die hypothetischen Entwicklungsstufen der Dea Syria, von denen die Statue in Gaziantep die Endstufe darstelle. Die Frage die sich dabei aufdrängt ist, was Lukianos genau meint mit seinen Gleichsetzungen und Vergleichen. *De Dea Syria* 32 sagt er, dass die Statue im hierapolitanischen Heiligtum am meisten der Hera gleicht, wie Hadad dem Zeus, aber auch eine gewisse Gleichheit mit Athena, Aphrodite, Selene, Rhea, Artemis, Nemesis und den Moiren aufweist. Damit meint er m.E. nicht, dass die Dea Syria Charakterzüge aller dieser Göttinnen in sich aufgenommen hat, sondern er strebt an erster Stelle danach, seinen Lesern ein Bild der Göttin und ihres Charakter zu vermitteln. Tatsächlich setzt er die Dea Syria nicht den anderen Göttinnen gleich, sondern er trachtet ihre Art zu verdeutlichen. Es handelt sich deshalb bei der Dea Syria nicht um eine Mischung verschiedener Aspekte, die im griechischen Bereich als selbständige Göttinnen begegnen; vielmehr drängte die Hellenisierung Syriens dazu, die lokalen Traditionen auch für griechische Leser und Seher verständlich zu machen. Alle ikonographischen Motive der Statue in Gaziantep können aber im Rahmen der lokalen semitisch-kleinasiatischen religiösen Traditionen gedeutet werden.

Überdies ist römischer Einfluss auf die in dieser Gegend heimischen Religionen abwesend oder jedenfalls nicht feststellbar. Es scheint deshalb höchst zweifelhaft, ob die Dea Syria wirklich eine derartige Entwicklung durchgemacht hat in einer Gegend, in der ihr Kult herkömmlich war. Das wäre im syrischen Raum ein Ausnahmefall, da nirgends ein solcher Gestaltwandel zu konstatieren ist. Der Prozess, der durchgängig als Synkretismus oder Verschmelzung angedeutet wird, ist vielmehr ein Versuch, eigene Traditionen und Vorstellungen mit sprachlichen und bildlichen Mitteln einer anderen Kultur zum Ausdruck zu bringen und umgekehrt. Für die Deutung der Ikonographie einer Statue oder eines Reliefs aus einer bestimmten Gegend soll man an erster Stelle die lokaltraditionen zur Rate ziehen, weil sie den Referenzrahmen liefern. Die Kultur der griechisch-römischen Welt war nicht so einförmig, wie es scheint, und das Griechische als Kultursprache diente als Vehiculum für ganz verschiedene kulturelle Traditionen. Das setzt dem wissenschaftlichen Vergleichen auch scheinbar gleicher Vorstellungen Grenzen.

Dr. Hörig hat eine Riesenmenge Material zur Deutung der Atargatisstatue in Gaziantep zusammengetragen und alle Fragen, die mit der Deutung eines solchen anepigraphischen Bildes zusammenhängen, erneut diskutiert. Das ist der bleibende Wert dieser Arbeit, die auch selber zu allerhand Fragen anregt. Das ist kein geringer Verdienst, wofür ihr viel Dank gebührt. Dem Buch sind eine ausführliche Bibliographie und sechs Register angefügt. Leider sind die Abbildungen von einer Qualität, die sie für wissenschaftliche Zwecke fast unbrauchbar macht.

Javier TEIXIDOR, *The Pantheon of Palmyra*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1979 (in-8°, xx + 140 pp. with a frontispiece, a map, and 35 plates) = *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain* 79. Price: DM 103,-. ISBN 90 04 05987 3.

When speaking about the pantheon and the religious syncretism of Palmyra, it should be born in mind that we do not deal with a deliberately syncretistic system, but with a network of religious syncretisms with only a vague relation between the divinities worshipped in the city and in its surroundings or figured prominently on the Palmyrene reliefs. It is true that the ancient Semites had a rather definite idea of a pantheon, as is evident from the numerous lists of gods that have been discovered in the Near East, but nothing similar has been found in Palmyra, the composite civilization of which allowed even the worship of different supreme gods at the same time. Thus, when a present day scholar writes about the Pantheon of Palmyra, he imposes a modern frame of reference upon complex and syncretistic expressions of various cults and beliefs.

Authors who have studied previously the religion of Palmyra avoided cautiously speaking of a "pantheon" and the use of this term in the recent book of Javier Teixidor, *The Pantheon of Palmyra*, could have suggested a new and comprehensive approach of the topic. Regrettably, the contents of this book do not correspond to what could have been hoped for. The author does not even seem to see the problem the title of his book raises. It could be said that the work under review amounts to little more than a commented inventory of the most important gods worshipped in Palmyra from the first century B.C. to the third century A.D. These gods are presented in six chapters: "The Cult of the Supreme God" (pp. 1-28), "The Cult of the Sun and the Moon at Palmyra" (pp. 29-52), "The Goddess of Palmyra and Her Associates" (pp. 53-76), "Tutelary Deities" (pp. 77-100), "Oriental Deities" (pp. 101-119). The indexes (pp. 120-127) are followed by the notes on the 35 plates (pp. 128-137), and a bibliography is given at the beginning of the volume (pp. xi-xix). Some publications dealing directly with the subject have not been mentioned.

Teixidor had meant his book as "a guide for the historian of the ancient religions" (p. ix), but he seems to be unaware of the elementary prerequisites on which such work has to be build. The ability to offer some Palmyrene inscriptions in transliteration with an English translation and to dissert upon them at some length is not sufficient to lead to an understanding of Palmyrene religion. Linguistic competence, knowledge of written sources and of cultic installations, and a sound historic method are the necessary prerequisites on which this understanding has to be based.

Now, to start with a basic element, the author was well apprised of the Babylonian influence over Palmyrene religion (p. ix), but his book reveals an astonishing ignorance of Mesopotamian sources, as well as of the time and place of origin of various cults. The following sentence illustrates this situation: "The Babylonian culture which was responsible to a great extent for developing the cult of Bel at Palmyra may also have prompted the devotion

to Bel under the name of Baal Hamon, the Lord of Mt. Amanus" (p. 16). This example needs no comments. Another example is given by the author's mention of "Ruldaiu according to the spelling found in the Assyrian Annals of Sennacherib" (p. 69). Since no source is quoted, the eventual reader should keep in mind that *Ru-ul-da-a-u* does not appear in the inscriptions of Sennacherib, but only in those of Esarhaddon (cf. R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons*, pp. 53 and 100). The lack of acquaintance with the material dealt with appears even in a short sentence like "*Hertū* is one of the Akkadian epithets of Ishtar" (p. 111). Now, the epithet is really *hirtu* or *hirat(u)* and it is applied to various goddesses, while *ištar(u)* became a general term for "goddess" in Late Babylonian times. Moreover, the Late Babylonian form of the name was *hištu*, pronounced most likely *hištu* (cf. P. Swiggers, "Orient. Lov. Per", 11, 1980, p. 7), which seems to indicate that the borrowing of *hrt* into Palmyrene was older. The author seems to be unaware of these facts and of the linguistic and semantic processes. This also explains the extreme confusion of his comments on *štr* 'štr', "the goddess Astarte", an expression which is not found in Inv. XI,87, as the author claims (p. 60), but in the inscription published by J. Cantineau in "Syria" 12 (1931), p. 134. The Palmyrenes simply did not worship Ishtar, for *štr* was to them a common noun meaning "goddess".

The author's inability to deal with religious traditions extends to the West-Semitic area. Had Teixidor acquainted himself with available sources, he would have been aware of the fact that the Aramaic and Arabian god *ʿAttar*/*ʿAitar* was no goddess, as he claims (p. 72), and that *b'ltk* was no epithet of Phoenician origin meaning "your Lady" (p. 57). We actually know that this title corresponds to the Assyrian *Ḫēlat-(e)yakki/yāki* > *Ḫēlat-ekki/ēgi*, "the Lady of the Shrine".

Inaccuracies, erroneous interpretations, inconsequencies occur on almost every page. The name of Aglibol is translated as "the Chariot of Bol" on p. 46, but we read on p. 48 that the religious tradition describes this deity as "the Charioteer of El". No reference is given, and for a very good reason. Since Aglibol was a Moon-god, who had the bull as symbolic animal, it is quite evident that *ʿAgli-Bōl* simply means "the bull-calf of Bōl". Already the oldest Mesopotamian inscriptions call the Moon-god Su'en "the impetuous bull-calf of Enlil" (Stele of the Vultures XIX,35-XXIII,9) and the hymns praise the "proud bull-calf with thick horns" (R IV², pl. 9,20 and par.) or the "impetuous bull-calf" (Fr. Köcher, *Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin* III, No. 248, col. III,19). In other words, the author describes the god as he *imagined* him and not as he appears in the sources.

Teixidor's comments on the "divine Bōrroaōnos", based on the processions of the Holy Week in Southern Spain (p. 7), his explanation of the compound name *Bōl-ʿAttar* (*bwl'str* or *bl'str*), that actually implies a symbiosis of the Palmyrene god *Bōl* with the male Arabian god *ʿAttar* (s is the expected phonetic rendering of Arabian *t*; cf. E. A. Speiser, *Oriental and Biblical Studies*, p. 147), as "the mystery of Bel's union with the goddess", comparable to "the mystery of Trinity in God" (pp. 8-9), the link imagined between "the function of judge exercised by Yarhibol at Palmyra" and "the Sun god Shamash ...

portrayed on the stele of Hammurabi" (p. 33), the comparison of Julian's idea of Helios (*Oratio* 4) with Akhenaton's hymn to Aton, that "recalls the Phoenician conception of Baal Shamin (sic!)" (p. 49), are just examples of the author's imaginativeness.

Similar inaccuracies, if one may put it so, occur in the field of West-Semitic philology. According to Teixidor, for instance, "in Canaanite *qoneh* means 'creator', and this is the meaning of *qn* in Phoenician" (p. 26). However, every specialist in the field of Semitics is aware of the discussions about the meaning of *qny* and would probably agree that a certain ability to handle dictionaries gives no sufficient competence to deal with ancient religious terminology. This is clearly confirmed by Teixidor's statement on p. 66, note 1: "the Palmyrene term *allatha*, 'altar', is not found in the other Northwest Semitic dialects", followed in the next line by this remark: "The Syriac *ʿlt* has preserved both meanings: 'offering' and 'altar'". The first statement is based on *DISO*, p. 211, while the remark is taken from a Syriac dictionary. It is hard to believe that Teixidor does not know that Syriac is a Northwest Semitic dialect, but he seems not to have noticed this elementary fact. One also wonders which is the meaning of a sentence like "in the Tariff of Palmyra *hygmwn* is translated by ἡγεμών" (p. 38).

The inaccurate vocalization of proper names, the pronunciation of which is known, shows the same carelessness or lack of acquaintance with the sources. The frequently recurring "Maazin" instead of *Me'ziyān* (*Mezianus*) or *Ma'ziyān* (Μαζία[ν]), "Yedi'ebel" instead of *Yadī-Bēl* (*Ia-di-ih-DN*) or *Y'edī-Bēl* (Ιεδειβήλος), "Kohenbo[l]" (p. 2) instead of **Kōhin-Nabū* (*khnbw*) are just some striking examples. When the author refers to "the theophorous name *mtšlmn*" (p. 84), he is giving a wrong reading for *mt šlm*, "... of a maid, Šalma, ..." A rapid look at Stark's *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions* shows further that the name *b'lt-gd* never occurs in the onomastics of Palmyra, contrary to Teixidor's statement (p. 27). It is also necessary to point out that all Teixidor's "theophorous names of Ashar" attested at Hatra (p. 83) are simply misinterpretations. Since we know that the theophorous element *šr* was pronounced *ššar* and that *Iššar* was in those times the name of the Assyrian goddess *Ištar*, these names have nothing in common with the Arabian god *šr(w)*. The latter is represented as a horseman and his name, if derived from the root *šw/yr*, means "expert horseman" like the later Arabic *iswār*. It was perhaps pronounced **Ašūru*, at least if the Βεθαυρου in an inscription from Dura-Europos (F. Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 392-393) is to be interpreted as *bt šrw*.

The reviewer regrets having to conclude that this expensive book is unfortunately useless for a serious Semitist or epigraphist and misleading for the historian of religions, who will find in it a number of unreliable statements and, I am afraid, a pantheon *imagined* by the author. Besides, most of the photographs of Palmyrene reliefs reproduced in the volume under review can also be found in the work of H. J. W. Drijvers, *The Religion of Palmyra* (Leiden, 1976), based on sound scholarship.

It should be added that the editors in charge of the series *É.P.R.O.E.R.* do not serve the cause of scholarship by publishing books uncritically. In fact, *The Pantheon of*

Palmyra is not the first book of the series that deserves a severe criticism.

Leuven/Louvain, October 1980

E. LIPiŃSKI

SYRIË-NESTORIANEN

Hubert KAUFHOLD, *Die Rechtssammlung des Gabriel von Baſra und ihr Verhältnis zu den anderen juristischen Sammelwerken der Nestorianer*. Berlin, J. Schweitzer Verlag, 1976 (8vo, XIX + 340 pp.) = Münchener Universitätsschriften. Juristische Fakultät. Abhandlungen zur rechtswissenschaftlichen Grundlagenforschung, Band 21. ISBN 3 8059 0386 3.

In the *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* of A. Baumstark (1922), Gabriel, metropolitan of Baſra at the end of the 9th c., is mentioned as the author of a collection of synodical canons, complemented with the results of Gabriel's own investigations, in two parts (p. 235). Apart from the ms. Seert 67, which must nowadays be considered to be lost, Baumstark refers to the codex Borgianus Syriacus 78, which is supposed by him to contain the second part of this work.

Although some scholars had intuited the important place of this work in the history of Syriac and Arabic juridical literature, an edition of the ms. and an investigation of its content were still lacking. Kaufhold's book has happily filled up — as far as the sources allow — this gap in our knowledge.

The most extensive part of the book (p. 132-317) contains the first publication together with a German translation of all the Syriac texts that can be attributed to Gabriel. Apart from the evidence of ms. Borg. Syr. 78, which provides by far the longest portion (strong arguments in favour of its attribution to Gabriel are adduced), the editor was able to use another important source, a fragment from Gabriel's work preserved in a ms. of the Hartford Seminary Foundation (U.S.A.). The text of this ms. (in a slightly abbreviated form) partly overlaps that of the first ms. To this independent branch of the tradition some quotations have been added. These are taken: 1° from the Nomocanon of 'Abdišo' bar Brikā (three fragments explicitly attributed to Gabriel); 2° from a small collection preserved in ms. Vat. Syr. 520 (here also Gabriel's name is supplied).

The work of Gabriel of Baſra may be called a "Nomocanon", i.e. a systematic collection of canons, prescriptions and decisions concerning both ecclesiastical and secular matters (although this name has never been used by the Syrians themselves and does not completely cover the meaning of the term in Greek literature). Moreover it is the oldest preserved work of this genre in Syriac (composed between 884 and 891 A.D.). The first part, of which only a few portions have been preserved, is devoted to questions of civil law: laws of matrimony, laws of succession and, among other things, a very interesting exposition (p. 172-187) of the rules of a cor-

poration of handworkers. The second part, for which the codex Borgianus is the most important source, concerns very different questions of canon law: ecclesiastical hierarchy, various problems of religious life, questions of liturgy, dogmatic issues, relations with the Severians and the Melkites etc.

The publication and translation of the Syriac texts is preceded by two chapters. The first presents a general introduction, including a large survey of Greek and Syriac collections of juridical literature (1. Collections of pseudo-apostolic writings; 2. Chronological collections of synodical canons; 3. Systematic collections of canons). An important excursus here is a thorough discussion (p. 12-15) of the so-called Synod of Caesarea in Cappadocia (314 A.D.), whose appearance in the synodical lists was explained by E. Schwartz (1936) as the result of a scribal error, whereas J. Lebon (1938), on account of the Armenian version of the Collection of canons, accepted its historicity. A fresh analysis of the data leads the author to subscribe to Schwartz's opinion.

The main part of the second chapter attempts to study the relationship between Gabriel's Nomocanon and some other Nestorian juridical collections. It concentrates on two specific works: the second part of the *Fiqh an-naſraniyā* by Ibn at-Ṭayyib (+ 1043) and the Nomocanon of 'Abdišo' bar Brikā (+ 1318). Both these works prove to be largely dependent on Gabriel's work: the second part of the *Fiqh* is in fact — as was stated already by G. Graf — "eine fast vollständige Übersetzung oder vielmehr wohl eine freie, kompilatorische Bearbeitung" (p. 40) of Gabriel's collection; 'Abdišo' too, apart from his three explicit quotations, has made abundant use of Gabriel's Nomocanon, but his editorial work went much farther: he adapted, left out, or replaced some parts and added new elements from other sources, although the general composition keeps the sequence of the successive parts in Gabriel's work (p. 58-59).

After having established the general lines of the interrelationship between Gabriel on the one hand and the writings of Ibn at-Ṭayyib and 'Abdišo' on the other, the author proceeds to a detailed discussion of various juridical fields. One finds here a concrete illustration of the general interdependence just mentioned. Moreover this analysis serves two other purposes: firstly, this approach partly allows the author to reconstruct the content of those parts of Gabriel's work that are lost in the Syriac original; secondly, such a comparative description helps to show in which juridical fields an evolution can be discerned between the 9th and 14th c.

This chapter contains further (p. 114-125) a study of the original title, the composition and the sources of Gabriel's work. It closes with some remarks "Über die Bedeutung der systematischen nestorianischen Rechtssammlungen" (p. 126-130).

The reviewer's attitude towards this new book is one of high appreciation and admiration. The following minor considerations by no means counterbalance this esteem.

1. On p. 10 the author mentions the possibility that in the 18th canon of the Synod of Seleucia-Ctesiphon (410 A.D.) a reference should be seen to the ps.-(so-called "Arabic") canons of Nicaea. The words 'yk mdm dbqnwn' (pl.) *dswnhdws rbt' smw* (var. *ktyb*) are translated by him "so wie man es in den Kanones der grossen Synode fest-

gesetzt hat" (cp. O. Braun's translation of the Synodicon). He should have mentioned also another possible translation, suggested already by J. B. Chabot: "selon tout ce qui est fixé dans les canons du grand synode" (*Synodicon Orientale*, p. 270, see also n. 4: "mais le sens paraît plutôt être que le métropolitain doit observer d'une façon générale, à l'égard des évêques, et faire observer tous les canons du concile de Nicée"). The question is important, since, if one accepts Chabot's translation, there does not remain any serious indication that the ps.-Nicaean canons were known to the Fathers of Seleucia-Ctesiphon and therefore that they should be dated to such an early period.

2. The second remark concerns some aspects of Chapter B IV ("Bemerkungen zu den einzelnen Rechtsgebieten in den Sammlungen"). As it has been said already, one of the aims of this chapter is "durch einen Vergleich der späteren, von Gabriel abhängigen Sammelwerke auch den Inhalt der im syrischen Original verlorengegangenen Teile der Sammlung Gabriels — wenigstens andeutungsweise — zu rekonstruieren" (p. 65). It is my impression that the author raises here vain hopes for his reader. Indeed, the results of this reconstruction work are very meagre. To be sure, from both later works some general ideas can be deduced concerning the original composition of Gabriel's work, but the filling up of this framework is mostly guesswork. This is primarily due to the fact that neither Ibn at-Ṭayyib, nor 'Abdišo' have faithfully reproduced Gabriel's text (see above). Moreover, the criteria followed by the two authors in using their source are not known to us. An element that might shed some more light on the precise interrelationship of the three works and on the editorial methods of both Ibn at-Ṭayyib and 'Abdišo', is the thorough comparative study (taking into account both the content and the formal aspects) of those parts for which the three texts are preserved. This could have been done especially with the longer part containing the liturgical prescriptions. This however is dealt with only very succinctly by the author, who argues as follows: "Zum einen ist ja die Sammlung Gabriels hier fast vollständig erhalten, ein 'Rekonstruktionsversuch' ist daher nicht erforderlich" (p. 101). That a comparison of these texts could have provided some useful indications for the principles of reconstruction in those parts where Gabriel's text is lacking, is not envisaged!

3. As for the text and translation, I would like to refer first to some corrections proposed in an earlier review by R. Degen (*Oriens Christianus*, 61, 1977, p. 145-150). In general it should be mentioned that in some cases it might have been preferable, esp. for technical and other important terms, to use consistently in the translation the same German word for one Syriac word: e.g. *pwqdn* is "Testament" (p. 136) and "Anordnung" (p. 158 and 160) in the same context; 'rz' (pl.) is translated "Liturgie" (p. 232) and "Geheimnisse" (ibid. and p. 234); on the other hand "Nonnen" is used indifferently for *bnt qym* (p. 298) and for *dyryt* (p. 300: add the second yod in the text), etc.

— On p. 170, last line, and on p. 182, l. 19 the translation of *spq' b'ydwby* should read "he is able (to give)". The addition "mit seinen Händen" (p. 170) or "mit seiner Hände (Arbeit)" (p. 182) is superfluous (see C. Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*, p. 491b).

— On p. 212, l. 3-4 "und ihm die Gabe der Unter-

scheidung eingeprägt hatte" seems to be a somewhat free translation of the text of Išo'yahb's canon (Gabriel's source) as it is preserved in the *Synodicon Orientale*: *bwyn' dprwšwt*. I think Gabriel's text should be kept (*wqb' bh bkynh prwšwt*) and translated: "and He impressed in his nature (*bh* is proleptic) discernment". I would see here a reference to an idea of Theodore of Mopsuestia, expressed for example in the term *ἐμφυτος ... διάκρισις* (K. Staab, *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*, Münster i.W., 1933, p. 127, l. 27).

— On p. 245, l. 15 *pwlnh' (dmqds)* is not translated by the editor because it does not make sense in the context. One may think of *pwršn'*, i.e. the bread for the Eucharist. The meaning would be then that, as long as the consecrated (*mqds*) bread was on the altar, a second celebration was not allowed (cp. for this prescription W. C. Van Unnik, *Nestorian Questions on the Administration of the Eucharist*, by Išo'yahb IV, Haarlem, 1937, p. 162-163, Q. 16).

— On p. 264, l. 1-2 the translation runs as follows: "Sie (i.e. the Melkites) sagen, dass die Personen verbunden sind, wir aber verbinden die Personen nicht" (*whnwn mm mrkb' hw qnwm* (sg.!) *d'mryn. hnn dyn l' mrkbynn lqnwm* (pl.)). I would translate: "They (say that) the hypostasis of which they speak is a composite (one), we however do not compose (i.e. do not regard as composite) the hypostases" and see here an echo of the (neo-)Chalcedonian idea of the *ὑπόστασις σύνθετος*, found for example in Iusitnian's theological writings.

To conclude, one other important result of Kaufhold's research may be mentioned: 'Abdišo' bar Bahriz, who is known as the author of a Law Book and who was generally situated in the 11th c., is proved convincingly to belong to the first half of the 9th c. He must be distinguished therefore from his namesake and colleague, 'Abdišo' (without the addition *bar Bahriz*), metropolitan of Mosul in the 11th c. (p. 44-49). In fact, 'Abdišo's Law Book is one of Gabriel's sources (p. 120). In this connection another question, understandably not dealt with in this book, can be raised, concerning the authorship of the *Expositio Officiorum* attributed to ps.-Giwargis of Arbela. Whereas in the introduction to the first volume of the translation of this work, R. H. Connolly (CSCO, Ser. II, 91, p. 2-3) was inclined to accept Assemani's suggestion that 'Abdišo' bar Bahriz, situated by him in the 11th c., might be its author, in the introduction to the second volume (Ser. II, 92, p. 1-3) he renounced this hypothesis, precisely on chronological grounds, arguing that the *Expositio* could not be later than the 9th c. After Kaufhold's rectification, it is perhaps possible to reopen the discussion about this authorship.

The fact that the book solves some important questions and evokes some others is the best guarantee of its usefulness for further research.

Leiden, July 1980

LUCAS VAN ROMPAY

HEBREEUWS-OUDE TESTAMENT

Walter BEYERLIN, *Religionsgeschichtliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975 (8vo, 303 pp.) = Grundrisse zum Alten Testament. Altes Testament Deutsch, Ergänzungsreihe 1. ISBN 3 525 51659 2.

This is the first volume of a new series, "Grundrisse zum Alten Testament", whose aim it is "die Welt des Alten Testaments in allgemeinverständlichen Darstellungen zu erschliessen". The volume under review arose — as its editor writes in the introduction — from the conviction that "nowadays nobody is able to maintain that the Old Testament is really understandable if the possibilities of a comparative approach are not exploited". The volume presents the material for such a comparison by means of a representative selection of texts in German translation, provided with short introductions (general and to particular texts), numerous notes (explanatory and offering comparative suggestions) and indexes (294-303; subjects, text quotations). The selection is, as the title indicates, limited to material relevant for the history of religion, selected because it has some 'relation to', is somehow relevant to the Old Testament (borrowing, dependence, adaptation; corresponding subject matter or form; similarity, contrast, etc.). As usual in such anthologies limitations of space condition the selection. The volume (250 pages of texts) of course could not offer a complete sampling of the variety of literary forms used in religious texts, nor make a representative sourcebook of or introduction to ancient Near Eastern religions (this last requirement, in the mean time, has been met by volume 2 of the series: H. Ringgren, *Die Religionen des Alten Orients*, 1979), notwithstanding more general introductory remarks to the various chapters and bibliographical aids. Many texts, moreover, particularly the longer compositions, could only be presented in selected passages, at times connected by summaries of the missing parts.

The composition and contents are as follows: Egyptian texts (29-93): H. Brunner; Mesopotamian texts (95-168), H. Schmökel; Hittite texts (169-204), C. Kühne; Ugaritic texts (205-243), K.-H. Bernhardt; North-Semitic texts (245-284), E. Lipiński.

In the reviewer's opinion the editor and his authors have succeeded in producing a useful tool, which meets the requirements set out in the introduction. The selection of texts in general is well considered, the translations are good, and the introductory and explanatory notes useful. The latter feature, in particular, is welcome and distinguishes the volume from comparable ones, also from the much more comprehensive *ANET*. Translations alone (with some bibliographical information) in general are not enough for non-specialists who wish to study these ancient texts and to use them for comparative purposes. Even in a first anthology they are entitled to more introductory and explanatory comments than are usually given. It will only stimulate them to further reading.

It is only natural, with the enormous amount of textual material available, that making a selection is often very difficult, and that preferences and criteria may differ. The space available to the Egyptologist and the Assyriologist (ca. 70 pages) forces them to be very critical in their choice

and to offer frequently only (small) passages from larger compositions. The forty pages available to the Ugaritologist suffice for presenting the most important Ugaritic myths in selections, while the chapter devoted to North-Semitic material profits from the fact that it was decided not to duplicate Galling's *Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels*. Rather much (ca. 3/5) of the available space in this part — which contains a great variety of texts, also seal inscriptions, graffiti, letters, incantations and 'mytho-graphic texts' — is used for introductions, commentary, and notes.

In general one may observe that — with the exception of the last part — the material is predominantly literary and theological in nature. In the reviewer's opinion it is to be regretted that this anthology does not include more documents from the 'practice of religion', such as rituals, offering lists and tariffs; quotations from administrative texts or letters, which document cultic or liturgical facts and aspects of personal beliefs and piety; or even a selection of personal names, which in most of the areas under review reveal interesting religious concepts and trends. This literary, theological approach is, admittedly, suggested by the nature of the majority of our sources, but this should not make us forget that there is another side to the religions of the ancient Near East too. One might compare the problems of the historian, who has to go beyond the royal inscriptions, official lists, and chronicles, or the economic historian, who has to be aware that the very nature of the documentation favours certain aspects of the economic process (palace, temple), which nevertheless are not the only ones to be taken into account.

Ancient Near Eastern texts still offer a variety of translation problems, in some languages (Sumerian, Ugaritic, Hittite) more than in others. The translations offered in this volume in general are good, as far as the reviewer, whose competence does not include Egyptian and Hittite, is able to judge. None of the texts included probably had to be translated for the first time, and several editions are available for comparison, even if one is unable to read the originals. In some cases I would have preferred a slightly more literal or exact translation (see the comments below), but that is to some extent a matter of taste. More important, in particular in view of the fact that the great majority of those who will read or use the book will not be able to carry out checks, is whether it becomes clear how certain or uncertain a translation is. The introduction mentions that uncertainty is marked by a question mark between brackets or in a note. In view of the translation problems and at times hypothetical text reconstructions there are a surprisingly small number of question marks, in particular in the chapters containing Sumerian, Ugaritic and North-West Semitic texts.

It is well known how many lexical problems the Ugaritic language still poses, and how different translation proposals at times are. To mention only one random example: compare the translation offered on p. 218f. sub 4 of the passage CTA 3:E:7ff. (= KTU 1,3:IV:54ff.) with the interpretation proposed recently by Dijkstra-De Moor in UF 7, 190f. ad CTA 17 VI:42ff. (where other proposals are discussed), and note the fact that Bernhardt's translation contains only one question mark (in the translation of El's epithet *ab šnm*)! In my opinion the readers are entitled to the information a) that the translation of various words and phrases as printed is not certain, and

b) which serious alternatives have been proposed. It is the duty of the Ugaritologist not to hide to his readers, who are apt to accept his translations and to apply them in their research, what is doubtful and what is beyond doubt.

Uncertainties are not only the consequence of linguistic problems. In several cases the reading or reconstruction of the original text presents problems and leaves room for different solutions. This applies to all of the material, I suppose, but in particular to Sumerian (frequently because the texts are fragmentary or because there are important variants in the manuscripts), Ugaritic (again), and several West-Semitic inscriptions. It is of course impossible in a volume as the one under review to present or argue for new readings and reconstructions. But somewhere it must be made clear which is the textual basis of the translation. This is not always the case, however, and the problems arise with texts without an up to date scholarly edition, where the translation incorporates various proposals from different authors. Schmökel has solved the problem by mentioning whose transcription, translation or interpretation of a Sumerian text he follows or at least takes as a basis. In the Ugaritic material, Herdner's edition CTA seems to provide the textual basis, but for no. 18 (KTU 1,101) Bernhardt follows mainly Lipiński (UF 3,81-92), also in his restorations of lines 2f., 5f., 8, and rev. 3 (the reconstruction "sendet er aus" in line 3 should be between square brackets), and in his stichometry. But restorations, stichometry, and interpretation are at times highly hypothetical or even improbable, as is clear from other treatments of this text (de Moor, UF 1,180f.; Dietrich-Loretz-Sanmartín, UF 5,96ff., 7,534ff.), and the reader remains unaware of this fact.

Lipiński's treatment of the North-Semitic texts in part E contains a fair number of original translations, text restorations and interpretations, especially in the main Aramaic texts, such as the Zakkur inscription, the Lakish altar, and in particular in the treaty between KTK and Arpad (X,24). Most of his proposals are discussed in his recent book *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics* (1975), to which he refers in the introduction to the treaty just mentioned, while short comments are also given in the notes to the translation. While new solutions to the problems presented by this (and other) texts are welcome, and even stimulating, I am not convinced that it is a good policy to incorporate them almost immediately into an anthology for a more general readership. Quite a number of the restorations and some new interpretations must remain hypothetical, and require further proof, and they have not always convinced specialists in the field (cf. the remarks by Teixidor in his 'Bulletin d'épigraphie sémitique 1977', in *Syria* 54, and by Degen in *Welt des Orients* 9 (1977), 167-172). Irrespective of whether these critics are right, it seems preferable to leave out (or to refer to notes) what is hypothetical or possible, but (still) cannot be proved, and to start from a generally accepted textual basis. While the restorations are duly printed in square brackets, the marks of uncertainty (question marks, notes) are too rare and suggest general acceptance.

Another problem of this book is the unescapable necessity of presenting selected passages from longer texts and of making shortcuts, in order to focus on what is thought especially relevant to students of the O.T. While, as

conceded, limitations of space may force one to this, the result is at times unsatisfactory, and may be annoying for the reader. The procedure has to ignore the narrative, hymnic or didactic qualities of a composition, and has to treat these at times only as dispensable wrappings of bits of essential theological information. I have no doubt that the authors themselves must have been unhappy with this procedure, and I will only point out where in my opinion they (occasionally) went too far. While it seems practical to present the mythological introductions to Sumerian compositions alone, the treatment of *Enūma eliš* is less satisfactory, even granted a selective rendering. Why omit the four lines (if not more) following V:18, which round off the description of the task of the moon? Why omit the first 10 lines of prayer translated on p. 133, even though some lines are fragmentary? Why only a few lines here and there from Aššurnāṣirpal's prayer (p. 138f.; see for a new, more complete edition of this text W. von Soden, *AJO* 25,38ff.; Schmökel's rendering of rev. 11 by mistake contains two translations of *simti*), which document his confession (line 23), but omit the question (caused by his illness): "Wodurch habe ich dich vernachlässigt...?" Why start in the middle of a curse section (p. 155, lines 528ff.), or give only half of a distich (p. 163, II:27), or omit the final two lines of a tablet (ibid. II:112ff.)? Why omit the three lines CTA 6,II:28-30 (p. 236), indeed a repetition of lines 7-9, but meaningful, introducing the repeated encounter between Anath and Môt? Why cut off the words of Athirat (CTA 4,II:21ff.; p. 225) in the middle of a double (rhetorical) question (see for reading and syntactic interpretation M. Held, 'Rhetorical questions in Ugaritic and Biblical Hebrew', *Eretz Israel* 9,71ff., esp. 77; see also 72 for the reconstruction and rendering of the passage translated p. 227,IV:58ff.). No such objections can be made on part E, where almost all texts are translated *in toto*. Just one final remark on p. 254 with a drawing of the Meša' stela, which has the disadvantage of presenting a copy which does not always match the textual readings on which the translation is based. This is unfortunate since a textual note like n°. 48 almost invites comparison with the drawing.

I may conclude with some notes on the translations, in particular of the Mesopotamian texts, in order to substantiate my wish for at times a little more literal or accurate translations, and with some scattered remarks. p. 95. The rather bold statements of the first paragraph are in need of some qualification. It must have been a fairly small group of "educated" persons who could read (or at least copy) Babylonian compositions in consequence of the curriculum of the school. In view of the quality of some of the native copies, the question is whether all students really grasped the meaning and theological implications of the scholarly literature they had to copy as an exercise. The question is hard to answer, but some caution seems justified in my opinion, also in connection with the final statement of the paragraph, about the strong Mesopotamian impact on the Canaanite "Geisteskultur". Without denying a fair amount of Mesopotamian influence (see for instance H. Tamir's remarks on *KAI* 214 in *JNES* 32,477ff.), we should not underestimate Egyptian influence (of the late New Empire), not much in evidence in consequence of the perishable material used in the Egyptian writing tradition, and native cultural elements (Phoenician;

older Canaanite), also on a literary level (Ugaritic texts; Idrimi; Kilamuwa inscription, *KAI* no. 24; see recently F. M. Fales, *Welt des Orients* 10,6ff.).

p. 101. The inclusion of the introductory passage of the "hymn of the hoe" raises some questions, because this is a highly artificial composition, using puns on the word/sound *al*, and extremely difficult to translate (see Wilcke, *RIA* 4,36, § 7 and Wiggermann, *BiOr* 35,200a,2; the text is also included in G. Pettinato, *Das altorientalische Menschenbild und die sumerischen und akkadischen Schöpfungsmymen*, 1971, a volume not mentioned here or with other texts).

p. 108ff. I:6: *kiššuru*, not "entsprossen"; see for the beginning of *Enūma eliš* now M. Held, *AOAT* 25 (FSKramer), 231ff.; IV:1: *manzazu*, hardly "Residenz", but in this context "(heavenly) station", where the constellations will be fixed; V:10: *šigāru*, not "Tür", but "bolt" (left and right); V:14ff.: read *ū-muš* instead of *ū-šir* and rather follow the translation in *CAD* A/2,258: "move on, every month, without interruption, with your disc" and "on the 15th day, stand in conjunction (*lū šutamhurat*), halfway through each month" (line 18; this meaning of *maḥārum*, Št, becomes clear from the continuation of this passage dealing with the moon, line 22, not translated); V:50: probably rather "to make cold rain down", with two hemistichs.

p. 115: the translation should be more concordant: the reader would not guess that lines 201 and 204 both use *im.ḥul*.

p. 118ff. II:43: the grammatical idiom requires the translation "(while) some were eating and others were drinking..."; XI:26: the rendering of the flood story in Gilgamesh being a kind of abstract from Atrachasis, there is no justification for translating *makkūra zērma napišta bullit* first as "missachte die Habe — rette das Leben" (p. 117) and later as "gib das Gut hin, sichere das Leben" (p. 119); XI:39: the line presumably begins with *et-[lu]*, "young man"; XI:105ff.: this passage is almost a literal repetition or quotation from Atrachasis (OB), III,iii:9ff., and should be restored and translated accordingly; XI:122: the rendering of this line, if possible, should at least be marked as highly dubious; it seems more likely to see here a reference to the fact that the mother goddess as the creatress of men, is worried by the fact that her "offspring" perishes in the water. It is to be regretted that selections from the Atrachasis-myth are limited to the third tablet, dealing with the flood story. The extremely interesting passage describing the creation of man (see in particular the interpretation and analysis by Moran in *BASOR* 200,48-56) should not have been left out. A similar case could be made for the passages dealing with the "noise" (*hubūru*) produced by men, as a cause for divine anger, also in the Erra-epic (I,82), in particular as Frankena pointed out that this motif is also found in Ezekiel (*Kantekenningen van een Assyrioloog by Ezechiël* (1965), 9ff.).

p. 123, no. 15:3: rather "lived in" than "liebte" (*ramū*); 6: *bābum* perhaps better "opening" (of the basket), than "cover"; see for this text now the dissertation of B. Lewis, *The Sargon Legend* (1980), who argues for a reading [5]5 in line 13 (!), in accordance with the kinglist.

p. 124, no. 16. According to S. N. Kramer, *BiOr* 11,173 ad no. 12, rather a hymn to Ninurta.

p. 126ff. The first line is probably preserved in the

colophon of the Marduk prayer, *AfO* 19, 60, 208, and is restored as *mušnammir gimillu kala šamāmi* on the basis of an unpublished school-tablet in *CAD* N/1,218a; lines 95f.: the rendering of *qarnašu tuballi* and *kāšir anzilli* is rather free; lines 116f.: *ibēl*, "will not (keep) control (of)"; *ana bit PN erēbum* in the next line is the same expression as in year formulae, mentioning the (regular) succession to the throne; hence: "will not succeed him in his estate", "take over his estate" (so Lambert).

p. 142, no. 27. See for important new material and an interpretation Hunger-Kaufmann, *JAOS* 95, 371ff. (ad Hunger, *SRTU* no. 3, an important new "prophecy" text). p. 148. Text b): 14: *tarammū*, not "vertraust"; *alākum*, Gtn, rather "move around", than "unternehmen"; text c): *elika aḥabbub*, more than simply "lieben", rather "to fondle", "to caress", "to cherish". It is to be regretted that in this "prohetic" section no Neo-Assyrian texts — oracles, prophetic messages, etc. — have been included, because their relevance for OT studies, also for the problem of the "holy war", cannot be doubted (cf. M. Weippert, "Heiliger Krieg" in Israel und Assyrien", *ZAW* 84, 460ff.), while they are in general not easily accessible (see now also M. Dijkstra, *Gods Voorstelling*, Kampen 1980, 147-170).

p. 153ff. (Vassal-treaties Esarhaddon). Line 59/60: the translation should be: "... the crown-prince Assurbanipal, which Esarhaddon, the king of Assur, your lord, has presented to you..." (not: DUMU *ṣAš-šur-PAP.AŠ*, but *šA ṣAš-šur-PAP.AŠ*.....[*ú-ka*]-*lim-ú-ka-nu-ni*, with ms. 55G, comparable to lines 63, 93, 370; the same correction is necessary in *ANET*³ 535a). There is no reason for not following the arrangement of the original, which starts a new paragraph with every single god invoked in the curse section (414ff.); in the translation of line 58 ("wenn ihr ein Wort ... verfälscht") there is a simplification, as the original has: "if you (yourselves) change or have changed (by somebody else)".

p. 161ff. (Ludlul). Line 90: Deller has suggested the emendation to: "My slave-girl has defamed me in front of the mob" (*amtī ina pān...*); II:1 *akšud*, "I reached" not "Ich wartete"; II:40ff. *uštādir*, "he became worried, gloomy"; II:116: "Wie ist es mit dem zu Ende gegangen", too vague for *kī ḥabil*.

p. 164, no. 35. Mention should have been made of Jacobsen's important remarks on this text in *PAPS* 107/6 (1963), 482ff.

p. 188ff., no. 5. Reference should have been made to Güterbock's edition and interpretation of parts of this text in *JNES* 33, 325f., where he shows that obv. lines 12ff. contain borrowings from Akkadian prayers, proposes the translation "by myself" for *aḥitia* in line 16 (Kühne: "unbedacht"), and gives a reconstruction of rev. lines 10-14. p. 242ff. As noted above the Ugaritic selections are almost exclusively limited to texts from the Ba'lu cycle. The one single quotation from Dan'el should have been followed by one from CTA 17 VI, where Anath offers Aqhat eternal life, with a reference to Ba'lu, and later on warns him of a "rebellious path", an "arrogant path" (*ntb pš', ntb gan*).

p. 246f., no. 1. See for a new analysis of this inscription W. H. Shea in *Maariv* I/2 (1979).

p. 267, no. 16. In view of the hypothetical character of the interpretation of this text, alternative readings and

translations (discussed by R. Degen, *NESE* 1, 39ff.) should have been mentioned.

p. 267f., no. 17. Mention should have been made of the discussion of these texts by F. M. Cross, in *Festschrift N. Glueck* (1970), 299ff.

Readers of this whole section would have been helped by referring them to the 'Bulletin d'épigraphie sémitique' of J. Teixidor in *Syria*, which regularly discusses new material and interpretations.

Amsterdam, July 1980

K. R. VEENHOF

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Abraham MALAMAT (editor), *The Age of the Monarchies: Political History*, Vol. 4-I, und: *The Age of the Monarchies: Culture and Society*, Vol. 4-II, = *The World History of the Jewish People*, First Series: Ancient Times (General Editor: Benjamin Mazar), 2 Teile, Jewish History Publications (Israel-1961) Ltd./Massada Press Ltd., Jerusalem 1979 (27 cm, xviii + 386 und xviii + 340 S. Preis: jeder Band £ 21.-).

Vor uns liegen zwei Bände des eindrucksvollen Werkes *The World History of the Jewish People*, geplant in 28 Teilen, von denen bereits einige vor allem der ersten Reihe in englischer Übersetzung herausgegeben sind, und andere demnächst erscheinen werden. Eigentlich handelt es sich um eine Arbeit in zwei sehr schön ausgestatteten Bänden, Volume Four-I und II (der zweite Band wurde versehentlich als „Volume Five“ angezeigt). Das Werk ist reich illustriert und wird sowohl in einer hebräischen als auch englischen Ausgabe verkauft.

Der schönen Ausstattung entspricht ein fesselnder Inhalt, für den viele bekannte israelische und andere jüdische Gelehrte zuständig sind. Der erste Band enthält ein Vorwort vom Herausgeber dieses Teils, Abraham Malamat. Er sagt u.a., dass "the multifarious information at our disposal allows us to reconstruct with considerable precision the history and polity of the Age of the Monarchy. We are privy, at the same time, to facts about the material conditions, the social and legal institutions, and cultural achievement of the nation during that golden age when it first tasted sovereignty" (I, xvii). Aber er weist seinen Leser auch darauf hin, dass die etwa 20 Autoren dieses Werks völlige Freiheit beim Aufbau ihrer Artikel gehabt hatten, „so that where opinions differ — as in ideological outlook, interpretation of biblical texts, even system of chronology — inconsistencies, perhaps contradictions, will at times be apparent" (I, xviii).

Selbstverständlich kann man hier nicht alle Aspekte dieser reichhaltigen Arbeit ausführlich besprechen. Von vornherein sei betont, dass das Buch ein zusammenfassendes und gleichzeitig auch ein detailliertes Werk auf einem Teilgebiet der alten Geschichte Israels und Judas ist, das keiner, der sich mit der Königszeit dieser Völker beschäftigt oder beschäftigen will, übergehen kann. Zu dem genannten Abschnitt der israelitischen Geschichte bietet diese Arbeit bestimmt mehr als man z.B. in S. Herr-

manns *Geschichte Israels in alttestamentlicher Zeit* (München 1973) oder in A. H. J. Gunnewegs *Geschichte Israels bis Bar Kochba* (Stuttgart usw. 1972) finden kann. Sie fasst nicht nur die Ergebnisse der Studien anderer Gelehrter zusammen, sondern eröffnet manchmal auch neue Perspektiven für weitere Erforschung der Probleme.

Im ersten Teil gibt N. M. Sarna eine Übersicht über "The Biblical Sources for the History of the Monarchy" (I,3-19); dann N. Avigad über „Hebr. Epigraphic Sources" (I,20-43); H. Tadmor: „The Chronology of the First Temple Period" (I,44-60); M. Tsevat: „The Emergence of the Israelite Monarchy" (I,61-75); B. Mazar: „The Era of David and Solomon" (I,76-100); D. N. Freedman: „The Age of David and Solomon" (I,101-125); S. Yeivin: „The Divided Kingdom" (I,126-179); I. Eph'al: „Israel: Fall and Exile" (I,180-192); H. Reviv: „The History of Judah from Hezekiah to Josiah" (I,193-204); A. Malamat: „The Last Years of the Kingdom of Judah" (I,205-221); B. Oded: „Neighbors on the West" (I,222-246); B. Oded: „Neighbors on the East" (I,247-275); I. Eph'al: „Assyrian Dominion in Palestine" (I,276-289); Y. Aharoni: „The Negeb and the Southern Borders" (I,290-307).

Im zweiten Teil findet man: S. Talmon: „Kingship and Ideology of the State" (II,3-26); M. Weinfeld: „Literary Creativity" (II,27-70); Ch. Rabin: „The Emergence of Classical Hebrew" (II,71-78); M. Greenberg: „Religion: Stability and Ferment" (II,79-123); H. Reviv: „The Structure of Society" (II,125-146); Sh. Yeivin: „Administration" (II,147-171); M. Elat: „Trade and Commerce" (II,173-186); Y. Yadin: „The Archaeological Sources for the Period of the Monarchy" (II,187-235); E. Stern: „Craft and Industry" (II,237-264); E. Stern: „Dwellings and Graves" (II,265-278). Beide Teile enthalten überdies die üblichen Anmerkungen und Verzeichnisse. Leider vermisst man Bibeltextregister.

Obengenannte Namen und Titel zeigen die grosse Verschiedenheit der Themen und verraten die Sachkenntnis der Verfasser. Überschneidungen kann man — wie gesagt — oft nicht entgehen, wie z.B. die Aufsätze von Mazar und Freedman im ersten Teil zeigen, in denen Mazar die historischen und archäologischen, Freedman die literarischen und konzeptuellen Aspekte der davidischen und salomonischen Epoche betonen, ohne dass dies stört. Nicht nur im Text, sondern auch in den Anmerkungen wird modern-hebräische wissenschaftliche Arbeit verarbeitet, wodurch dieses Werk noch an Wert für Leser gewinnt, die dieser Sprache nicht mächtig sind. Oft stützen sich die Auseinandersetzungen der Verfasser auf hebräisch abgefasste Vorarbeiten, z.B. Tadmors wichtiger Artikel zur biblischen Chronologie in der *Encyclopaedia Migra'it*.

Ich kann nicht auf alle Pros und Kontras solcher Studiensammlung hinweisen. Nur einiges, — ganz willkürlich und in der Hoffnung, man nehme die Bücher selbst zur Hand — sei hier vorgeführt. Positiv zu bewerten ist, dass viele Verfasser sich ihren Quellen gegenüber historisch-kritisch verhalten, auch der alttestamentlichen Tradition gegenüber! Das ändert nichts daran, dass manche Autoren auch an die modernen wissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse kritische Fragen stellen, z.B. Sarna an die sogenannte „deuteronomistische Geschichtsschreibung" (I,6). Einen der auffallendsten Züge der biblischen Religion findet er „that its verities are communicated through the forms of history" (I,9). Vielleicht ist er an anderer Stelle jedoch zu optimis-

tisch, wenn er behauptet: „... even though there were 480 regnal years between the building of the Temple and the Cyrus Declaration and the same number between the Exodus and the Temple (I Kings 6:1), this must nevertheless be regarded as coincidence and not the result of the deliberate schematizing of a late Deuteronomistic redactor“ (I,13).

Wir erwähnten bereits Tadmors wichtigen Artikel zur Chronologie der Epoche des ersten Temples. Nach einer kurzen Auseinandersetzung über methodologische Fragen usw., schlägt er eine neue Methode zur Feststellung der Chronologie der Königszeit vor (I,51ff.). In Nachfolge von Standardprozeduren in den mesopotamischen chronologischen Berechnungen, geht er von den späteren, genaueren Datenangaben zurück zur älteren Königszeit. So setzt er etwa Menahems Tributzahlung an Tiglathpileser III. in dessen achtsten Regierungsjahr (738 v. Chr.) an usw. Tsevat weist auf die verschiedenen literarischen Stufen hin, die sich z.B. bei der Bildung der israelitischen Monarchie in I Samuel entdecken lassen (I,64ff.). Er und andere Gelehrte sind, wie jetzt auch K.A.D. Smelik (*Saul*, Amsterdam 1977), — jedoch auf andere Weise begründet — der Meinung, dass man nur wenig über die Gründung des israelitischen Königtums weiss. Interessant ist seine Ansicht über die „Hebräer“ in I Sam. 13:7 (I,69) und die Stellung Abners im Heere Sauls (I,70). Freedman betont die verschiedenen Davidbilder, die wir aus den alttestamentlichen Quellen bekommen und sucht einen Weg zum historischen David. Bei seiner Schilderung der „Thronfolge Davids“ in I Kön. 1f. hat er leider nicht die neuesten Studien von Dietrich, Flanagan, Langlamet, Veijola und Würthwein zu diesen Kapiteln benutzen können (I,121). Hin und wieder erscheint mir seine Beschreibung etwas oberflächlich (etwa I,123 zur Gibeons „Höhe“). Yeivin fängt seinen Aufsatz mit einer chronologischen Tafel an, die von derer Tadmors abweicht (I,126f.). Eph'al ist wahrscheinlich mit Recht der Meinung, dass König Hosea bereits zu Anfang der Belagerung Samarias verhaftet wurde (I,187).

Besonders nützlich sind die Aufsätze über Israels Umwelt. Gerade diese wichtigen Daten der Umweltgeschichte vermisst man — jedenfalls teilweise — oft in mancher Geschichte Israels, oder aber man benutzt sie zu zurückhaltend. Ebenso wenig findet man überall solch eine eingehende Beschäftigung mit den kulturellen, religiösen und wirtschaftlichen Aspekten der israelitischen und jüdischen Königszeit wie im ganzen zweiten Teil dieser Arbeit (Vol. 4-II), von dem der schon erwähnte Israel Eph'al Mitherausgeber ist. Auch hier könnte man ab und zu kritische Notizen zu den einzelnen Themen machen. Aber gab es je eine „Geschichte Israels“, in der Kultur und Wirtschaft, Religion und Literatur richtig bewertet sind? Immer wieder versucht man seine Thesen aus mehr oder weniger kargem und lückenhaftem Material aufzubauen und seine Meinung aus oft getrübtter Sicht zu verfechten.

Diese grossartige Arbeit verdient eine weite Verbreitung und den aufrichtigen Dank ihrer Benutzer: Forscher und gebildeter Leser.

Badhoevedorp NL, Christfest 1980

M. J. MULDER

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Peter WEIMAR, *Untersuchungen zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Pentateuch*. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1977 (8vo, x + 183 S.) = Beiheft zur ZAW 146. ISBN 3 11 006731 5.

Die gegenwärtige Pentateuchforschung ist durch gegensätzliche Tendenzen gekennzeichnet. Teils werden neue Ansätze gesucht, um die Urkundenhypothese in ihrer bisher herrschenden Form in Frage zu stellen oder ganz zu überwinden (z.B. van Seters, H. H. Schmid, Rendtorff); teils wird versucht, diese Hypothese durch weitere Differenzierungen zu verbessern und ihr neue Überzeugungskraft zu verleihen.

Weimar ist ein besonders engagierter Vertreter der zweiten Tendenz. Er will durch noch konsequentere Anwendung der literarkritischen Analyse neue Einsichten in die Redaktionsgeschichte des Pentateuch gewinnen. Dazu unternimmt er den Versuch, durch eine detaillierte Analyse weniger Einzeltexte eine Basis zu schaffen, von der aus er durch Verallgemeinerung „Ergebnisse und Folgerungen“ für die Entstehungsgeschichte der Pentateucherzählungen entfaltet. Hier entwirft er auf wenigen Seiten (162-172) ein Gesamtbild dieser Entstehungsgeschichte, für die er elf verschiedene Stufen annimmt, die sich auf den Zeitraum von der vorstaatlichen Zeit bis „um 400“ erstrecken.

Dieser Schlußabschnitt wird gewiß das Hauptinteresse auf sich ziehen. Vergleicht man Weimars Thesen mit der bisherigen Pentateuchkritik, so ergibt sich ein ambivalentes Bild. Manches ist ausgesprochen „konservativ“. Die literarkritische Analyse ist unerbittlich und von großer Überzeugung in die Richtigkeit der eigenen Argumente getragen, so daß oft sehr rasch weitreichende Folgerungen gezogen werden. Die Datierungen sind zunächst die herkömmlichen: Der „Jahwist“ gehört in die salomonische Epoche (164); der „Elohist“ stammt aus „prophetischen Kreisen des Nordreiches und ist ein Zeitgenosse des Amos und Hosea“ (165); der „Jehowist“ arbeitete „wahrscheinlich noch unter Hiskia, nachdem das 701 an die philistischen Städte verloren gegangene jüdische Bergland wieder an Jerusalem zurückgefallen war“ (168).

Im einzelnen entfernt sich Weimar jedoch weit von der herrschenden Auffassung. Der Anteil des Jahwisten wird drastisch reduziert: In der Urgeschichte werden ihm nur Teile von Gen 2f und wenige Verse der Sintflutgeschichte zugerechnet (155ff.). Von den drei als „Modellfall“ analysierten Fassungen der „Ahnfraugeschichte“ (Gen 12,10-20; 20; 26,1-11) gehört keine zum jahwistischen Werk (108). Und schließlich endet dieses bereits in Num 14,8a (163)! Hier erweist es sich als mißlich, daß die „Ergebnisse und Folgerungen“ nur teilweise aus der vorhergehenden Analyse gewonnen werden: für diese weitreichende Behauptung über den Abschluß des jahwistischen Werkes findet sich keinerlei Begründung und auch kein Literaturhinweis. So bleibt es dem Leser überlassen, diese These mit der Charakterisierung des Jahwisten als „eine in sich geschlossene literarische Komposition, deren tragendes Thema das von Jahwe dem Abraham und Mose verheißene und seinem Volk gegebene Land ist“ (164), in Einklang zu bringen.

Die „elohistische Geschichtsdarstellung“ ist, „entgegen einem weitverbreiteten Urteil... vollständig überliefert“ (165). Auch dies ist auf den ersten Blick ein sehr konservatives Urteil. Allerdings wird es wiederum durch

drastische Reduktion des elohistischen Anteils gewonnen: Er besteht nur in drei Gruppen von je drei Erzählungen über Abraham (neben anderen Textschichten enthalten in Gen 15; 20; 22), Jakob (enthalten in Gen 28; 35; 46,1-5) und „Israel“ (enthalten in Ex 3/4; 9/10; 19/20/33/34). Diese Textgruppe wird zunächst als „eine mehr oder mindere (sic!) lockere Aneinanderreihung von Einzelgeschichten“ bezeichnet (109), später jedoch „als ein Geschichtswerk von seltener Geschlossenheit sowohl im Hinblick auf die literarische Komposition als auch auf ihre thematische Gestaltung“ (167). Man muß das Vertrauen des Verfassers in die Tragfähigkeit seiner literarkritischen Analysen bewundern, wenn er über ein von ihm selbst aus vielen Einzelteilen zusammengesetztes „Werk“ ein solches Urteil fällen kann!

Die entscheidende Abweichung von der herrschenden Auffassung liegt nun aber in der Rolle, die Weimar dem „Jehowisten“ zuschreibt. Er ist nicht nur ein Redaktor, der J und E zusammengefügt hat (oder wie bei vielen neueren Exegeten eine Verlegenheitsbezeichnung für den „vorpriesterlichen“ Bestand, dessen literarkritische Analyse nicht mehr gelingt), sondern er hat „auch zahlreiche vorgegebene (ältere und jüngere) Geschichten in seine Darstellung der Frühgeschichte Israels eingegliedert“ (168), die er nicht beim Jahwisten und Elohisten fand. Dies gilt insbesondere für „zahlreiche Pentateucherzählungen“, die „aus der Situation der assyrischen Bedrohung des ausgehenden 8. Jh. verständlich“ werden (167). Das bedeutet also, daß wesentliche Teile des „vorpriesterlichen“ Materials im Pentateuch nicht aus J und E stammen, sondern erst später entstanden und vom Jehowisten (Je) mit den älteren Werken zusammengearbeitet worden sind. Dieses jehowistische Werk reichte übrigens bis Jos 24, so daß es auf dieser Ebene „einmal so etwas wie einen ‚Hexateuch‘ gegeben“ hat (169).

Dies ist nun gewiß nicht mehr als „Urkundenhypothese“ zu bezeichnen. Denn zu den drei „klassischen“ Urkunden J, E und P treten hier „zahlreiche Pentateucherzählungen“, die nie einer „Urkunde“ angehört haben, sondern vom „Jehowisten“ gesammelt und in seine Redaktionsarbeit einbezogen worden sind. Man kann auch den Jehowisten nicht als „Urkunde“ neben die anderen stellen, weil sein Werk nach Weimars Auffassung ja für sich allein bestanden hat.

Diese terminologische Frage ist aber weniger wichtig als die Beobachtung, daß hier mit den methodischen Werkzeugen der Literarkritik eine Auflösung der Urkundenhypothese (vielleicht unabsichtlich) vollzogen wird. „Redaktionsgeschichte“ ist hier offensichtlich etwas anderes als die Geschichte der redaktionellen Zusammenfügung von „Urkunden“. Man muß deshalb fragen, ob die Beibehaltung der traditionellen Siglen J, E und P sinnvoll ist. Denn insbesondere Weimars reduzierter „Jahwist“ hat mit dem der bisherigen Forschung nur noch wenig zu tun.

Nun wird man Weimars Buch nicht gerecht, wenn man sich nur mit dem Schlußteil auseinandersetzt, so sehr dieser kühne Gesamtentwurf dazu herausfordert. Ich will deshalb einige Anmerkungen zu den analytischen Teilen machen. Allerdings sind diese Teile außerordentlich schwer zu lesen, weil Weimar ständig auf mehreren Ebenen argumentiert und seine Ausführungen durch seitenlange Abschnitte in Petitdruck unterbricht, in denen er andere Texte behandelt

und zu denen er noch Anmerkungen hinzufügt, die oft fast die ganze Seite füllen; da in den jeweiligen Zusammenfassungen und im Schlußabschnitt keine Rückverweise auf die Analyse gegeben werden, ist es sehr mühsam herauszufinden, ob und wo sich eine exegetische Begründung für eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Behauptung findet.

Weimar wählt die „Geschichte von der Gefährdung der Ahnfrau“ als „Modellfall“ (108). Mir ist zweifelhaft, ob diese (scheinbar oder tatsächlich) dreimal erzählte Geschichte ein „Modell“ abgeben kann — denn es gibt ja keinen einzigen anderen Text, auf den dieses Modell anwendbar wäre, weil keine andere Erzählung dreimal begegnet. M.E. handelt es sich deshalb eher um einen Ausnahmefall, der gerade nicht verallgemeinert werden darf.

Zur Analyse im einzelnen: Weimar geht bei dem Versuch, die Absicht der Erzählung in Gen 12,10-20 zu bestimmen, von der Prämisse aus, daß dafür die Gestalt Saras „ohne Belang“ sei (19). Ich kann dem nicht zustimmen, denn m.E. konnte zu keiner Zeit ein israelitischer Hörer oder Leser diese Geschichte hören bzw. lesen, ohne sich vom ersten Augenblick an dessen bewußt zu sein, daß hier vom Schicksal seiner eigenen „Ahnfrau“ (!) die Rede war. Gerade um Saras Schicksal geht es. Deshalb ist mit V. 16a auch nicht nur zum Ausdruck gebracht, „daß die von Abraham getroffenen Vorsorgemaßnahmen Erfolg gehabt haben“ (21), sondern es entsteht zugleich ein neues Problem, weil „this situation ... cannot continue“, wie R.C. Culley es inzwischen ausgedrückt hat (*Studies in the Structure of Hebrew Narrative*, 1976, 36).

Damit wird aber Weimars Bestimmung der Erzählung als ein Stück „Auseinandersetzungsliteratur“ weisheitlicher Herkunft problematisch, weil sie auf dem „lehrhaften“ Gegenüber von Abraham und dem Pharao aufbaut. Dies hat insofern Konsequenzen für Weimars ganzes Konzept, als daran die Zusammenfassung dieser Erzählung mit anderen zu einem „ägyptisierenden ... Erzählkranz“ hängt, der seine Herkunft „aus weisheitlich gebildeten Kreisen am Jerusalemer Hof“ hat (35) und zu jenen Erzählungen aus der „hiskijanischen Epoche“ (167) gehört, die der Jehowist dann gesammelt und in sein Werk eingefügt hat.

Daß im jetzigen Kontext Gen 12,10-20 ein „negatives Paradigma“ zu 12,1-3 sei, hat schon v. Rad angenommen. Weimar betont nun aber, daß es nicht (wie bei v. Rad) um die Gefährdung der Verheißung gehe, sondern daß Abraham das Gegenbild zu der Aufforderung in V. 2b: „sei ein Segen!“ abgibt durch sein „Nicht-Vertrauen auf die Verheißung“ (51). Daraus folgert er, daß es um das „Glauben“ gehe, und sieht in Gen 15 das positive Gegenbild innerhalb der jehowistischen Redaktion — obwohl der entscheidende Ausdruck *hae-^{aem}min* in 12,10ff nicht vorkommt. Ich kann das nicht nachvollziehen, weil ein so wichtiges und bewußt verwendetes Wort nicht stillschweigend vorausgesetzt werden darf, so daß die Sonderstellung von Gen 15 bestehen bleibt.

Ich wollte mit diesem Beispiel zeigen, daß die literarkritische Analyse, die Weimar mit großer Akribie durchführt, m.E. für seine „redaktionsgeschichtlichen“ Hypothesen wenig austrägt. Die Entscheidungen fallen auf ganz anderen Ebenen. (Weimar kann die Ergebnisse seiner eigenen Analyse z.T. selbst nicht verwerten, so z.B. die Vermutung, daß in Gen 12,16b in den Wörtern „und Eselinnen und Kamele“ eine eigene „Stufe redaktioneller

Bearbeitung... greifbar" werde (14), von der er später sagen muß, daß „die Basis... noch zu schmal" sei (55, Anm. 160)).

In vielen Fällen ist mir auch fraglich, ob es wirklich literarkritische Argumente sind, die zur Unterscheidung verschiedener Überlieferungsschichten führen. Ein Beispiel: In Gen 2,8 „wird eine neue Thematik angeschlagen, indem hier nicht mehr von der Erschaffung des Menschen, sondern vom Pflanzen eines Gartens erzählt wird". So weit, so gut; aber wieso muß daraus gefolgert werden, „daß mit 2,8 eine neue, von der vorausgehenden... abzusetzende Geschichte begonnen hat", wo doch ein „Rückbezug von 2,8b auf 2,7au" vorhanden ist (115)? Könnten nicht beide Themen zu einer Erzählung gehören, wie es die meisten Exegeten mit guten Gründen annehmen? Das „vorjahwistische Diptychon" (154), das Weimar konstruiert, ist zwar sehr hübsch; aber da es schon vom Jahwisten selbst seiner Existenz beraubt wird, ist es doch für mein Empfinden ein allzu luftiges Gebilde. Es zeigt aber besonders deutlich Weimars Neigung zur Konstruktion neuer „Geschichten" (vgl. auch das zum Elohisten Gesagte), die mir recht problematisch erscheint.

An diesem Beispiel gleich noch ein Wort zur Datierungsfrage: Weimar vermutet, daß für die vorjahwistische Grundlage von Gen 2f „Erfahrungen des Umbruchs, die durch die Konstituierung eines Königtums in Israel unter Saul/David hervorgerufen wurden, ... eine entscheidende Rolle" gespielt hätten (154). Ich kann die Gründe für diese Annahme nicht erkennen. „Das Typische des menschlichen Daseins in der für es charakteristischen Ambivalenz", das hier „mit wenigen Strichen... gezeichnet" wird, wird doch gerade als Typisches unabhängig von politischen Umbrüchen erfahren, zumal die Mühsal der Feldarbeit von den politischen Vorgängen nicht berührt wird. Die bei Weimar durchweg zu beobachtende Tendenz, die Texte in möglichst genaue Beziehungen zu ganz bestimmten politischen Ereignissen zu setzen, geht m.E. häufig weit über das hinaus, was sich aus den Texten selbst erheben läßt. Zudem liegt ihr eine ausschließliche Orientierung an der politischen Geschichte zugrunde, die ich als einseitig und manchmal kurzschlüssig empfinde.

Einig bin ich mit Weimar in dem Bemühen, den Weg des Pentateuch bis zu seiner Endgestalt nachzuzeichnen. Dafür wäre u.a. noch genauer über die Stellung des „gesetzlichen Materials" nachzudenken, das immerhin fast ein Drittel des Pentateuchstoffes umfaßt und auf die Dauer wohl nicht nur als „Ps" abgetan werden kann. (Dazu hat neuerdings Brevard S. Childs in seiner *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 1979, einiges Wesentliche gesagt!) Im Übrigen bleibt es mir fraglich, ob die herkömmliche literarkritische Analyse, wie Weimar sie zu neuer Blüte erweckt hat, zu diesem Ziel Wesentliches beitragen kann. Das vorliegende Buch hat meine Skepsis nicht beseitigt, sondern eher verstärkt.

Heidelberg, Dezember 1980

ROLF RENDTORFF

* * *

Horst Dietrich PREUSS (Hg.), *Eschatologie im Alten Testament*. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1978 (in 8vo, VII + 513 S.) = Wege der Forschung Bd. 480. ISBN 3 534 07036 4.

In der Reihe „Wege der Forschung" legt uns H. D. Preuss in verdienstvoller Weise einen außergewöhnlich interessanten und aufschlußreichen Band vor. Es handelt sich um 23 Aufsätze und Auszüge zum Thema „Eschatologie im Alten Testament", die sich über die Jahre 1929 bis 1974 erstrecken (allerdings mit einer Lücke zwischen 1929 und 1951) und deren Wert und Brauchbarkeit durch eine sorgfältige Bibliographie sowie durch aufschlüsselnde Schriftstellen- und Sachregister erhöht werden. Etwa ein Drittel der Beiträge stammen von katholischen Fachkollegen. Im Original englisch oder französisch verfaßte Beiträge erfuhren eine (mehr oder weniger geglückte) Übersetzung ins Deutsche. Die Auswahl der Äußerungen ist in einem solchen Fall immer Ermessenssache (der Aufsatz von R. Eifler etwa dürfte schwerlich als für die DDR-Theologie repräsentativ gelten können). Das durch die Beiträge gebotene Bild über die „Wege der Forschung" im letzten halben Jahrhundert wird auch dadurch unvollständig, daß Monographien und vor allem die „klassischen" „Theologien des Alten Testaments" kaum berücksichtigt werden konnten. Einen gewissen Ersatz dafür bietet die den Band eröffnende Einleitung des Herausgebers, wo die Geschichte der Forschung um hundert Jahre früher einsetzt als in der Aufsatzsammlung und wo aus dieser zugleich eine Art Bilanz gezogen wird. Dafür gebührt dem Herausgeber besonderer Dank, um so mehr, als jeder, der sich zum Thema Eschatologie im Alten Testament äußert, sich eigentlich einem hoffnungslosen Unterfangen hingibt. Dies ist jedenfalls der bestimmte Eindruck, mit dem der Leser die Lektüre des Buches beschließt.

In der Tat begegnen wir auf Schritt und Tritt dem Bekenntnis, daß über Inhalt und Reichweite des Begriffs Eschatologie im Hinblick auf das Alte Testament große Meinungsverschiedenheiten herrschten, ja „eine wahrhaft babylonische Sprachenverwirrung" (Lohfink 241). Mit der Einmütigkeit darüber, daß mit Eschatologie in der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft etwas anderes gemeint sei als in der Dogmatik, ist ja wohl wenig geholfen. Nimmt man alles hinzu, was in den „eschatologischen" Aussagen der Propheten an Mythologie, Poesie, Hyperbel mitschwingt, wird man in der Rede von „Eschatologie im Alten Testament" noch zurückhaltender werden. Müßte man nicht — was der Herausgeber allerdings ablehnt — J. Carmignac zustimmen, der vorschlägt, auf den Terminus „Eschatologie" ganz zu verzichten, mit der Begründung: „Wenn man dem Begriff *Eschatologie* eine genaue Bedeutung beilegt, entfernt man sich von der biblischen Sprechweise. Wenn man ihm einen ungenauen Sinn gibt, gerät man in Wortklauberei und läuft Gefahr, den Leser zu täuschen" (322)? Um sich retten zu lassen, muß denn auch der Begriff Eschatologie die kühnsten Ausweitungen und Verdünnungen hinnehmen. Er wird gleichbedeutend mit Zukunftserwartung (Preuss 304f), mit Hoffnung (Preuss ebd., mit Moltmann), mit Glaube (Vriezen 128: „Schließlich ist Eschatologie die universale Form des Bekenntnisses betenden Glaubens"; im Original: „Lastly, eschatology is the universal form of the confession of praying faith"). Und wenn Vriezen im Prophetenwort „Ihr sollt mein

Volk sein, und ich will euer Gott sein" den „grundlegenden Inhalt der Eschatologie" sieht, so darf gefragt werden, ob dies nicht der grundlegende Inhalt des Alten Testaments überhaupt ist. Ist am Ende das ganze Alte Testament Eschatologie?

Eine letzte Frage drängt sich auf, aber sie sprengt bereits den Rahmen des anzuzeigenden Buches: Worin besteht die Aktualität der „eschatologischen" Aussagen des Alten Testaments für den Christen von heute? Wenn die christliche Kirche das Alte Testament als ihre Bibel ansieht, müßte doch gerade seine „Eschatologie" für den Christen von Bedeutung sein. Liegt diese nur darin, daß die alttestamentliche „Eschatologie" die neutestamentliche vorbereitet hat — dann wäre sie für uns reichlich uninteressant geworden —, oder hat das Alte Testament auch hierin einen — vielleicht wieder zu entdeckenden — Eigenwert?

Luzern, November 1980

HERBERT HAAG

JUDAICA

Eckhard von NORDHEIM, *Die Lehre der Alten, I. Das Testament als Literaturgattung im Judentum der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1980 (25 cm., VIII + 254 S.) = ALGHJ 13. ISBN 90 04 06053 7. Preis: fl. 80.—.

Das hier anzuzeigende Buch ist Teil einer Dissertation, die durch den verstorbenen G. v. Rad angeregt und durch K. Baltzer betreut wurde. Den Thesen des letzteren steht Vf. allerdings in grosser Freiheit gegenüber (S. 11). Zusammen mit einem zweiten Teil soll die Publikation die Eigenart und Geschichte einer orientalistisch-alttestamentlichen Literaturgattung, des „Testaments" bedeutender Männer, darstellen. Der vorliegende Teil beschreibt das, was Vf. als Ergebnis der von ihm angenommenen Entwicklung ansieht: das fast ausschliesslich (doch vgl. die Erwähnung von H. Palmer S. 9f.) in jüdisch-christlicher Überlieferung vorliegende „Testament" der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit. Dieses hat weder Ähnlichkeit mit der gleichnamigen Literaturform der klassisch griechischen Überlieferung noch mit der juristischen Form des Testaments (S. 220, Anm. 1; 240ff.). Innerhalb der starken Variabilität dieser Form kann Vf. auch keine Entwicklung erkennen (S. 240). Er untersucht, zunächst an der Sammlung der Test XII Patr, dann an den andern Beispielen der genannten Zeit, ob sich darin — wenn schon kein Grundschema zu finden ist (S. 92 gegen Jürgen becker) — Merkmale einer gemeinsamen „Form" nachweisen lassen. Hierfür werden nach den äusseren, stilistischen Kriterien die „inneren" festgestellt, d.h. die Intention, Argumentationsweise und Motivation des Verfassers. Damit wird allerdings der Begriff der literarischen Form auf ungebrauchliche Weise erweitert und auf die Denkweise und die Motivation angewendet. Das Ergebnis wird übrigens schon bei der Programmansage mitgeteilt: Die zwölf Patriarchentestamente haben eine gemeinsame Form, die

äusserlich zwar recht frei ist, in der Intention, Argumentationsweise und Motivation — also den „inneren" Kriterien — konstant sind. Von den andern Testamenten aus derselben Periode wird ebenfalls gesagt, dass sich in ihnen die Gattung erhalten habe, allerdings als eine spezielle, den besonderen Gegebenheiten angepasste Ausprägung. Weiter will Vf. nach dem „sozialen Ort" der gefundenen Gattung forschen, meint aber, diese erst im zweiten Teil behandeln zu können; erst müsse die Gattung gegen das „Bundesformular" von Baltzer abgegrenzt werden und der weisheitlichen Lehr- und Mahnrede zugeordnet werden. Die Begründung ist mir nicht ganz verständlich. Doch erfährt der Leser über diese Fragen auf S. 99-103 und 239f. Einiges: das „Testament" sei schriftlich konzipierte und überlieferte „weisheitliche Lehr- und Mahnrede" (S. 240), was m.E. keineswegs so präzise und konkret ist, wie es klingt.

Die Textanalyse nimmt den Hauptteil des Buches ein und will, wie üblich, die im Ganzen recht einfache These beweisen und näher qualifizieren. Der engere Fachgenosse wird hierzu manche Fragen stellen können, den Rezensenten interessiert mehr das Ergebnis, das im Schlussabschnitt etwas vorsichtig als „Ergebnisse und Thesen" zusammengefasst ist. Vf. führt diese in 4 Punkten aus: 1. Die äusseren Kriterien beweisen die Existenz einer Gattung. Die Einleitung berichtet Selbstverständliches, wie Name des fiktiven Verfassers und der Adressaten, Hinweis auf den bevorstehenden Tod, Altersangabe des Sterbenden, vor allem eine „Redeeinleitungsformel", d.h. einem Aufruf zur Aufmerksamkeit, der durch H. W. Wolff und G. v. Rad den Namen „Lehr-Eröffnungsformel" o.ä. empfangen hat. Dies ist dem Vf. wichtig, weil er mit ihr den „weisheitlichen Charakter" der Testamentform beweisen zu können glaubt (S. 93). Der Schlussteil enthält eine Redeabschlussformel, Bestattungsanweisungen, Mitteilung des Todes, der Bestattung und der Trauer. Besonders wichtig für die These des Vf. ist der Mittelteil, der aus dem Rückblick auf die Vergangenheit, der Verhaltensanweisung (= Paränese) und der Zukunftsansage besteht. Doch ist die Benutzung und Anordnung der genannten Elemente so variabel, dass sowohl Auslassungen als auch Umstellungen häufig sind. 2. Die aus der Variabilität der Form entstandene Unsicherheit über ihre Existenz will Vf. beheben durch das Aufzeigen der „inneren Kriterien", d.h. in Wirklichkeit durch das Aufweisen des rational logischen Zusammenhangs innerhalb der Testament-Form. Aus den Einleitungen und den Abschlüssen folgert er, dass „ihr Skopus im Paränetischen" zu suchen ist (233). Der Rückblick des Sterbenden auf sein Leben dient der exemplarischen Begründung der „Verhaltensmassregel" und die Zukunftweisagung stellt die Folgen eines schlechten Verhaltens den Nachkommen des Patriarchen und den Lesern vor Augen, dient also ebenso der Einschränkung der Verhaltensmassregel, dem Paränetischen (S. 233ff.). In der eschatologischen Zukunft ist schliesslich das Gericht zu erwarten. Dass solche „Verhaltensmassnach Meinung des Vf. auf der Lebenserfahrung, die man beim Sterbenden vermutet, vor allem aber auf der Verpflichtung, die Überlieferung der Vorfahren weiterzugeben (TestSim 7,3; Test Iss 6,3). „Die Intention der Gattung ist also die Belehrung, ihre Argumentationsweise weitgehend rational; ihre Motivation liegt in dem Interesse, den Schatz der Erfahrungen der Alten nicht untergehen

zu lassen, sondern ihn für die Nachkommen fruchtbar werden zu lassen". (236). 3. Die Lokalisierung dieser Belehrung in die Sterbestunde sieht Vf. nicht in einer „ars moriendi“ begründet, auch nicht in der Überzeugung, dass Sterbende prophezeien können. Er meint einfach — und wenig überzeugend —, dass die Sterbestunde als letzte Möglichkeit angesehen wird, in der die Tradition weitergegeben werden kann. 4. Der Sitz im Leben der Testamentform wird darin gefunden, dass diese, wie die weisheitliche Lehrrede, zur Bewältigung des Lebens durch Einsicht und Erfahrung anleiten will. Im Gegensatz zur ursprünglich mündlich vorgetragenen Lehrrede, sei das Testament aber von vorneherein eine literarische Gattung ohne mündliche Vorstufe.

V. Nordheim bietet eine These, die schon wegen ihrer rationalen Simplizität überzeugend wirkt, deren Kern, die paränetische Zielsetzung der Testamentform, sich zudem aus den Texten wahrscheinlich machen lässt. Dennoch ist es mir sehr fraglich, ob man die „Testamente“ in ihrer logisch-syntaktischen Rationalität so ernst nehmen kann, dass man als Zielsetzung solcher Testamente die ethische Paränese ansehen muss. Einmal vergisst man dann, dass das Ganze eine erzählerische Fiktion ist, die als Form sinnlos wird, wenn ihr einziger Zweck ist, ethische Anweisungen mitzuteilen, die in den vielen Weisheitsreden ebenso gut oder schlecht überliefert sind. Ausserdem steht nirgends, dass die paränetischen Anweisungen eigentlich — und das hiesse doch: vor allem — den Lesern gelten sollten. Es findet sich doch der Hinweis, dass die Nachkommen der Kinder sündigen werden (Test Levi 10,1) und in Test Napht 4 wird deutlich von bestimmten Generationen gesprochen, die in der Welt zerstreut werden wegen ihrer Sünden. Am Ende steht die unkonditionierte Heilszusage, so dass man auch vermuten kann, dass die Paränese bestimmte Phasen der Geschichte charakterisieren soll. Schliesslich sind die meisten Ermahnungen von so hausbackener Allgemeinheit, dass Vf. sie mit den mehr interpretierenden als zutreffenden Ausdrücken „Verhaltensmassregel“ und „Lebensbewältigung“ umschreibt. Diese Allgemeinheiten können kaum als flammende Bekehrungsauftrufe angesehen werden.

Eher muss man die Paränese als einen Teil des Testaments betrachten, der traditionell zur Form gehört, ohne eine wesentliche Intention des Testamentes auszudrücken, wenn eine solche überhaupt existieren sollte. Das älteste Beispiel eines Testaments aus hellenistischer Zeit, das Vf. — ich hoffe nicht geflissentlich — auslässt, in Tob 14,3-8 enthält wie die T XII Petr Paränese und apokalyptische Zukunftsweissagung (vgl. T Napht 4), ohne beide in der von v. Nordheim gemeinten Art zu verbinden. Die Paränese zielt in Tob 14 nicht als Skopus auf den Leser, das tut die Heilsweissagung; die Paränese charakterisiert nur den Sterbenden als jemand, der seine Söhne zur Rechtschaffenheit ermahnt. Auch v. Nordheim hat m.E. nicht bewiesen, dass das „Testament“ nichts als eine verkleidete Mahn- und Lehrrede ist. Dass er diesen Beweis versucht hat, beruht auf seinem vielleicht durch G.v.Rad inspirierten Weisheitsbegriff, in dem schon biographisches Erzählen (Vgl. die Weisheitserzählung), sicher aber Prophetie und Geschichte Fremdkörper sein müssen. In Wirklichkeit gehört das Testament, was auf der Hand liegt, zum biographischen Genre, und die Grundfrage müsste darum

sein: welche Funktion hat die Paränese innerhalb eines biographischen Genres? Der Hauptfehler v. Nordheims ist, dass er von vorneherein die „Form“ des Testaments isoliert, um dann auch ihren Inhalt zu isolieren.

Reutlingen, den 15. Dezember 1980

J. C. H. LEBRAM

* *

Saul LEVIN, *The Father of Joshua/Jesus*. Binghamton-New York, State University of New York, 1978 (22 cm., vi + 195 p.). Price \$ 4.00.

In this work, Levin presents his original theory that the Septuagint rendering of Joshua's father's name בן נון by Ναυη instead of Ναυν did not merely come about as a result of "a transcriptional blunder" (p. 4). Rather, the Greek represents an original בנהוה "son of the Lord" of an ancient Hebrew Bible manuscript now lost. Levin reasons that the scribes "to whom we owe the Massoretic and Samaritan Hebrew texts changed בן נון to בן יהוה (via בנהוה) as an unattested scribal correction called קוני סופרים in rabbinical literature" (p. 17). The motive for the correction (as if any needs to be expressed) would be in Levin's words "to remove a left-over trace of mythology that linked the Lord and a man together in an unbecoming relation" (p. 107). The author explains its absence in rabbinic literature as a "scribal correction", in fact, it would have been the most important of all the "scribal corrections" as he himself admits (p. 107), for the same reason that this very same lore ignores any report of divine parentage for Jesus of Nazareth.

Levin, in a series of philological arguments attempts to show how the original בן יהוה was amended to בן נון via an intermediate form of בנהוה (p. 21). This he does by using בנימין to explain the (i) over (ε) as being due to the following *Yodh* which begins the next syllable. Consequently, he concludes that the source for the [i] on בן of בנון may also have been a *yodh* formerly at the beginning of the next syllable i.e. יהוה . Then the phonetic sequence (biny) became (bō) with the (n) sound of *Espagnol* followed in turn by gemination (binn-) and hence בנהוה . The final step was the correction involving the reshaping of the letter ה twice in בנהוה to make it נ . This, he speculates, was done so early that there was no difference as yet between final ן and non-final נ (p. 107).

How, one may ask, did Joshua come to be considered so significant a personality to have been called "the son of the Lord"? Joshua, the servant of Moses and his successor, whose master himself was not even called "son of the Lord" but rather "servant of the Lord" (Dt. 34:5) attained this divine status, according to the author, as a result of extra-Biblical sources. Citing an eighteenth century work רבי פאליס of Abraham ben Elijah of Wilna as well as a passage from the Zohar, where Joshua is never mentioned by name, he builds up the aura surrounding Joshua, which in his opinion grew as a result of his exploits and thus earned him the epithet בנהוה "son of the Lord" which was attached to his name.

As Levine himself points out (p. 107) "to reconstruct בנהוה from νῑὸς Ναυῆ is only theoretical until validated by an ancient manuscript from the Dead Sea or elsewhere". One is inclined to go along with him on that point after examining his arguments which are built on spurious speculation with no fact to back them up. Why one cannot let the matter rest where Gesenius put it to rest over a century and a half ago by explaining the Greek reading NAYH as a scribal mistake for NAYN (p. 5), I fail to see. After examining the evidence, one is pressed hard, not to apply the proverbial "mountain out of a molehill" statement to this entire theory.

The theory is novel, to say the least. That the author builds his case on speculation upon speculation with very little basis of fact, is visible on almost every one of the 181 pages of this book. Levine displays a propensity for elaborating a point beyond all limits, as in n. 56 which spreads its contents over pp. 64-67 of which 9/10 is not germane to the statement made in the text to which this note was originally appended.

In this vein, the author very frequently strays from the main line of argument only to engage in long winded elaborations on minor points and insignificant details. These digressions continue page after page, at times taking up entire chapters and more often than not, finding their way to a footnote that just drags on forever and goes absolutely nowhere. I cite only the following example to illustrate my point. In the section entitled David's wives (pp. 122-137) Levine speculates (p. 134) that in נבל Abigail "was married to a fool—more precisely a boor". His footnote (# 39), does not prove this contention and I fail to see its relevance to the main issue at hand. In fact Levin himself rejects this interpretation for נבל in II Sam. 25:26 in this very footnote itself.

As the title of this work—*The Father of Joshua/Jesus*—indicates Levin brings Jesus' paternity into the discussion as well, in Chapter VI: "Motifs of Joshua and David in the Gospels" (pp. 140-181). He draws the parallel between Joshua's and Jesus' name in the Aramaic and Greek forms, which he had already done in an earlier chapter (pp. 7-8) and then launches into a recreation of the history of early Christianity (pp. 141-176), to me an unnecessary sidestep of some 35 pages, to get to the main point of his analogy concerning Jesus' paternity and the analogy to Joshua's alleged divine paternity inherent in νῑὸς Ναυν (concisely stated in the last two paragraphs of the book (pp. 180-1).

The necessity of Chapter V «The Fertility of the Tribe of Judah» is to me one big question mark. The author states at the outset of this chapter "The idea of miraculous procreation in ancient-Israel was widespread enough to crop up in stories of other great men besides Joshua" (p. 108). The entire chapter, which could have been concisely summarized in its relevance to Levin's original theory, turns out, instead to be an elaborate Biblical commentary of various passages which strays far and beyond the main point of the book. Some of these interpretations absolutely fail to convince me by their line of reasoning. His translation of Gen. 18:11 היתה לי ערנה "I have some fun" (?); his statement (p. 115) "through some miracle the Lord in human form has made her pregnant" (?) is mere speculation without any textual evidence.

In conclusion, one feels hard-pressed to be convinced by the arguments set forth by Levin's lines of reasoning for his original theory. For one the Greek Ναυν could

easily have been a transcriptional error and than intentionally adopted in dozens of other passages. Furthermore, a Hebrew reading "son of the Lord" corrected by the scribes would have been one of such paramount significance that it would certainly have been mentioned in rabbinic literature. Reasoning that silence there falls in line with a similar silence there about Jesus' birth is a circular argument. Finally, the attribution of divine parentage to Joshua on the basis of myth from an obscure passage in the Zohar which does not even mention him by name as well as from a late 18th century work is hardly basis enough to support the beginning of this theory, let alone the absence of any extent biblical manuscript that reads "Joshua, son of the Lord".

In addition to a general index of names and related terms in English (pp. 182-185), there is a Hebrew & Aramaic Index (pp. 185-189), and a Greek Index (pp. 189-190), as well as Indices on Biblical, Rabbinic, and Classical sources (pp. 190-195). Unfortunately the book does not contain a bibliography or list of abbreviations.

University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee, Bernard GROSSFELD
October 1980

* *

Pierre GRELOT, *L'Espérance juive à l'heure de Jésus*. Paris, Desclée Éditeurs, 1978 (20 cm., ii + 280 pp.) = Collection Jésus et Jésus-Christ, No. 6. ISBN 2 7189 0136 5. Price: 494 F.B.

The editor of this series, J. Doré, demonstrates in a lengthy introduction why Grelot was the one man to write about this subject. Should the interested reader have a good insight in the various religious groups in Jesus' time, then it was necessary to translate a lot of old texts. The author, professor of Ancient Oriental Languages in Paris, has occupied himself during a not insignificant part of his life with the study of the Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac languages. The reader has now the opportunity to take note in correct translations of many rather unknown and unexplored texts concerning the witnesses of Jewish hope.

Although, according to the title, the main point is situated in the time of Jesus, the book also describes the period in which the different Jewish parties came into existence, and likewise the time after the fall of Jerusalem. Clearly is proved that there are unchangeable and changeable elements in the religious life of the Jews.

On the last page of the book the author asks the question why the religious development of Christianity differs so strongly from the Jewish *haggadah*. The author does not work out the problem as it does not fall within the scope of this book! The problem, however, requires an answer. I hope that Grelot will find time to write a book about his question. In this century it is very urgent to have a conclusive argument.

Amstelveen, September 1980

H. MULDER

* *

Felix BÖHL, *Aufbau und literarische Formen des aggadischen Teils im Yelamdenu-Midrash*. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977 (24 cm., x + 122 S.). ISBN 3 515 02679 7. DM 28.—.

Die Habilitationsarbeit des Herrn Felix Böhl behandelt eine weitaus umstrittene Frage in der modernen Midraschforschung. In einer Einleitung (S. 1-13) gibt der Verfasser eine Übersicht der Fachliteratur seit L. Zunz, „Die Gottesdienstliche Vorträge“ (Berlin 1832) bis zu den neusten Abhandlungen. Die vieldiskutierten Fragen über die Entstehungszeit des Yelamdenu, das Verhältnis vom Yelamdenu und Tanchuma, die Handschriftenüberlieferung, sowie auch die Fragen nach Form und Sitz im Leben, werden zusammen mit den gegebenen Spekulationen und Theorien im allgemeinen zuverlässig geschildert.

Da die Erforschung der formalen Struktur wie deren Sitz im Leben sich ausschließlich auf den halachischen Teil des Yelamdenu beschränkte, versucht es der Verfasser, den aggadischen Teil des Midrasch 'auf etwaige Formen hin zu betrachten'. (S. 13) in der Hoffnung, dass er als Resultat eines 'formgeschichtlichen Prozesses' verstanden werden kann.

Im ersten Teil seiner Arbeit präsentiert der Verfasser 1.) die literarischen Vorläufer der Yelamdenu-Form' (15-22), 2.) die Yelamdenu-Responsen im babylonischen Talmud (23-28) und dann 3.) in Kürze (29-32) den eigentlichen Yelamdenu, oder — wie die vom Verfasser geprägte Benennung — „die klassische Yelamdenu-Homilie“. Der Verfasser ist sich dessen bewusst, dass die Yelamdenu Responsen des babylonischen Talmud verschieden sind von der literarischen Gattung, die er zu behandeln sucht. Das einzig Gemeinsame ist die Formel ילמדנו רבנו (Yelamdenu Rabenu). Deswegen hätte er ruhig auf das zweite Kapitel verzichten können. Der Zusammenhang des Yelamdenu mit der in der tannaitischen Literatur findbaren Form ist dagegen viel klarer und nicht so überraschend, wie der Verfasser (S. 16) zu vermuten scheint. Die Einleitungsformel ist bestimmt nicht der ausschlaggebende Faktor, wenn es auf die Struktur jener Homilien ankommt, in denen halachische Sätze der aggadischen Ausführung vorangehen. Tosefta Berachot 2,15 hat mehr damit zu tun als Sifre Num. § 118, S. 141). Der Verfasser ist im Recht (S. 32), wenn er zum Schluss gelangt, dass die Yelamdenu-Homilien wie sie uns vorliegen, nicht als Predigten gehalten wurden, sondern ihren Sitz im Leben in der Stube des Redaktors haben. Dieser Schluss ist nicht ganz neu. Es wäre noch hinzuzufügen, dass auch in der tannaitischen Quelle, die der Verfasser gewählt hat (S. 17-18), der Bericht über die Unterweisung nur als Ausgangspunkt dient, aber die Homilie als ganzes gleichfalls das Produkt einer Redaktion ist. Wenn jedoch der Verfasser zu glauben scheint, dass der Ursprung der tannaitischen Quelle trotzdem im Lehrhaus ist, liegt auch kein Grund vor, den Yelamdenu-Homilien ihren ursprünglichen Sitz im Leben im synagogalen Vortrag abzuspochen.

Am Anfang des dritten Teiles (S. 69) fasst der Verfasser die Ergebnisse der Einzeluntersuchung im zweiten Teil zusammen, wobei er zugiebt, dass seine Einordnung der Texte in drei Strukturelemente (1. Thema oder These, 2. aggadischer Mittelteil, 3. Abschluss und Überleitung) nur auf einen Teil des Materials anwendbar ist. Eine formale Einordnung aller Yelamdenu-Texte ist auch seiner Ansicht nach unerreichbar. Trotzdem verzichtet Herr Böhl

nicht darauf, in diesem Kapitel auf wesentliche und erkennbare Strukturelemente aufmerksam zu machen. Im ersten Kapitel dieses Teiles untersucht Böhl die abschliessenden literarischen Formen des Yelamdenu, wobei zu bemerken wäre, dass Schlussteile, die mit einer תדע teda-Formel eingeleitet werden (S. 70), nicht zur selben Kategorie der Struktur gehören wie „Das Gebet“ (S. 76) oder „Die Gottesrede“ (S. 82). Die Annahme des Verfassers, dass der Ausgangspunkt für תדע לך teda lecha die biblische Formel דע וראה, erkenne und sieh', bzw. pluralisch דעו וראו, erkennet und sehet' bildet, erscheint mir mehr als zweifelhaft. Die biblische Formel ist eine Aufforderung und ihr entspricht das rabbinische צא וראה, צאו וראו, während תדע לך eine Beweisführung ist.

Das letzte Kapitel des Buches ist der zahlmässig weitaus grössten Gruppe, dem „Yelamdenu mit Mittelteil“ (S. 85) gewidmet. Nach einem schematischen Überblick verschiedener Strukturen in Bezug auf den Platz des Mittelteiles, macht der Verfasser die richtige Beobachtung, dass gerade dieser Teil Möglichkeiten für Einschübe bot. (S. 89). Zu diesem Teil sind auch Parallelen vorhanden, während der Schlussteil Eigentum des Yelamdenu darstellt. Der Verfasser zeichnet in Kürze den Weg vom „Yelamdenu ohne Mittelteil“ zum Yelamdenu mit demselben. Damit, sagt er, „soll nicht behauptet sein, dass diese Abfolge auch dem historischen Ablauf entspricht“. Im darauf folgenden Paragraph geht der Verfasser zum Problem der Datierung über. Ich muss gestehen, dass es mir nicht gelungen ist, den Zusammenhang zwischen der Erörterung dieser Frage, der weniger als eine Seite gewidmet ist, und dem Vorangehenden zu ermitteln. Was der Verfasser zu der vieldiskutierten Frage der Datierung zu sagen hat — und das ist nicht sehr viel und nicht ganz richtig —, hätte auch ohne das Vorangehende gesagt werden können.

Die ehrlichen Bemühungen des Herrn Böhl haben vor allem einen pädagogischen Wert, indem sie die Aufmerksamkeit des Lesers und Studierenden auf Fragen des literarischen Aufbaus lenken. Andererseits kann die Arbeit als Beispiel für die Grenzen der Strukturforschung und der Fruchtlosigkeit ihrer Anwendung an Texten wie der Yelamdenu dienen, wenn es sich um die Lösung von literarkritischen und historischen Fragen handelt.

Jerusalem, Januar 1981

EPHRAIM E. URBACH

* *

Rolf-Peter SCHMITZ, *Aqedat Yisḥaq. Die mittelalterliche Auslegung von Genesis 22 in ihren Hauptlinien*. Hildesheim/New York, Georg Olms Verlag, 1979 (21 cm., iv + 314 pp.) = ISBN 3 487 06822 2. Price: DM 48.—.

It is a well known fact that the story of the Aqeda is one of the focal points of Jewish theological reflexion. The theme was again placed in the centre of scholarly interest by the important study by Sh. Spiegel (Marx Jubilee Volume 1950), which initiated the debate (still not concluded) on the antiquity of the idea of the atoning effect of the sacrifice on mount Moriah and its relation with Christian soteriology (Vermes, Leiden 1961; Rosenberg, JBL 84 (1965) and recently Davies/Chilton, CBQ 40

(1978) and Davies, JJS 30 (1979)). Previous attention has been focussed mainly on the "Moriah-Golgotha" debate and on the extreme consequence of the atonement idea — the assumption that Isaac died on the altar. Thus the views of 'normative Medieval Judaism' on the Aqeda have not received the attention they certainly deserve until now.

Therefore the book under review is a very welcome addition to the study of the developments of medieval thought on our theme, especially since the subject is so competently treated. Initially a doctoral dissertation (Cologne 1975), it has now been published in the series "Judaistische Texte und Studien" edited by Johann Maier.

The author has succeeded in arranging in a logical sequence the many faceted mass of ideas and interpretations connected with the Aqeda. The presentation of his findings, well divided into categories, is clear, and the translations are readable. Probably the great number of often repetitious views on the subject of the Aqeda with which the author had to cope can be held responsible for the fact that he was not able to indicate lines of development of theological reflexion. It is inevitable that in a different time different issues were emphasised, but the main impression left by Schmitz' treatment is one of continuity and repetition. Similarly he could not do complete justice to the few individual profiles which can be discerned among the mass of commentators. The result is a broad picture of ideas and motifs, but differences of opinion, as e.g. between Maimonides and Nahmanides, are not sufficiently prominent.

It was a good choice to append a translation of Abraham's lengthy exegetical treatment of Genesis 22 (taken from his commentary on the Pentateuch). Abraham, of all the commentators, not only circumstantially expounded his own views on the value of this enigmatic biblical story (and rather individual views at that), he also included the opinions of many others, as he himself announced at the beginning of his introduction to the chapter (ed. Jerus. 1964, p. 265). Since the importance of Abraham's exegesis of the story of the Aqeda is thus implicitly acknowledged by Schmitz, it comes as a slight disappointment that Abraham's individual stand on the value and effects of the event on mount Moriah have not been more explicitly acknowledged in the book itself. The fact is that Abraham, after rejecting the views of such worthy predecessors as Maimonides, Nahmanides, Nissim Gerondi and Chisdai Crescas, emphatically states that, according to him, the lasting effect of the Aqeda should be seen in its positive influence on the future of Israel. The Aqeda is, one might even say, the warrant for Israel's survival (ed. pp. 261, 266; cp. Schmitz, pp. 142-144). Notwithstanding the fact that this soteriological note has always been present in the exegesis of Genesis 22 (but see below my remark on Schmitz p. 177), it is Abraham's emphasis on exactly this point (combined with his messianic convictions) that makes his exegesis so important. It should, however be admitted that he succeeds in combining this idea with many other traditional themes.

Some other points of critique should also be mentioned. In choosing his spokesmen (no less than 25 exegetes and philosophers, dating from the 10th century (Saadja Gaon) to the 16th (Obadja Sforno), the author has made a representative choice. Nevertheless two names which I had expected to find are not included in the list. It is not clear

why the exegetical-homiletic work of Isaac Arama (1420-1494), — the title of which (*Aqedat Yisḥaq*) is a virtual invitation to inclusion into this book —, has not been used. Written under the shadows of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain (like Abraham's works) its views on the trials of the patriarchs are certainly worth consideration. The other name that one misses is Moses Alscheich (d. ca. 1595). His massive commentaries have the merit of including virtually every possible view on the biblical text, — especially as traceable in midrash —, and also he forms an important link with Zoharic kabbalistic traditions, which are not over-abundantly represented in Schmitz' book. Alscheich falls within every conceivable definition of the Jewish Middle Ages and always has been an influential exegete, whose exegesis of Genesis 22 is considered worthy of special mention by J. Maier (probably the author's teacher) in his *Geschichte der jüdischen Religion* (1972), 121. Another omission is Joseph Ibn Caspi's *Sefer ha-Sod* (or: *Tirat ha-Kesef*, ed. I. Last in *Mishne Kesef*, Pressburg 1905). Caspi's exegetical work *Maṣref la-Kesef* (mistakenly quoted as *Mishne Kesef*) has been consulted by Schmitz, but he did not include the account of Caspi's views on the Aqeda and the problem of *nissayon* — trial, as expressed in his *Sefer ha-Sod* I, 30. Caspi himself refers the readers of his exegetical work to *Sefer ha-Sod*. This book, his first, deals with general theological problems, and the exposition of the concept of trial found there is a truly remarkable one indeed, an outstanding example of Maimonidean epigonism.

A point of a more general nature, which in the course of the discussion of the views on the medieval exegetes is not sufficiently emphasised by Schmitz, is their high degree of dependence upon the Midrash. This link with midrashic literature is rarely so evident as in the case of Rashi, whose (almost) sole contribution to the exegesis of Genesis 22 is his *choice* of midrashic interpretations. Still, the majority of the medieval commentators derive the bulk of their exegetical problems (and their solutions) from rabbinic literature. Schmitz is aware of this (rather obvious) fact. Usually his notes very succinctly refer to rabbinic sources. But in the text of the book itself the relations between Midrash and exegesis are not sufficiently acknowledged. Two examples (out of many):

P. 45: One of the main difficulties of the biblical story of the Aqeda has always been the words in vs. 12: "Now I know that you are godfearing". Is not God omniscient? Didn't He know this beforehand? Schmitz quotes an "überraschende Lösung" in the name of Abraham and Obadja Sforno: "Dies sind die Worte des Engels, die es von sich und nicht im Namen Gottes sagte". But this solution can already be found in the Tanchuma and this fact throws a completely different light on the contribution of the exegetes mentioned. On the same page Rashi's etymological explanations of the word *ma'akhelet* are quoted. In fact, Rashi's explanations are actually two midrashic interpretations. But a succinct reference to (one of) his sources at the end of a rather extensive note is not sufficient to make the uninformed reader realise this fact. It seems, however, that, while the work progressed, Schmitz tried to remedy this defect. References to the role of the Midrashim appear in the text on e.g. pp. 67, 69, 134ff., 167, 187.

Finally some minor remarks:

Some more internal references and an attempt at an Index would have been welcome and would have increased the value and usefulness of the book.

In the list of commentators (pp. 23-33) Hizqiya bar Manoah is missing, although his book *Hazequni* is quoted (once as *Chazequni*) a few times in the text and is included in the bibliography.

On p. 69: The fiery column beheld by Abraham on the top of mount Moriah is identified by the Yalqut as the *Kevod ha-shekhina*. A parallel identification of the cloud surrounding the mountain as *'anan 'iqera*, however, is already found in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan.

The remark on p. 84 that Ibn Ezra did not succeed in clarifying his intentions by referring to his commentary of Ex. 33, 12 should be modified by a reference to the Shorter Recension of the Exodus commentary, a.l. (and see the remarks of Fleischer and Weiser in their respective editions there).

The remark on p. 177: "Die Übereinstimmung aller Exegeten, dass die Prüfung des Gerechten ... eine reichliche Belohnung durch Gott mit sich bringt..." does not do justice to Maimonides' emphatic rejection of this view (cp. p. 113). See also on the same page: "Wie ein roter Faden zieht sich der Glaube an die sündenvergebende Kraft der Aqeda durch alle Auslegungen" (both italics mine).

It was a highly unfortunate decision of the author to choose a system of transcription of Hebrew which records the consonants alone. This system (useful for "altgrammatische" studies) makes reference to the Hebrew unnecessarily cryptic and plays havoc with non-Hebrew proper names, which with great frequency occur in bibliographical references. Only the initiate is able to recognise that *š'ww'l* stands for Chavel and *pldmn* for Feldman; and why should *wjnjsj'h* disguise Venice?

But it is more than complying with the rules of the literary genre 'review' that I, the criticism voiced above notwithstanding, end with emphasising again the usefulness and good quality of this book. It is sincerely recommended to all who are engaged in the study of medieval Jewish exegesis or medieval Jewish theology.

Leiden, october 1980

A. VAN DER HEIDE

* *

S.D. GOITEIN, *A Mediterranean Society, the Jewish communities of the Arab world as portrayed in the documents of the Cairo geniza*, Vol. III; the family, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, University of California Press, 1978 (24 cm, XXI, 522 pp.). ISBN 0520 03265 9. Price: £ 15.00.

Orientalists, medievalists, sociologists, scholars interested in comparative law and in many other subjects will congratulate the veteran author upon the publication of the third volume of his magnum opus. It distinguishes itself, as the preceding volumes, by its rich contents and the excellent elaboration of data culled from thousands of Judaeo-Arabic documents of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

How many subjects are dealt with in the present volume and how thoroughly! One finds in it a detailed analysis of the phenomenon of child marriage in the Jewish communities of the Near East in the period of the Crusades. According to the author it was very common (p. 79). Dealing with marriage in general Goitein dwells on endogamy, which was another characteristic feature of the social life of those Jewries (p. 26ff., 55). Divorce and widowhood too were very common. Goitein concludes from the documents he has studied that 45% of women married a second time. In the lists of alms-receivers he finds a great number of unmarried (widowed) women (p. 63f.). These are certainly very interesting conclusions. As to that drawn from the lists of alms-receivers one will, however, ask oneself, if they do not blur the picture. For poor widows were surely not the last among those who had recourse to the social services.

Another subject with which the author deals exhaustively are the marriage contracts. Goitein analyses the differences between the Jewish and the Moslem marriage contract (p. 142) and especially the economic status of the contracting parties which is mirrored in these agreements and in the hundreds of trousseau inventories which have come down to us in the Cairo geniza. Scholars, who would like to do research in this field, will appreciate very much the analytical index of a very great number of marriage contracts which the author has added as an appendix to this volume (p. 363ff.). It comprises not less than 552 items, arranged chronologically. The author learns from the bridegrooms' undertaking full responsibility of the value of the dowry (that means the obligation to return it in case of dissolution of the marriage) that prices of goods belonging to various categories of clothing and furnishing etc. were remarkably stable (p. 140). Studying series of data found in other sources and referring to other goods I have arrived at the same conclusion¹). As the data comprised in the dowry inventories are so valuable materials for the research in the economic history of the medieval Near East, it is regrettable that the author did not put into relief the exactness of the dowry's evaluation in most cases. I believe that I have shown that the prices indicated in these documents were exact and that overvaluing (in honour of the fiancée) was not a common procedure²). That giving the fiancée a rich dowry meant hoarding of capital, as Goitein concludes (p. 140), is a very pertinent observation. This was indeed another striking feature of the economic and social life of the Near East in the Middle Ages (and even in later periods).

Many other subjects are dealt with in long chapters of the present volume. The author collected data referring to women working outside the family's home and elucidates the meaning of the clauses in the marriage contracts which have a bearing on this phenomenon (p. 232f.). He dwells on the possession of private property by married women and their role in the economic life (p. 326, 331f.). Very interesting chapters deal with (first) names of women and family names (p. 8ff., 315ff.), others contain the conclusions as to the role of the family in commercial activities (see below).

¹) See my paper La recherche des prix dans l'Orient médiéval, sources, méthodes et problèmes, (in) *Studia Islamica* 21 (1964), p. 133ff.

²) Art. cit., p. 120ff.

This volume is a masterpiece of mature scholarship. The analysis of the data in the geniza documents (and also in rabbinical responsa, especially of Maimonides) is excellent, it is always very thorough and cautious. The author draws conclusions from the wording of documents and keeps an eye on what is missing in them. Sometimes one has the impression that he goes too much into details and unnecessarily quotes long documents in extenso, but these quotations will serve as materials for scholars who can not read the documents in the original language. Before criticizing the present book because of shortcomings in its overall conclusions, one should have in mind the great difficulty of comparing the milieu mirrored in the geniza records with its Moslem environment, which has not left us similar treasures of documents. It is, however, out of the place, I believe, to overcome this difficulty by comparing conditions in the social life of eleventh century Egyptian Jewry with those prevailing in the Holy Land in Biblical times and in Egypt in the Greek-Ptolemaic period. The phenomena of Jewish life in medieval Egypt should be confronted with those of contemporary Jewries in the Mediterranean world.

The difference between Goitein's achievements in the analysis of the documents and his general conclusions is indeed remarkable. Having finished the reading of the thick volume, the attentive reader remains somehow perplex. What kind of society was the Jewry which left us these thousands of Judaeo-Arabic deeds and letters? Was it really a typical Near Eastern society, to be considered as representative of the Moslem and Christian populations which were its neighbours? This is what Goitein obviously supposes. But he fails in adducing convincing arguments.

In fact several features which were characteristic of the Near Eastern and North African Jewries in the eleventh and twelfth centuries point to a great diversity between them and their neighbours. The clear prevalence (if not exclusiveness) of monogamy (also excluding the concubinate with slave girls), on which Goitein rightly dwells (p. 146ff.), meant certainly a great difference between the family life of Jews and Moslems. The similarity of certain agreements which were made by both denominations concerning the family life, e.g. the spouse's residence (p. 150f.) does not contradict this assumption. The image of Jewish women, as portrayed by the geniza papers, is wholly different from that of their Moslem neighbours. The author emphasizes that Jewish women travelled (relatively) much (p. 339), not only married ones, but also unmarried girls. They travelled also overseas (p. 340). In order to value duly the lack of restrictions upon the movement of women, one must bear in mind that this was a major phenomenon of family life in the Moslem world. It was a custom taken over by the Spaniards after the reconquista and I remember how in the 1950's when I travelled much in Spain the railway comptroller used to ask young women travelling alone who accompanied them. Surely, one can not draw a clear cut demarcation line and maintain that Jewish women enjoyed freedom of movement, whereas Moslem women were shut up in their harems. But the passage quoted by Goitein from the hisba-book of Ibn al-Ukhuwwa refers obviously to ships on the Nile or commuting between neighbouring coastal towns. Upon them even Moslem women travelled much and some kind of partition was practiced. On the

other hand, one finds in the late collection of responsa Maḥaneh Yehuda of R. Judah Qāṣin that in Aleppo one used every year at the beginning of the summer to warn the community not to allow the women that they should make walks in the bustans surrounding the town³). But this statute of the Aleppin rabbis reflects clearly the attitude of the Spanish exiles who adhered to rigid orthodoxy. Goitein maintains that the Jews adapted themselves to the Moslem environment as far as family life is concerned, but finally admits that in the marriage contracts clauses restricting the freedom of movement of the wife are rare (p. 153f.).

The freedom of women, surely as compared with the seclusion of Moslem women, was undoubtedly connected with the social structure of the Egyptian and Tunisian Jewries. Their upper stratum consisted of a class of merchants who engaged in international trade, marriages between families of Eastern and Southern Spain on one hand, and families in Egypt, on the other hand, were the outcome. It goes without saying that such connections involved family visits and sea travel of women. This layer of the Jewish society was obviously more "Mediterranean" than Egyptian or Tunisian. It carried on business in several countries. What distinguished these merchants from the Levantine Jews of the later Middle Ages and the Turkish period, who engaged in trade between Crete and Syria, Rhodes and Turkey, Sicily and Tunisia, was the language:⁴) they still spoke Arabic. This class of merchants was at the top of the social pyramid of the Mediterranean Jewries. Goitein puts into relief that Jewish women of Egypt had in the eleventh and twelfth century exclusively Arabic names. He compares this phenomenon with the customs (as far as the calling of names is concerned) of the Jews in earlier periods of history. But in fact neither the Jewish women in the Christian countries on the Northern shores of the Mediterranean had in the Middle Ages Hebrew names⁵). Surely, one would suppose that the broad layers of Jewish craftsmen and petty shopkeepers had a more conservative attitude and gave their female children Hebrew names. But the upper class served as model. The life ways of the "reference group" were taken over. The sociologists will consider this phenomenon as osmosis.

The marriage contracts and trousseau inventories which have been found in the Cairo geniza comprise various hints as to the economic stratification of the Egyptian Jewry in the Middle Ages. For instance, in the contracts dating of the eleventh and twelfth centuries there are no stipulations concerning the right of the married woman to work outside the spouse's home, but such clauses become frequent in the documents of the late thirteenth and of the fourteenth centuries, of which many have been published in the third volume of my History of the Jews in Egypt and Syria under the Mamluks. Goitein draws

³) See my *History of the Jews in Egypt and in Syria under the Mamluks* (Jerusalem 1944-1970) II, p. 142.

⁴) See my paper New data for the history of Levantine Jewries in the fifteenth century, *Bulletin of the Institute of Jewish Studies* III (1975), p. 67ff.

⁵) See U. Cassuto, *Gli ebrei a Firenze* (Florence 1965), p. 241; E. Ashtor, *Gli ebrei di Ancona nel periodo della repubblica*, (in) *Le Marche e l'Adriatico orientale*, Atti e Memorie, (of the) Deputazione di storia patria per le Marche, N. S. 82 (1977), p. 337.

from this change the conclusion that the economic situation of the Near Eastern Jewries had worsened, as compared with the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods (p. 132ff.). This conclusion is in unison with those I have drawn from various geniza lists of names, which date of the Mamluk period⁶). But Goitein maintains (p. 135) that the economic decline of the Jewries in the later Middle Ages was concomitant with a general decline of the Near Eastern economics. This conclusion must arouse objection, for the economy of Egypt was in the second half of the thirteenth century and until the end of the fourteenth century still flourishing. A temporary upsurge of the demographic development resulted in lower price of labour and consequently lower prices of industrial products and although new land was brought under the plough the price of grains rose because of greater demand. Therefore agriculturists and landlords enjoyed a great prosperity. The supply of bullion, both gold and silver, to the Royal Mints was regular, so that there was through 130 years an extraordinary stability of the monetary system. These are facts which are borne out by various phenomena⁷). So one comes once more to the conclusion that the Jewry portrayed in the geniza papers was a social group sui generis, whose development was altogether different from that of its neighbours. In fact this is also the result of the analysis of the data referring to other aspects of Jewish life in that period and collected in the first volume of Goitein's work, according to the view I have expressed many years ago in a review of it published in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*⁸).

The author of the present book deals also with the role of the family as a natural partnership in commercial activities, but emphasizes that the partners finally made exact accounts (p. 40ff.). Unfortunately archives of Egyptian and Syrian Moslems who run great firms have not been preserved from the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods. But if one may judge from data in literary sources and in notarial acts referring to great Moslem merchants in the later Middle Ages one will conclude that their ventures were much more individualistic⁹). On the other hand, the "fraterna", the company of brothers, was the basic unit and standard type of association in the international trade of Venice until the sixteenth century. But the single partners also carried on business of their own¹⁰). Even the Florentine and Siennese commercial and banking companies were predominately family partnerships and J. Heers, the well-known specialist of Genoese history, has vigorously objected to the supposition that the Genoese did not follow the same path¹¹). So the family partnership

was another feature of the Jewish society which distinguished it from the Moslem neighbours.

May I mention, lastly, another phenomenon of Jewish family life in the medieval Near East, whose interpretation sheds light on the character of these Jewries. Goitein considers the custom of reciting in the synagogue services long memorial lists of ancestors as a proof of the tie to the father's family being paramount. He also points to the complaint of a late Jewish visitor of Egypt who says that the reciting of these lists consumed half of the services (p. 2f.). But this is exactly the impression I had so often, when attending a service in an Italian synagogue. So even this custom points to the Near Eastern Jewries, which left us the geniza records, being a Mediterranean group, very different from their Moslem neighbours.

Jerusalem, June 1980

E. ASHTOR

* * *

Norman STILLMAN, *The Jews of Arab Lands. A History and Source Book*. Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society, 1979 (24 cm., xxx + 473 pp.). ISBN 0 8276 0116 6. Price: \$ 14.95.

The History of the place and role of the Jews in the Arab World, where at one time the majority of the Jews were living, is for obvious reasons — the Middle East conflict — not an 'academic' subject. The tragedy is that most of the Jewish communities have disappeared in the twentieth century in particular after the creation of the State of Israel. Many have left either for Israel or for Europa and the United States of America. The subject can understandably enough often not be treated with a detached objectivity because of a Zionist or anti-Zionist bias. But there are scholars who tried to make an important and 'objective' (whatever that means) contribution to the research on this subject. One example is S.D. Goitein in his *Jews and Arabs; Their Contacts Through the Ages*. New York 1964.

It is therefore no surprise that to him a new book on the topic is devoted by Norman A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands; A History and Source Book*. Philadelphia 1979.

As the title indicates the book is divided into two parts. The first and shortest part deals with the history of the Jews in the Arab World from the advent of Islam up till the third quarter of the nineteenth century. The author prefers to leave off at the dawn of a new era in the history of the Jews of Arab lands. "The latest era, which has been marked by a rapid concatenation of events leading to the mass exodus of the Jews from the Arab World, deserves to be treated separately and at length" (XVI). This is of course true, but one still can regret that this is not done in this volume. Does the author plan to do this himself later? This last period is certainly the most controversial one, but must not be seen as a necessary consequence of the earlier one.

But one has to deal with and appreciate what the author did do in this book. He deals with periods when Jewish

culture developed and flourished during the Islamic 'high middle ages' (ca 850-1250) — although a better and correcter characterization could be chosen — when — and this is very important to realize — the so-called Babylonian Talmud became the constitutional foundation of Diaspora Judaism. He presents documents from the thirteenth century when the center of historical gravity shifts to the North and Westward to Europa. That is to say the period from 1250 until 1800 when according to the author "the general cultural level and socio-economic conditions of the Arabic speaking Jewry stagnated and declined with the Muslim World and the concomitant rise of the West" (XVI).

In the second part — three quarters of the book — a number of published and before unpublished documents etc. are given in translations from a variety of languages (translations often made by the author himself). They range from parts from the Qur'an and the biography of the Prophet Muhammad (Ibn Hisham) to letters from and to diplomats and a report on Blood Libels in Damanhur, Egypt.

The author is very much aware of the fact that any attempt to assess the history of the Jews of Arab Lands arouses a lot of feelings. "These range from the popular 'golden age' school to a revisionist persecution and pogrom approach" (XVII). One is reminded of Albert Memmi's approach — a Tunisian Jew — who in his work like *Portrait d'un juif* (Gallimard Paris 1962) sees the same kind of persecution, pogrom's, in short antisemitism characterizing relations between Jews and Arabs like in Europe, over against an Algerian Jew like André Chouraqui who wrote that occasional outbreaks of violence against Jews in North Africa were caused not only by the attitude towards non-Muslims but also by 'the abject misery in which feudalism had plunged the entire population of the region'. He is of the opinion that never at any time a philosophy and tradition of anti-semitism such as which existed in Europe and that claims made by European writers that there was, in fact, a similar attitude towards Jews as the European one, demonstrated the prejudices of these writers as well as their ignorance of conditions in North Africa. During most periods in history, he wrote, the Jews in North Africa were happier than the Jews in most parts of Europe ... André N. Chouraqui, *Between East and West: A History of the Jews of North Africa*, translated. Michael M. Bernet. Philadelphia 1968, 53. Cited via Marion Woolfson, *Prophets in Babylon; Jews in the Arab World*. London 1980, 39, 40.

N.A. Stillman wants to find his way in between as it were and seems to be in line with his master and teacher, as he calls him, D.S. Goitein. Is the author successful in the presentation of the history in the first part of his book? Basically he is, but in my opinion he gives a too gloomy picture of this history. It deals more with the interpretation of the facts than with the facts as such. For instance, he gives an interpretation of the relationship between the Prophet Muhammad and the Jews which is too much written from the perspective of the later confrontation (10,11). He states about W.M. Watt's speculation "had the Jews come to terms with Muhammad instead of opposing him ... they might have become partners in the Arab empire and Islam a sect of Jewry",

"These notions do not give Muhammad much credit either as a student of religion or as a politician. He would have been incredibly naïve to believe that the Jews would accept his new faith" (10). But Stillman himself underestimates in an unacceptable way Muhammad's religious sincerity when he says "his experimentation with certain Jewish pietist practices such as the fast of Yom Kippur (called in Arabic 'Ashura') and prayer toward Jerusalem made no impression upon these rancorous opponents" (11). This kind of approach is challenged by people like Y. Moubarac, *Abraham dans le Coran*, Paris 1958 and others and does not really take the prophetic genius of Muhammad serious.

The most valuable part of the book is undoubtedly the 'sources'. The reading of Stillman's book and also the looking at the many pictures of Jewish men, women and families from different centuries and different parts of the Arab world make one sad, knowing that much of this life had gone for ever, it seems. Or is the author too pessimistic and didn't he show enough the spiritual potential for the recovery of the Arab-Jewish 'symbiosis', to use a term from Goitein?

Amsterdam, September 1980

A. WESSELS

JIDDISCH

Solomon A. BIRNBAUM, *Yiddish. A Survey and a Grammar*. Toronto and Buffalo, University of Toronto Press, 1979 (24 cm., xvi + 400 pp.). Price: \$ 37.50. ISBN 0-8020-5382-3.

De inhoud van dit werk is de neerslag van meer dan zestig jaar preoccupatie met het Jiddisch van de auteur, die deze taal voor de tweede wereldoorlog aan Duitse Universiteiten doceerde en na zijn verdrijving uit nazi-Duitsland in London verder werkzaam was.

Zijn boek valt in vijf onderdelen uiteen. In de inleiding wordt het probleem van talen bij Joden, of Joodse talen, in het algemeen en de specifieke problematiek rondom het Jiddisch beknopt uiteengezet. Het tweede deel geeft een overzicht van de geschiedenis van de taal. Voorbeelden van Jiddische teksten uit acht eeuwen vormen het derde deel, een beknopte grammatica en een uitvoerige bibliografie besluiten het werk.

Birnbaum heeft in de Jiddische taalwetenschap altijd een solitaire positie ingenomen. Als zeer streng orthodoxe jood zag en ziet hij het bestaansrecht van het Jiddisch uitsluitend als instrument om de joodse religie en traditie te handhaven. Hij gaat hierin zo ver, dat hij de gehele moderne ontwikkeling van de Jiddische taal-en literatuurwetenschap als ketters en afvallig verwerpt. Deze mening heeft hij uiteengezet in zijn boekje *Yidishkeyt un loshn*, Warschau 1930, en hij heeft zijn stellingen sindsdien niet gewijzigd.

Toen in 1925 tijdens de oprichting van het Jiddische Wetenschappelijke Instituut YIVO te Berlijn besloten werd om algemene regels voor spelling en uitspraak van het

⁶) New data for the history of Levantine Jewries, p. 88.

⁷) E. Ashtor, *Social and economic history of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (London 1976), p. 291ff.

⁸) Vol. 26 (1969), p. 241f.

⁹) See for instance Ibn Hajar, *ad-Durar al-kāmina*, no. 4575 about Nāṣir ad-dīn Ibn Musallam and the data about the Ibn al-Muzallik: E. Ashtor, *L'apogée du commerce vénitien au Levant*, (in) *Venezia, centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV-XVI)* (*Atti del II Convegno intern. di storia della civiltà veneziana*, Venice 1973) (Florence 1977) I, p. 322f.

¹⁰) F.C. Lane, *Family partnerships and joint ventures*, (in his) *Venice and history* (Baltimore 1966), p. 62.

¹¹) *Le clan familial au Moyen Age* (Paris 1974), p. 230ff.

Jiddisch vast te leggen, waarvan de grondregels in 1937 voor het eerst in druk verschenen, accepteerde Birnbaum deze niet en hield aan zijn eigen spelling en transcriptie vast, die hij tot op heden gebruikt en als enig juiste beschouwt.

Zijn regels voor spelling en uitspraak en dus ook voor de transcriptie van het Jiddisch zijn gebaseerd op het dialect, dat voornamelijk in enige delen van Polen en Roemenië gesproken werd. Birnbaum houdt geen rekening met de soms grote verschillen in uitspraak van het Jiddisch in andere belangrijke joodse cultuurcentra, zoals Rusland en de Baltische landen en evenmin met de ontwikkeling van de Jiddische taal in andere werelddelen. In de Verenigde Staten en Argentinië b.v. waren na de massale emigratie van oost-Europese joden sinds het einde van de 19^e eeuw de verschillende Jiddische dialecten reeds versmolten tot een soort "algemeen beschaafd Jiddisch" in het culturele leven. Het Jiddisch dat Birnbaum in zijn grammatica en transcriptie van Jiddische teksten gebruikt, is dan ook niet de algemeen gangbare taal en wijkt in spelling en uitspraak aanzienlijk af van wat sinds meer dan vijftig jaar als Jiddische schrijftaal gebruikt en onderwezen wordt.

Voor de gebruikers van de grammatica, die uit dit boek de grondbeginselen van het Jiddisch willen leren, heeft dit onoverkomelijke bezwaren. Het gebruik van zijn eigen spelling, met in transcriptie zijn uitspraak en tussen haakjes ook de gangbare uitspraak, maakt de op zichzelf al gecompliceerde grammatica nog moeilijker te hanteren. Het boek, dat voor universitaire zelfstudie bedoeld is, zal voor de studenten grote problemen opleveren. Men kan hen toch niet de moeite laten doen een nieuwe taal te leren, terwijl zij later tot de ontdekking zullen komen, dat zij slechts een dialect kennen. Het is, alsof men een leerboek voor het Limburgse dialect als een grammatica voor de Nederlandse taal gebruikt.

Hetzelfde euvel vertonen ook de meer beschrijvende delen van het boek. De zeer uitgesproken meningen van de auteur kleuren al zijn beweringen en maken, dat heel veel wetenswaardigs, dat op originele en zeer beknopte wijze uitgedrukt is, toch zijn doel vaak mist. Het boek geeft teveel en tegelijkertijd te weinig.

De taalgeschiedenis beperkt zich tot enkele algemene opmerkingen, die niet geheel bevredigend overkomen. Door de te grote beknoptheid kunnen misverstanden ontstaan. Zo wekt b.v. het overzichtskaartje van de Jiddische dialecten op p. 95 de indruk, alsof alle daarin vermelde dialecten tegelijkertijd gesproken werden. Vooral de stelling van de auteur, dat het west-Jiddisch nog na de tweede helft van de 19^e eeuw als gangbare taal gebezigd werd, kan studenten op een dwaalspoor brengen. Immers, afgezien van een paar grote uitzonderingen in afgelegen streken van het Zwitserse en Elzasser platteland, was het west-Jiddisch sinds de emancipatie van de west-Europese joden op zijn retour en verdween omstreeks 1850 als gesproken en geschreven taal in de grotere agglomeraties. Ook de keuze van de teksten doet ten onrechte veronderstellen, dat het west-Jiddisch in de 20^e eeuw nog een levende taal was.

In het algemeen leveren de tekstvoorbeelden uit acht eeuwen Jiddische literatuur problemen op. Zij zijn alleen in Birnbaum's transcriptie in latijnse letters gedrukt, in de door hem gepropageerde spelling, zodat er van de oorspronkelijke verschillen tussen een 14^e eeuwse en een

20^e eeuwse Jiddische tekst weinig te bespeuren valt. Het zal moeilijk blijken, uit deze omgewerkte teksten de Jiddische originelen terug te construeren. Bovendien zijn de teksten praktisch zonder inleidingen gegeven en kunnen als zodanig niet tot verhelderend begrip van de taal of als oefenmateriaal bij de taalverwerving dienen.

Voor een ingewijde, die de Jiddische taal- en letterkunde goed beheerst, zijn Birnbaum's gedachten over de geschiedenis van de taal en zijn grammatica boeiend en door de zeer individuele aanpak prikkelend tot vruchtbare controverse. Bij het lezen van het boek lijkt het soms, of de spectaculaire ontwikkeling van de moderne Jiddische taal- en letterkunde, die voor de tweede wereldoorlog plaats vond, en de wetenschappelijke bestudering van het Jiddisch na de tweede wereldoorlog nooit hebben plaats gevonden. In dit opzicht is het boek duidelijk historisch te plaatsen en zou als model kunnen dienen van wat omstreeks 1930 in zeer orthodox-joodse kringen over het Jiddisch werd gedacht. Birnbaum's opvattingen over het Jiddisch worden in zijn werk met grote kennis en met een geheel eigen wijze van zeggen gebracht, hetgeen het werk zeer boeiend maakt. Maar als leerboek voor het Jiddisch en als inleiding voor de Jiddische taal- en letterkunde is het boek te gecompliceerd.

Wilp, September 1980

L. FUKS

ARCHEOLOGIE

Martin F. KILMER, *The shoulderbust in Sicily and South and Central Italy: a catalogue and materials for dating*, Göteborg, 1977 (31 cm., 395 pp., 220 figs.) = *Studies in mediterranean archaeology*, vol. VI. ISBN 91 85058 75 0. Prix: 175 Crs.

L'Auteur a étudié deux traditions artistiques: celle de la figurine en forme de buste et celle de la protome qui, graduellement, se développe en buste. En même temps, il s'est intéressé à la signification religieuse de ces objets qui, sans aucun doute, ont rapport à la mort, soit que le buste représente le mort lui-même ou une divinité chtonienne.

Hors quelques sculptures et quelques bronzes, le matériel présenté se compose de bustes et de protomes modelés en terre cuite. Le matériel a été réparti en groupes; à chaque groupe se joint un catalogue qui n'a pas la prétention d'être complet, mais qui désire uniquement rendre d'une façon aussi claire que possible les caractéristiques des objets en question. Pour chaque groupe, l'Auteur discute les données qui peuvent aider à fixer approximativement la date de fabrication des bustes.

En Etrurie, les figurines en forme de buste et quelques demi-figurines qui leur sont proches, apparaissent vers le milieu du 7^e siècle. Ces figurines montrent d'abord un style orientalisant, plus tard un style archaïque; leur date est confirmée par le contexte des trouvailles. L'Auteur ne

s'arrête pas sur le problème de l'origine du type. Vers le milieu du 5^e siècle, la production de bustes paraît tomber hors d'usage.

En revanche, on trouve en Sicile dans la seconde moitié du 6^e siècle une grande quantité de protomes qui reproduisent fidèlement des exemples rhodiens. Il est curieux que les pièces d'importation rhodienne, montrant l'argile rouge-mauve brunâtre, parsemée de fins grains de mica, caractéristique de l'île de Rhodes sont extrêmement rares; à présent on connaît quelques exemples mis au jour à Bitalémi¹).

Les masques — ou protomes — empruntés au type rhodien ne montrent que la face et le cou; ils étaient destinés à être suspendus ou à être posés contre une paroi. En Sicile, ils prennent de plus en plus le caractère de bustes; souvent ils sont modelés de sorte qu'ils arrivent à se tenir debout sans appui. Ce sont des protomes de ce genre qui se dispersent en Italie Méridionale et en Italie Centrale. Pendant la période de transition entre le style classique récent et le début de la première époque hellénistique, ces bustes sont en usage en Apulie et en Lucanie; ils se trouvent en Campanie, en Latium et en Samnium à partir du début de la période hellénistique (ici, l'Auteur propose — arbitrairement, il le sait — l'année 275, année des dévastations causées par la guerre de Pyrrhus).

Le matériel d'époque hellénistique présente une grande diversité de types et il s'est dispersé rapidement. Avant la fin du 3^e siècle, des bustes apparaissent à Rome et bientôt après en Etrurie: c'est là que le genre, adapté au goût local, a eu un grand développement. D'abord, nous remarquons un style classiciste qui, vers la fin du 3^e siècle, montre une tendance vers le naturalisme; pendant la période de l'hellénisme moyen (env. 200-140) cette tendance vers le réalisme se raffermirait, tandis que dans l'hellénisme récent, le classicisme reprend le dessus.

Ici, l'Auteur suggère que les nombreuses œuvres d'art, importées après le sac de Corinthe en 146, peuvent avoir influencé les coroplastes italiens. N'est-il pas préférable de penser à l'influence d'artistes grecs, émigrés de la mère-patrie vers l'Occident prospère? Surtout si l'on constate que la tendance vers le réalisme n'a pas été abandonnée! Plusieurs bustes — et ce sont souvent les œuvres les plus réussies — montrent une individualité si marquée qu'il est permis de les considérer comme des portraits. L'Auteur lui-même est d'avis que les bustes confirment l'hypothèse que l'art du portrait romain ait été conçu en Etrurie.

Le problème de la signification religieuse des bustes — dons funéraires ou dons votifs — a beaucoup intéressé l'Auteur; pour chaque groupe, il a amplement discuté le thème. En Sicile et en Italie Méridionale, l'usage comme don votif a toujours dominé, les divinités représentées étant surtout Déméter et Coré. En Etrurie, aux époques orientalisante et archaïque, le buste a été un don funéraire, dédié à des divinités de la mort et de la fertilité. Plus tard, sous l'influence de la Grande Grèce, l'usage comme don votif augmente. Pourtant Janus, le dieu de la fertilité,

¹) L. Quarles van Ufford, *Les terres-cuites siciliennes. Une étude sur l'art sicilien entre 550 et 450* (1940; 2^e éd. 1975), p. 72 (cité ici sous Ufford). — Trouvailles à Bitalémi: P. Orlandini, *Kokalos* 12 (1966).

vénéré pendant la première époque étrusque, reste toujours le dieu le plus souvent représenté.

L'étude se termine par un appendice concernant la distribution des protomes de certaine allure dans les diverses publications, puis par une bibliographie et par un index des musées. Le texte est reproduit d'après un exemple dactylographié soigneusement réparti. Pour autant que le noir des caractères se détache bien du papier, le lecteur n'éprouve aucune difficulté. En revanche, si le noir a perdu en intensité, il est fatigant de retrouver des observations précédentes. — Encore une petite remarque: le fait que les catalogues des quatre groupes principaux recommencent chacun par le numéro 1 est parfois encombrant!

Objection principale: il est étonnant qu'aucune mention n'ait été faite des bustes en terre cuite, trouvés à Foce del Sele. Ces bustes, souvent couronnés d'un ornement floral, ont été dédiés à Héra, jamais à Déméter ou à Coré. Par suite, ils n'ont pas un caractère funéraire²).

A la fin de ce compte-rendu, j'aimerais ajouter quelques mots sur un détail qui m'intéresse. Une proposition accompagnant ma thèse de doctorat (voire note 1) a soutenu qu'il ait existé, dès la fin de l'époque archaïque, une influence de l'art de la Magna Graecia, par la voie de Medma, sur l'art étrusque. Pourtant, les figurines étrusques qui en font preuve, sont plus récentes. C'est le cas du petit buste de bronze à Berlin (n° 3, figs. 1-2). Il montre la coiffure à bouclettes rondes contourant le visage et les yeux en forme d'amande qui rappellent maintes têtes de Locres et de Medma, têtes datant de l'époque archaïque récente. Mais la structure du visage, dominée par la ligne horizontale des sourcils qui se joint à la ligne verticale du nez, et la bouche aux lèvres doublement arquées sont des caractéristiques dues à l'art du «Maître de l'Aurige de Delphes»³). Du reste, la facture du petit bronze est plutôt dure. Pour nous, ce travail est intéressant, parce qu'il montre l'influence de l'art de la Magna Graecia, réalisé dans une autre atmosphère artistique; il lui manque la souplesse alerte des terres-cuites de la Magna Graecia.

Cette petite digression ne touche qu'indirectement le texte du livre. Il est plus important de constater que l'exposition de M. Kilmer sur le développement du buste est une œuvre fort utile. Partant du buste en Sicile et en Italie Méridionale, elle forme une base solide pour l'étude de l'art étrusque.

Leyde, janvier 1981

L. BYVANCK-QUARLES VAN UFFORD

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²) Maria W. Stoop, *Floral figurines from South Italy* (thesis Leiden, 1960).

³) *Terres-cuites siciliennes*, figs. 65-71; L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, *BABesch.* 22, 1957, pp. 45-47, figs. 8-13.

George M.A. HANFMANN and Nancy H. RAMAGE, *Sculpture from Sardis, the Finds through 1975*. New Haven and London, Harvard University Press, 1978 (31 cm., II + XXIV + 203 pp., 116 pls.) = Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, Report no. 2. ISBN 0 674 79588 1. Price: £ 21.00.

Most of the sculpture here published was found in the years 1958-1975 (138 pieces excavated, 79 other items, mostly stray finds); but also sculpture discovered by the first Sardis expedition (1910-14, 1922) and other pieces from Sardis are included. The number of sculptures of the Lydian and Persian periods is relatively small; these form the first part of the book and are treated by Hanfmann; in the second part we find the material from Hellenistic and later times, which is discussed by miss Ramage (down to the destruction of the town, 616 A.D.).

For most sculpture local marble seems to have been used; often the surface is red, because of the iron that is present in the soil. The Cybele relief of figs. 58-60 is made of soft limestone and the lions of the Archaic altar (figs. 105ff.) are of sandstone. On p. 6ff. there is a report on the investigations of quarries. In a paragraph on technique it is said that the toothed chisel was already used on the early kore of figs. 13ff. (580-570 B.C.). The use of local kinds of stone shows that there were local workshops: nearly all Archaic and Classical pieces are local. Besides, there are some unfinished pieces among the later sculptures (nos. 106, 117, 144).

On the whole Lydian sculpture appears to be a branch of Archaic Eastern Greek art; a phase showing clear Oriental influence (e.g., Late Hittite) is lacking.

About one third of all early sculptures in Sardis represent lions. In fact they are so numerous that Hanfmann speaks of a *leontomania*. A Late Hittite lion must have been the model of the earliest specimen, a most impressive beast, no. 26 (figs. 102-4); but soon the lions become Greek. It should be noted that none of them is associated with a grave. Very remarkable is the Cybele shrine of figs. 20ff. (no. 7), a model of a small building with rows of friezes completely covering the walls in Oriental fashion, representing processions, lions, komasts, and myths (Heracles and lion, Peleus up the tree, and others).

Interesting early sculptures are: the naiskos statuettes representing Cybele (nos. 20, 21) or the Lydian equivalent of Aphrodite (no. 9). There seem to be three types of Cybele: one can be reconstructed as flanked by two pairs of seated lions (figs. 92-101), the second type is standing and holding a lion to her breast (fig. 82), and there is the well-known seated type which possibly reflects the statue made by Agorakritos (fig. 84). Male Lydian gods are lacking, as is the nude kouros type. There are only some twenty pieces that can be assigned to the Persian period (down to 334 B.C.), and none of these show the Persian court-style found on certain Sardian seals. Many sculptures were re-used in the Synagogue; possibly these pieces came from a sanctuary of Cybele. The temple of Cybele was burned by the Greeks in 499 B.C.; its location is unknown.

After the destruction of 616 A.D. the lime kilns started doing their work: it is surprising to see how little is left of what was once a rich city.

So far we have summarized Chapters 1-3. Chapter 4

contains the catalogue of sculptures down to Hellenistic times. Perhaps the most interesting of all is the Cybele shrine mentioned above, no. 7 (figs. 20ff.). Nothing is said of the meanders separating the friezes that decorate the walls; they seem to be multiple crenellations which must have been polychrome (as on some Corinthian vases). It seems that some drawings are not quite accurate. For example: the plinth, on which the corner columns and the central column at the back of the shrine are standing, are omitted in the drawings figs. 32, 38, 44. Other slight inaccuracies are indicated in the text. A drawing of the goddess herself would have been welcome too, since photos cannot convey all the details. For instance, there are two contrasting systems of folds in the upper part of her chiton (fig. 28); crinkly folds springing from the sleeve buttons, and soft rippling folds that run horizontally over the breasts as if belonging to a himation like that of the Hera of Cheramydes. At any rate, the arrangement is difficult to understand without an explanation. Figs. 40 and 41 seem to have been interchanged by mistake (p. 47). I do not believe that the chariot of fig. 48 is that of Pelops.

Another interesting sculpture is shown in figs. 51ff. It is draped like a man but wears bracelets and its forms are somewhat feminine. Yet I take it to be male. The longish sleeves of the chiton are sewn, not buttoned. Horizontal folds in the skirt of the chiton are visible on the left hip and thigh (fig. 54); they seem illogical but may be compared with those of no. 9 (fig. 58), which in their turn may perhaps be explained by examples in which the right hand pulls the skirt to one side (e.g., fig. 20, no. 7). Are these folds in the skirt perhaps a Lydian peculiarity?

Further interesting pieces are no. 9, the Adrastus stele (no. 17) and the pediment of a mausoleum, no. 18. It seems to me that the reclining man on no. 18 (fig. 72) is pouring wine from a rhyton in his right hand into a cup in his left. The distance between the two must have been smaller than it seems now. At any rate, how far the two hands may be apart can be seen, for example, on pictures of Lares, such as those of the House of the Vettii.

In the description of no. 19 (the stele of a veiled woman, fig. 77) the veil seems to be described as strands of hair. She reminds one of the goddesses of no. 20 (fig. 78), which is a curious monument: it is a votif stele but shaped like a funerary one. The two goddesses, Artemis and Cybele, are rendered in the pose and style of rather early Classical statues, but the relief itself should, it seems to me, be dated considerably later, perhaps at the beginning of the fourth century. Cybele holds her lion with tenderness against her breast. The animals stretches its forepaws as a cat might do when held in this way (fig. 82).

Of the countless lions the early beast no. 23 (fig. 87) shows a curious combination of linear renderings and plastic modellings. Its proposed date (580-60 B.C.) seems a bit early considering that the lions nos. 27ff. are firmly dated to 570-60 B.C. I also doubt if it is right to describe the mane of no. 24 as still in the Archaic style (figs. 90-1). The lions of nos. 27ff. (figs. 105-17), though not the most impressive ones, are the most interesting since they belong to the Cybele altar. They are dated to the time of Alyattes and are made of local sandstone. The altar was damaged by flood and then rebuilt, the lions being immured at

the corners. The rebuilding may have taken place after 547 B.C.

The colossal lion no. 31 is a curious animal (figs. 119-22): it has not become clear to me in how far it is unfinished and if its back was originally flattened as a support or if this was a later change made for re-use.

Interesting are the stelae with finials of palmettes on volutes. The dating of no. 45 (550-30 B.C.) seems early to me, because of the character of the lotus flower and the elegant half-palmettes under the volute stems. The reconstruction drawing of no. 48 (fig. 156) is incomplete and not quite accurate: it should be topped by a palmette with a heart that, like that of no. 45 (fig. 148), is connected with the pendant lotus flower underneath. This flower is not double but very like that of no. 45: the outer leaves of the flower, visible on fig. 155, are omitted in fig. 156: the inner edges of these leaves were ridged. The date of this finial should be more or less like that of no. 45 (about 520 B.C.?). There is a slight mistake in the description of no. 47 (figs. 153-4): the pointed incision in the centre is called a lotus leaf, whereas it is the angle formed by the two stems of the volute which meet below.

The comparison of the stele no. 46 (figs. 150-1) with the monument from Daskylion (fig. 152) is not convincing. The Daskylion ornament is essentially different (compare that of no. 48, figs. 155-6).

Chapters 5-6 deal with Hellenistic and later sculpture. The catalogue starts with a number of draped women. No. 55 (figs. 166-7) is a remarkable figure, late Hellenistic and mannered, but I would not have called it Archaistic. A word might have been added on the quality of its modelling, for this is difficult to judge from photographs. No. 59 is a very good specimen of the so-called Kore type ultimately deriving from an original of Praxitelean times (figs. 173-4). A good copy of it — once in the collection Richelieu — is now in the Allard Pierson Museum at Amsterdam. Just as on no. 59 from Sardis the folds in the himation are stretched and straightened out as compared to the numerous other specimens of this type. No. 59 was found together with a man in a himation (no. 67) of which only one photo is given (fig. 182), though it is of special interest.

Descriptions in the catalogue are very good and detailed. Yet, from time to time one would like to ask for more information. For example, the position of the left arm of no. 66 (fig. 181) and the way in which the himation is held in place are not clear. I would certainly not call the torso no. 74 an athlete (fig. 190); besides, an *anadoumenos* should raise both hands to bind his ribbon. I am surprised to read that the head of no. 76 (fig. 192) represents a Julio Claudian emperor; the photo must be misleading since it seems more reminiscent of the type of Titus or a related portrait.

At first sight no. 78 (figs. 194-5) does not seem to be a portrait, but miss Ramage shows that it represents Sabina. No. 79 (figs. 196-7) is a fragment of an excellent colossal head of Antoninus Pius. The interesting Tetrarchic priest of no. 93 (figs. 208-11) wears a diadem decorated with 12 plastic heads. I remember seeing a bust of a man with a similar crown in the museum of Izmir in 1953 (it had just been found and does not seem to be mentioned here, on p. 101). No. 95 is a most impressive portrait of the early sixth century A.D. (fig. 95).

It is known that there was a colossal Zeus in the East cella of the Artemis temple: no. 102 (fig. 233ff.) represents the poor remnants of his chin and neck (four times lifesize). No. 128 (figs. 259-60) is a remnant of a Tyche head (once gilded), very like the goddess of Antioch. Intriguing are the *venatio* and cult scene of nos. 146-9 (figs. 286ff.). I was surprised to read that the great lion spout in Istanbul (no. 237, figs. 410-2) is dated to Roman times. I have always taken it to be early fifth century or earlier!

In a beautiful publication as the present volume is, more photographs of the sarcophagus of Claudia Sabina would have been welcome (fig. 422). It seems to me that the Eros of no. 247 (fig. 428) is Roman and not early Hellenistic.

This statue is now in Paris: in chapter 7 sculptures from other collections, both in Europe and America, are catalogued. These include well-known monumental pieces like no. 251, a colossal Faustina in the British museum, no. 254, a very fine portrait of a lady of the time of Elagabalus in Cambridge and so on (figs. 434, 437-40).

The book ends with a selection of interesting inscribed bases, nos. 272-8. Inscriptions are transcribed but not always translated (nos. 264, 271, 273).

This is a beautifully edited volume, the photographs are very good, the drawings helpful. The quality of the sculptures, though sometimes very high, is nothing to what one might have expected of so rich and famous a town as Sardis was. The more grateful we must be to the excavators and the authors of this volume for the way in which they dug up (or rescued) and published the pieces in this excellent book.

Amsterdam, December 1980

J. M. HEMELRIJK

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H. GENGE, *Nordsyrisch-südanatolische Reliefs*. Eine archäologisch-historische Untersuchung, Kopenhagen, Munksgaard, 1979 (2 Bde, I Text; xxviii + 149 S.; II Abbildungen; 124 Tafeln, und Anmerkungen; 52 S.) = Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 49:1.2. ISBN I: 87-7304-073-8; II: -075-4.

Dem Verfasser dieser Arbeit widerfuhr insofern ein Mißgeschick, als er ungefähr zur selben Zeit wie der Rezensent eine größere Arbeit über die gleiche Denkmälergruppe in Angriff nahm, sie jedoch erst sechs Jahre später von der Fakultät in Kopenhagen als Habilitationsschrift angenommen wurde; nun liegt sie acht Jahre später als mein eigenes Buch (W. Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst*, 1971) im Druck vor. Viele der Wiederholungen, die für den mit dem Forschungsstand etwas Vertrauten ermüdend zu lesen sind, erklären sich aus diesem Umstand.

Die Arbeit tritt mit dem Anspruch auf, sowohl im Hinblick auf die Datierung als auch auf die "Bestimmung" der Reliefs wesentlich über die bisherigen Ergebnisse hinauszuführen. Bei der zeitlichen Festlegung wird eine Datierung „im Generationsrahmen“ angestrebt. Ihre Grundlage ist ein „Gerüst der hier ermittelten inschriftlich

datierten Werke" (p. 39), das allerdings gegenüber dem schon früher Bekannten nichts Neues zu bieten vermag; leider fehlt auch der von Hawkins (*Iraq* 36, 1974, 74) inzwischen einigermaßen zuverlässig datierte Maraš-Löwe.

Von diesen Festpunkten aus tastet sich Genge mit Hilfe von Einzelvergleichen vor und übergeht dabei die Einwände, die z.B. schon Herzfeld (AMI 6, 1934, 126ff.) einem solchen Vorgehen gegenüber ausgesprochen hat. Diese Methode, die Genge z.B. in der „strukturellen Notierung" p. 58s. hinreichend verdeutlicht, stellt m.E. keinen Fortschritt dar. Sie birgt die Gefahr einer Willkürlichkeit in sich, vor allem dann, wenn man — wie der Verfasser — bei den Vergleichen sehr unterschiedliche Kriterien nebeneinander verwendet (vgl. die Listen p. 42 und p. 128s.). Diese Indizien haben mit Stil oft wenig zu tun, darüber ist sich auch Genge im Klaren (p. 114 letzter Absatz); er betont jedoch, daß Stil — was immer er darunter versteht (vgl. z.B. p. 144, zweiter Absatz) — eher eine lokal bzw. ethnisch gebundene Eigenheit der Bildkunst sei, die für die Datierung weniger ergibt als „Zivilisationsmerkmale" (p. 86). Genge ist jedoch in seiner Terminologie recht inkonsequent, denn er bezeichnet eben diese Kriterien an anderer Stelle dann doch als „Stilmerkmale" (p. 47), ja er definiert den von ihm eingeführten (m.E. unglücklichen) Begriff „Symptome" als „rein stilistische Zeitkriterien", nennt dann aber an vielen Stellen unter der Bezeichnung „Symptome" Merkmale, die man wohl besser als Antiquaria bezeichnen würde. Andererseits spürt man in dem ganzen Buch eine große Unsicherheit des Verfassers in Hinblick auf das, was den Stil eines Bildwerkes ausmacht und was Stilunterschiede für die Datierung besagen. Hier nur ein Beispiel: p. 80s. lehnt Genge die von mir wie schon von anderen vorgeschlagene Differenzierung der älteren Karkemis-Reliefs ab und wendet sich dagegen, die unterschiedliche Behandlung von Überschneidungen als Datierungskriterium zu benutzen (er sieht darin eine Platzfrage!) — p. 108 gebraucht er dann selbst das Kriterium Einsichtigkeit/Mehrschichtigkeit.

P. 45ss. macht Genge einen Vergleich zum Angelpunkt der Datierung der gesamten älteren Plastik aus Zincirli, Karkemis und anderen Orten, der m.E. recht fragwürdig ist: den zwischen der inschriftlich datierten Stele aus Tell Ashara (Genge fig. 1) und der Herrscherfigur auf einem der Reliefs vom Burgtor in Zincirli (Genge fig. 2). Er sieht in ihnen Bildwerke, „die räumlich durch eine sehr große Distanz getrennt und keineswegs stilgleich sind, sich aber dennoch in mehreren Stilmerkmalen auffallend berühren" (p. 45). Genannt werden: „1. Großnäsigkeit, 2. Pausbäckigkeit und 3. Großäugigkeit" (d.h. ein bestimmter Gesichtsschnitt), dazu „1. Riefelung der Haar-kalotte, 2. fischgrätenartige Kerbung des unten eingerollten Nackenzopfes" und schließlich „1. geringe Plastizität, 2. Unförmigkeit der Glieder (steif und muskellos)" sowie „3. die Draufsicht der Füße". Evidente Unterschiede werden dagegen als „regionale Stilmerkmale" bezeichnet (p. 47). N. 238 räumt Genge allerdings ein, daß die Draufsicht der Füße — p. 17 als „wichtiges Symptom" hervorgehoben — „nicht nur ein Stilmerkmal ..., sondern auch ein Zeichen der Unbekümmertheit ‚naiver Werkhände' sei — woraus m.E. folgt, daß sie sich eben doch nicht sonderlich als Datierungskriterium eignet; das gilt auch für andere der von Genge genannten „Symptome".

Die aus Einzelvergleichen gewonnene Datierung wird dann jeweils auf eine ganze Gruppe von Bildwerken übertragen, in dem oben genannten Fall z.B. auf die gesamten Reliefs vom äußeren Burgtor in Zincirli, auch wenn die vorher zur Datierung benutzten Kriterien keineswegs bei allen diesen Reliefs vorkommen. (Daß die in Aufsicht — übrigens mit Sandalen! — wiedergegebenen Füße nur bei einem der Burgtorreliefs zu sehen sind, hatte mich seinerzeit veranlaßt, eine spätere Umarbeitung zu vermuten, was mir Genge p. 17 als „leere Behauptung" ankreidet).

Um die Reliefs mit der gewünschten Genauigkeit datieren zu können, muß sich der Verfasser dann einer weiteren m.E. sehr fragwürdigen Methode bedienen: der Abstandsschätzung. Auch hier sei das schon zitierte Beispiel herangezogen. P. 46 geht Genge auf die — unbestreitbaren — Unterschiede zwischen dem Kilamuwa-Relief (Genge fig. 111) und dem Königsbild vom Burgtor (Genge fig. 1) ein und meint, man müsse annehmen, „daß sie durch mindestens eine Generation (30 Jahre) getrennt sind; denn man kann das Burgtorrelief ... beim besten Willen nicht als unmittelbare Vorstufe des Kilamuwa-Reliefs ansehen. Das Kilamuwa-Relief ... zwingt also zu einer Datierung in die Zeit vor 870/860". Auch wenn das Ergebnis in etwa zutreffen mag, halte ich den Schluß für methodisch unzulässig: das Kilamuwa-Relief ahmt, wie ich seinerzeit zu zeigen versucht habe, eine assyrische Königsdarstellung nach (auch wenn ich daraus nicht, wie Genge p. 42, auf eine „assyrophile Haltung" des Kilamuwa schließen möchte), und es gibt m.E. keinen Grund, warum man nach der Fertigstellung des Burgtores 30 Jahre hätte warten müssen, um — übrigens im Rahmen einer Inschrift — eine Königsdarstellung nach neuen Vorbildern zu schaffen. (Auch der umgekehrte Schluß, daß dort, wo ein Bindeglied vorhanden ist, der Abstand zwischen zwei Bildwerken maximal 30 Jahre betragen kann — so Genge p. 111 — ist m.E. nicht zwingend).

Beim genaueren Hinschauen zeigt sich also, daß die Datierungen des Verfassers eine größere Sicherheit vortäuschen, als sie m.E. beim gegenwärtigen Forschungsstand zu erzielen ist. Es ist im Rahmen einer Rezension nicht möglich, auf alle die Punkte einzugehen, an denen ich nicht nur die absoluten, sondern auch die relativen Datierungen Genge's bezweifle, ich will aber wenigstens zwei Beispiele nennen:

— die Zuweisung der Zincirli-Stele Genge fig. 112 an Kilamuwa, p. 41s. noch vorsichtig formuliert, jedoch z.B. p. 114 zum Ausgangspunkt weiterer Datierungen gemacht, halte ich angesichts der Unterschiede im Stil und in der Darstellung der Einzelheiten für unwahrscheinlich. In diesem Fall hat Genge nicht einmal seine eigenen Kriterien konsequent angewendet!

— die Datierung der gesamten Gruppe der Wassertor-Reliefs aus Karkemis in die Zeit nach der Suhi-Katuwas-Gruppe (und, als Folge daraus, eine entsprechende Datierung der Reliefs aus Ain Dara) beruht auf einer m.E. fragwürdigen Reihung der verschiedenen Darstellungsweisen der Löwenklauen.

Als methodisch bedenklich möchte ich es auch bezeichnen, wenn Genge philologisch-historische und archäologisch-stilkritische Argumentation ständig miteinander vermischt. Genge sieht darin allerdings einen Fortschritt: „Beachtet man alle wesentlichen Faktoren ..., also (1) vorsargonischer Nackenschopf, (2) Gürtel des 8. Jhdts.,

(3) Bewaffnung und (4) Paspelierung der Tiglatpileserzeit, (5) Umbruch 717, (6) Namensrest -atanas = Assuridan und (7) Oberherr Sastura, so sind Bosserts Gleichungen -atanas = Assuridan III. und Sastura = Sardur III. wohl durchaus einleuchtend. Eine so diffizile Datierungsfrage wie diese läßt sich eben nur lösen, wenn man die kunstgeschichtlichen, historischen und philologischen Aspekte koordiniert, nebeneinanderstellt. Isoliert betrachtet, ist freilich kein Element tragfähig ..." (p. 159s.). Auf dieser schwankenden Grundlage weiterbauend verrennt sich Genge dann im folgenden (Kap. VII, 3c) in recht abenteuerliche Hypothesen: „Nach den Punkten 2 und 3, d.h. auch in Übereinstimmung mit dem Text A21/22b+a, hätten wir es hier (d.h. bei den Reliefs vom Tor oberhalb der „Great Staircase" in Karkemis, cf. Hawkins, *AnSt.* 22, 1972, 108) wohl eher mit Bildwerken zu tun, die stilistisch als urartäisch-luwische bzw. luwisch-urartäisierende Arbeiten zu bezeichnen wären und von einem Sohn ... Sardurs III. (ca. 765-733), also einem urartäischen Vizekönig in Kargamis herrührten, der vielleicht (!) Astiru hieß..." (p. 182s.). „Hier böte sich als Alternative ... noch folgende Hypothese an: Der Auftraggeber dieser luwisch-assyrisierenden Kunst mit urartäischem Einschlag war ... ein Sohn Sardurs I. ... der während des letzten Viertels des 9. Jhdts — durch Einheirat? — in Kargamis auf den Thron gelangte und — so wie einst die hethitischen Vizekönige hier hurrische Namen angenommen hatten — als urartäischer Vizekönig hier einen luwischen Namen führte". (p. 165). Man kann nur hoffen, daß diese Art der Geschichtsrekonstruktion nicht Schule macht und daß wir den „urartäischen Vizekönig von Karkemis" nicht demnächst in populäreren Darstellungen wiederfinden.

Die oben angeführten Zitate leiten über zu der „Bestimmungsfrage", d.h. zur Zuweisung der Reliefs jeweils an bestimmte Bevölkerungsgruppen. Grundsätzlich möchte ich hierzu E. Herzfeld zitieren: „Unendlicher denkmälerreichtum junger Zeiten ... erlaubt wohl, in den besonderen Äußerungen ihres Stils den Sonderanteil der Volkstümer zu erkennen ... Aber schon etwas weiter zurück, etwa im Hellenismus ... und auf den Raum des alten hethitischen Kulturkreises beschränkt, wer kann da den Beitrag der verschiedenen Volkstümer noch erkennen? ... Gelegentlich lassen sich für die Landschaft bezeichnende Unterschiede erkennen, nie was davon ethnische Grundlage hat. Die unmittelbare ethnische Bestimmung der Denkmäler ist daher unmöglich, nicht nur methodisch falsch." (AMI 6, 1934, 143).

Genge leitet seine Zuweisung der Bildwerke an bestimmte Ethnien primär aus der Sprache der mit ihnen verbundenen Inschriften ab (vgl. p. 49). Für ihn sind die Til Barsib-Stelen luwisch (was ihn dazu zwingt, eine „luwische Stadt" vor der Eroberung durch den Aramäer Ahuni zu postulieren: vgl. p. 21, p. 52 mit n. 225, p. 94); das Königtum von Sam'al ist zwar „aramäisch-luwisch" (p. 41), jedoch waren die „Träger der sam'aläischen Kultur — und zu diesen zählen neben den Schreibern selbstverständlich auch die Schrift- und Bildhauer — nicht etwa Luwier, sondern Aramäer" (p. 49), der Stil der Burgtorreliefs deshalb ein „früharamäischer Lokalstil in luwischer Umwelt" (p. 56). In Hama gab es dagegen „eine gewisse luwisch-aramäische Kulturgemeinschaft" (p. 29).

Die Verwendung des Begriffes „luwisch" halte ich in diesem Zusammenhang für ausgesprochen unglücklich. Es

läßt sich zwar grundsätzlich nichts dagegen einwenden, aus dem Landesnamen „Luwija" die Bezeichnung „Luwier" oder „Luwisch" abzuleiten, ähnlich wie „hethitisch" aus dem Landesnamen „Hatti" abgeleitet wird, zumal „Luwier" sogar ausdrücklich bezeugt sind (vgl. Friedrich, *Die hethitischen Gesetze*, p. 95s. zu §§ 19.20), doch ist festzuhalten, daß dieser Landesnamen im Gegensatz zu der Bezeichnung Hatti im 1. Jtsd. — und sogar wohl schon in der Großreichszeit — nicht mehr vorkommt. Wenn Kammenhuber (*Handbuch der Orientalistik* Abt. I, Bd. II, p. 122) die in Hieroglyphen geschriebene Sprache als „Luwisch im weiteren Sinne" bezeichnet, folgt dies aus Erkenntnissen über die Sprachverwandtschaft, die mit kultureller Tradition oder ethnischem Selbstverständnis nicht das mindeste zu tun haben.

Vermutlich wählt Genge die Bezeichnung „Luwisch", weil er den Begriff „späthethitisch" ablehnt (vgl. p. 142). Er ist hierin jedoch nicht ganz konsequent: p. 131 bezeichnet er die Kunst des Tell Halaf als „geographisch betrachtet ... hattisch", p. 137 spricht er sogar verallgemeinernd von der „hattischen Kunst des 10.-8. Jhdts." und meint damit offenbar etwa das Gleiche, was ich selbst, ebenfalls mit rein geographischer Definition, als späthethitische Kunst bezeichnet hatte. Da möchte ich „Späthethitisch" gegenüber „Hatti III" (so Genge, n. 69) doch vorziehen und mich Herzfeld anschließen: „Daher ist dies verallgemeinerte Hettitisch gegenüber dem spezialisierten Khattisch ein selten glücklicher Name für den zu benennenden Kulturkreis" (AMI 6, 1934, 145). Die von Hawkins neuerdings wieder betonte Tatsache, daß in Karkemis die (großreichszeitlich-)hethitische Tradition den Bruch um 1200 zu überdauern scheint (*Iraq* 36, 1974, 70s.) in Verbindung mit der Beobachtung, daß diese Stadt in der Entwicklung der Bildkunst des frühen 1. Jtsd. eine entscheidende Rolle gespielt hat (vgl. auch Winter, *JNES* 34, 1975, 138) scheint mir darüber hinaus auch inhaltlich die Bezeichnung „späthethitisch" für diese Kunst zu rechtfertigen, jedenfalls für einen erheblichen Teil der Denkmäler. Daß sie dagegen etwa für die Bildkunst des Tell Halaf nur geographisch verstanden werden kann, ist selbstverständlich.

Zum Schluß seien noch einige Bemerkungen zur Form der Darstellung erlaubt. Genge's Terminologie wirkt oft verkrampft, auf die Unsicherheit im Umgang mit kunstwissenschaftlichen Begriffen wurde schon hingewiesen. Die Verwendung von ad hoc gebildeten Kürzeln (bes. Kap. V) erleichtert nicht gerade die Lesbarkeit. Noch unschöner sind ungewöhnlich überhebliche und aggressive Formulierungen („konnte Ussishkin Komposition und Stil nicht auseinanderhalten ..." p. 75) bis hin zu Unterstellungen wie z.B. „Hier wurde ganz offensichtlich etwas fingiert" (N. 500). Die eigene Meinung wird sehr stark akzentuiert, wobei sie gelegentlich einen apologetischen Ton annimmt (z.B. p. 130 letzter Absatz). Mit dieser Grundeinstellung des Verfassers dürfte auch die häufige Wiederholung eigener Erkenntnisse und das nicht ganz korrekte Verfahren beim Zitieren Anderer zusammenhängen. (Hierzu nur ein Beispiel, das mir auffiel, weil ich selbst zitiert werde: p. 97: „nicht das Relief irgendeiner ‚stehenden weiblichen Figur' (so USK 481)" — ein Blick ins Register genügt um festzustellen, daß dieses Relief op. cit. bereits als Bild einer Göttin gedeutet wurde).

Es ist zu bedauern, daß die Akademie der Wissen-

schaften, die den Druck dieser Arbeit übernommen hat, hier nicht etwas mehr auf die Einhaltung üblicher Formen geachtet hat.

Zusammenfassend möchte ich die Verdienste dieses Buches mit einer gerne zitierten Sentenz kennzeichnen: die Arbeit enthält viele originelle und zutreffende Erkenntnisse — nur leider sind die zutreffenden Erkenntnisse meist nicht sonderlich originell und die originellen Erkenntnisse häufig nicht zutreffend.

Saarbrücken, Januar 1981

WINFRIED ORTHMANN

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Marie AMADASI, Vassos KARAGEORGHIS, *Fouilles de Kition III. Inscriptions phéniciennes*. Nicosia, Department of Antiquities, 1977 (30 cm., xiv, 228 pp., 28 figs., 28 plates).

Jacqueline KARAGEORGHIS, *La grande déesse de Chypre et son sulte, à travers l'iconographie de l'époque néolithique au V^{ème} s.a.C.* Lyon, Maison de l'orient, 1977 (26 cm., ix, 276 pp., 3 maps, 36 plates) = Collection de la maison de l'orient méditerranéen ancien 5, série archéologique 4.

Vassos KARAGEORGHIS et al, *Excavations at Kition I. The Tombs*. Nicosia, Department of Antiquities, 1974 (2 volumes. 1, Text: viii, 178 pp., several figures, 1 colour plate; 2, Plates: 179 plates, 3 colour plates).

Vassos KARAGEORGHIS et al, *Alaas, a proto-geometric necropolis in Cyprus*. Nicosia, Department of Antiquities, 1975 (viii, 79 pp., 9 figs., 85 plates, 1 colour plate).

Vassos KARAGEORGHIS, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis IV*. Nicosia, Department of Antiquities, 1978 (30 cm., viii, 67 pp., 5 figs., 50 plates) = Salamis, Vol. 7.

Zofia SZTETYLLO, *Nea Paphos I. Les timbres céramiques (1965-1973)*. Warsaw, PWN-Editions Scientifiques de Pologne, 1976 (30 cm., 108 pp., 392 and 1 unnumbered fig.) = Nea Paphos I.

Several of these books reflect the tragic events of the summer of 1974 on Cyprus. Zavallis Press, who is responsible for the clear printing of most Department of Antiquities publications, produced *Kition I. The Tombs* during fighting near its premises and if some copies are defective (e.g. Pls. LXXXIV-V, XCVI-II, missing ill.) this is exceptional: printing and reproduction are otherwise models of their kind. The sites which yield the data for two other books, *Alaas* and *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis IV*, now lie beyond the reach of the excavators concerned, as a consequence of those events. Their prompt publication here is also a direct consequence of 1974 and of the laudable policies of the Director of the Department of Antiquities, Dr Vassos Karageorghis, whose name is so deservedly prominent in the books under review. Not

all preachers follow their own advice, but in this case Dr Karageorghis sets a commendable example in quickly presenting to the scholarly world the rich harvest of objects from his excavations together with succinct comments on their origins and stylistic affinities. The strengths of these publications lies in this and in his infectious enthusiasm which prompts contributions by specialist scholars in appendices.

Despite the title, which leads one to suspect that *Kition I. The Tombs* is a final publication of funerary practices at that wealthy Bronze Age and Phoenician city, it is simply intended "to present for publication archaeological material illustrating the most important phases in the life of this ancient site" p. 2. Of the 178 pages of text, 144 are devoted to Late Bronze Age tombs, 10 to the Iron Age when the monumental temple to Astarte flourished, so this emphasis must be taken into account. V.K. states that more tombs may be found in continued excavation and indeed this has proved to be the case here (*R.D.A.C.* 1976, 79) and at the nearby acropolis of Bamboula where an exceptionally rich Bronze Age tomb has come to light (*Dikaio Memorial Volume*, 63). Moreover, the numbering of the tombs can cause confusion unless it is understood that it depends on local sequences and that outside the two main Areas of excavations, new sequences are created where in fact other tombs had been excavated previously. Thus in the Tourabi Tekke site, Cypro-Geometric Tomb 1 and Cypro-Achaic Tomb 2 (pp. 95-104) are but two of a cemetery which by 1976 had yielded at least 84 tombs (K. Nicolaou, *The Historical Topography of Kition*, S.I.M.A. XLIII 189-199 and Chapter X for a general survey of tombs in Kition). Within the main Areas of the present excavation, however, the report is complete up to 1975, except for tombs 1-3 (Bronze Age) in Area I, described in *B.C.H.* 84, 1960, 504-588. There too the physical anthropology of the burials was studied, in that case by Charles, here by Schwartz. Peltenburg, Masson, Leclant and Porada contribute other specialist studies on the glazed vases, Cypro-Minoan, scarabs and cylinder seals respectively.

Until better synchronisms or internal fixed points are attained, the dating of the Early Bronze Age tombs here and elsewhere must remain speculative. V.K. adopts Stewart's dating c. 1800 B.C. which the latter designed for north coast pottery typologies.

Attention may be drawn here to Late Bronze Age connections with the Near Eastern mainland. These are largely confined to luxury materials and objects: ivory, alabaster, glass, carnelian (?), scarabs and faience. An Anatolian kylix (Pl. LI.56) and a Black Lustrous impressed sherd (Pl. XXXVI. 236), not Nuzi Ware as in *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* IV.1c, 221, are the only likely pottery imports, from lands which, after all, had more utilitarian and mass produced ceramic traditions than Cyprus and the Aegean. Since one of the Late Bronze tombs, 4+5, was looted, only minimal assessment of Asiatic contacts is possible from its data: indeed, the polychrome rhyton attributed to it was found in an adjoining bathroom (p. 16). A bronze jug with vertically grooved body (Pl. LXXV) seems a simplified version of examples best known from Bubastis hoards where dating ranges from Ramses II to Tauert c. 1290-1208 B.C. Iron of course is plentiful on Cyprus itself, but VK refers to the Aegean for the background

of a c. 1200 B.C. gold ring with iron wound round its middle (p. 89) and elsewhere (*Kition* 1976, 52) to it as the earliest iron in Cyprus: see however Waldbaum, J.C., *From Bronze to Iron* (S.I.M.A. LIV), 18.

The stress, therefore, in *The Excavations at Kition I. The Tombs* is on the wealthy array of objects. Those interested in contextual studies will have to wait for future volumes or enquire further if they are to relate tombs to buildings, to locate all objects in tombs (e.g. only 19 of 140 are plotted in the plan of T. 9 Lower Burial, erroneously labelled Upper Burial, Pl. CXXXIV) or to recover the total assemblage of related objects since it appears that only complete or easily restorable vessels are included in the Catalogue of finds. Thus, on p. 58 we learn that some dozen vessels of local Cypriot fabrics also occurred in Tomb 9 Lower Burial in addition to the 114 other vessels of the Catalogue. No doubt exigencies of time in the production of the volumes must be taken into consideration, but the risk of basing conclusions on the Catalogue statistics without reference to these non-Catalogued local fabrics, as in *Kition* 49-50, is always present.

Alaas offers an insight into the succeeding, little known period of the eleventh century in Cyprus and consists of the publication of 19 rescued tombs, a detailed survey which unfortunately failed to locate the contemporary settlement and items from the same cemetery that found their way into the Hadjiprodromou and Severis Collections. Subsequently, objects from other, reputedly known tombs in the cemetery, were published by V.K. as a postscript to this book in *R.D.A.C.* 1977, 141-149. They extend the chronology of the cemetery into the beginning of the Cypro-Geometric I pottery tradition. Apart from a few lentoid flasks and a small jar based on the Canaanite jar prototype, mainland Near Eastern contacts are also seen in a far more restricted range of other objects such as a gold pendant and perhaps scale armour. Given the otherwise much later dating of the Sekhmet pendant (69-70), it may be questioned if this really belongs here. VK., following Gjerstad, concludes that these single inhumations in oriented tombs with long narrow *dromoi* betray Aegean burial practices, a conclusion supported by what inevitably must be judged as the diagnostic pottery of the period and the more recent discovery of a similar, richer, cemetery at Old Paphos (Kouklia) in the West of the island.

Parts of other cemeteries at Salamis demonstrate the greater architectural sophistication of the long-lived chamber burial practice by the time of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Some 12 tombs and an exceptional graveyard, the origins of which are tentatively attributed to the victory of Demetrios Poliorketes in the battle of Salamis in 306 B.C., are reported in *Salamis IV*. The more intact burials include coins which will be helpful for narrowing the dates of associated vessels, lamps, gold, glass and other finds. Particularly noteworthy is a Cypriot version (Pl. IV.6) of the widespread anthropomorphic jug known from such sites as Zencirli in the east and Ischia in the west. A single Rhodian amphora is all that attests to the prominence of that island in trade with Cyprus during the Hellenistic Period, a fact re-asserted once more in Sztetyllo's study of the amphora stamps in *Nea Paphos I*. As in the case of *Alaas*, a private collection again plays an important part in the presentation: 273 stamps of the total of 392 in fact come from such a collection and

it is a tribute to the Cyprus Department of Antiquities that the regulation of disclosing the contents of collections now affords much more comprehensive studies. Doubts, of course, must always remain about the exact provenance of relevant objects. Given the near monopoly of Rhodian amphorae exports to Cyprus, it would be useful to compare its cultural influence. This, one suspects, is minimal and such a comparison may be instructive in interpretations of the significance of large quantities of Aegean pottery in Cyprus in much earlier periods.

J.K. treats the varied repertoire of Cypriot representational art devoted primarily to the depiction of females down to the sixth century B.C. This is a most welcome compendium, judiciously illustrated and including hitherto unpublished material (e.g. Pl. 10a). It serves as an introduction to the major types, though I missed a discussion of the Late Bronze faience goblets with female heads. These occur primarily at Enkomi and several Asiatic sites (see *J.H.S.* XLVIII, 1928, 64-74) and have side locks like the native, Base-ring figures of Pl. 19a. All other classes are grouped according to style and commented on with particular attention to date, Oriental, Western and Cypriot influences, uses and identification. The last of course is a hazardous undertaking especially for the earlier periods and the investigation therefore far exceeds the explicit aim which is to gather together representational remains of the cult of Aphrodite (p. 5). In view of the many female deities known in Bronze Age Asia (e.g. pp. 78-80) it would seem unlikely that all females represent Aphrodite in one or other of her guises, but here too J.K. exercises caution. The study projects Near Eastern and Classical views of religion on prehistoric customs which may have been radically different, so one does not see, for example, Ucko's anthropological interpretations of figurines. J.K. has given us much to think about however, not least the subtle interplay of 'influences' on the representational art of the island.

Since chronology plays such an important part in this study it should be noted that the dates for the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods (p. 228) which are largely based on radiocarbon determinations, have not been calibrated. During these early periods there is a tendency to attribute several figures to the 'Neolithic II' on stratigraphical or stylistic grounds, but the arguments are not convincing. Khirokitia supplies the evidence for the former reasons, but the automatic ascription of finds from surface or high levels to 'Neolithic II' (= Khirokitia III) is unwarranted since the site is on an eroded hillside, has very uneven deposits and is virtually unstratified in terms of extratholoi deposits. If this principle were to be adopted for other finds from similar contexts at Khirokitia, then diagnostic aceramic items such as dress pins, conical and engraved pebbles, would also be 'Neolithic II', but, as in the case of figurines, single occupation 'Neolithic II' sites have not yielded such material. The late figures therefore are preferably allocated to the aceramic period and the few remaining figures of the 'Neolithic II' do not provide a basis for the stylistic attribution of other figures to that period, especially from S.W. Cyprus where there is a scarcity of contemporary sites.

In *Fouilles de Kition III*, Amadasi gathers together all Phoenician inscriptions from or attributed to Kition. The major additions to those already published in *CIS* and by

Masson and Szyner in their *Recherches sur les Phéniciennes à Chypre* occur in section D and consist mainly of short inscriptions on some 42 vessels or ostraca. Unlike most other Phoenician inscriptions from Cyprus, their contexts are precisely known thanks to V.K.'s meticulous excavation recording. Inevitably in a publication such as this, much ground is covered again but Amadasi brings discerning criticism to bear and fresh interpretations result. Nowhere is this more clearly evident than in her consideration of Dupont-Sommer's much debated interpretation of the 'hair offering' bowl from the first floor of the Phoenician temple (Pl. XVII and not XVIII as on p. 149). As in all 130 inscriptions included here (dedications, funerary, administrative, *instrumentum*, miscellaneous and three possibly from Kition), Amadasi examines thoroughly the translations of other scholars and so *Kition III* will be of lasting value not just to Cyprophiles, but also for Phoenician writing and history, an appropriate reflection of the character of the city for most of the first millennium B.C.

Edinburgh, January 1981

E. J. PELTENBURG

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M. R. BEHM-BLANCKE, *Das Tierbild in der altmesopotamischen Rundplastik*. Eine Untersuchung zum Stilwandel des frühsumerischen Rundbildes. Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1979 (36 cm., xiv, 98 pp., 107 figs., 34 pls.) = Baghdader Forschungen Bd. 1. Price: DM 105.-. ISBN 3-8053-0359-9.

M. R. Behm-Blancke presents us with a book that we have long been waiting for. The subtitle expresses his aim quite explicitly: a study on style of early Sumerian sculpture. It deals with the animal sculpture from the Uruk/Jemdet Nasr period up to the ED II period, a field almost *terra incognita* in comparison to sculpture of the following periods¹).

It is a well organized book, set up according to a definite structure. It consists of four chapters dealing with the stylistic groups (I), the chronology (II), the summary and conclusions (III), and the catalogue (IV). It counts 98 pages and studies 255 objects.

The first chapter, which covers more than half of the book, focusses on the four stylistic groups in which the sculpture is divided according to its characteristics. Successively the author treats cattle, sheep, goats and lions; in each case he studies their different postures: standing, lying, seated and jumping in as far as they occur in each group. The animals are analysed in depth: their composition and their posture, as well as their structure. Hereby stress is laid on all the details in order to clarify the difference in style. The eyes, ears, hoofs, tails and nostrils are described and sketched. The analysis is so thorough that even the largest rectangle between the

mouth and the back is drawn. With these data Behm-Blancke could study the proportionate volumes and indicate the difference between the construction of the animals' bodies of the groups I and II (fig. 2, table 1). Also the percentage of the figures belonging to a certain group is mentioned (p. 59). Stylistic group II demonstrates two regional variations. The first category "A" comprises the sculptures characteristic of Uruk-Warka; the second category "B" consists of those common in the Diyala region and which later on spread to Uruk-Warka.

Chapter II offers a chronological classification of the four stylistic groups. This is preceded by a chronological survey of Uruk-Warka and of the temple of Tell Agrab. The stratigraphical studies of these important but complicated sites aim to compare the stratigraphy of the objects with the chronological sequence of the four stylistic groups.

Chapter III is completely dedicated to summaries and conclusions. First a table is given in which the four stylistic groups are linked with the relative chronology. Group I is called "Uruk style", group II "Jemdet/Nasr stylistic form", group III "Agrab style", and group IV "Mesilim style". Within this evolution, however, several deviations occur. This has already been noted in the local varieties "A" and "B" of group II and in the fact that objects of II B later occur in Uruk-Warka. Another deviation is the influence of Elam and the objects which probably came from a manufacture in Susa. Finally, well-known human statues are correlated with the classification of the animal sculpture.

The last chapter (IV) is the catalogue. This begins with a chart giving the classification of objects according to their stylistic group, locality and type. The catalogue provides the necessary information on location, dimensions, material as well as an extensive bibliography of each object. It is occasionally illustrated with a drawing but gives no description of the sculptures themselves. Finally, there are three further tables: a concordance of catalogue and plate numbers, a chronological chart and a comparative table with objects from Tell Agrab and Susa. The 34 plates which conclude the book provide excellent drawings of two thirds of the sculptures.

Although the author surely deserves praise for his original work, some critical remarks need to be made. Firstly, he limits himself to the most common animals: cattle, sheep, goats and lions, and to the most common postures. Consequently, because of this restriction, we lose the total picture of all the possible ways of expression in animal sculpture. Perhaps the author could have given more comparisons of animal sculpture from other sites and of animals made of other material.

Secondly, some sections do not follow the preconceived scheme of the four stylistic groups subdivided according to the different types of animals. For stylistic group IV (I.5), only the general characteristics are given and not the specific details of each animal. The sculptures of the "Wisent", a type of bull with human beard, are reassembled instead of being treated separately in each stylistic group; the author obviously wanted to trace their evolution and take the opportunity to implicate the zoological research. The section on the Inversion-motif (I.4.4.), on the other hand, follows the types of animals. It could probably better be treated as an excursus.

A last remark concerns the chronological chart. To the various chronologies, Behm-Blancke adds his own sequence of the four stylistic groups of animal sculpture wherefore he uses oblique dividing lines. The question arises why he made the chronological scheme more complicated as his groups join more or less the German chronology. Moreover, by using oblique lines he seems to indicate that the transitions occurred gradually and that the chronology is only approximate.

On the whole this work is an outstanding example of its genre. The author has been successful in realizing his stated aim. By concentrating on the style this study gives a special approach to the animal sculpture of this early period which is an original expression of the early Sumerian "Weltanschauung".

Leuven, December 1980

M. C. DE GRAEVE

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E. KLENGEL-BRANDT, *Die Terrakotten aus Assur im Vorderasiatischen Museum Berlin*. Berlin, VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1978 (30 cm., 123 pp., 24 pls.). Lizenz-Nr.: 206.435/24/78.

Mrs. Evelyn Klengel-Brandt presents us with a most useful catalogue. She introduces the terracotta figurines excavated in Assur and now found in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin.

The architecture of Assur is well known, due to the publications of W. Andrae¹). The minor arts, on the other hand, have been largely neglected. This is unfortunate, especially regarding the terracotta figures, since Assur seems to have been a great centre of production with its own characteristics and a great variety of types.

Mrs. E. Klengel, the first scholar to study these terracottas, completes here what she began in her doctoral dissertation²). There she dealt with the human figurines from Assur, while here she expands the material to all the types of terracotta figures. In all, she discusses 783 of the roughly 1500 items. The information set forth is accurate, clear and simple.

The book is well organized: it consists of a catalogue preceded by six very short sections. The first gives an account of the methodology, while the following sections treat chronology, technique, types, comparative sites, and meaning in a general overview. Later in the work, these are discussed further in the introductions preceding each part of the catalogue. The section on the chronology of Assur indicates that the chronology of the archaic Istar temple is still uncertain, though dating is somewhat easier in the later periods. The section on the technique shows the evolution and characteristics of the successive periods. After short sections on types and comparative sites, the meaning and usage is treated — a topic which many readers anticipate with great interest. The author is very

¹) W. Andrae, *WVDOG* 10, 23, 39, 57, 58.

²) E. Klengel-Brandt, *Die Terrakotten aus Assur. I. Teil Menschliche Figuren*, Diss. Philosophischen Fakultät der Humboldt-Universität, April 1964.

cautious, holding to traditional explanations (e.g. their votive character, their relation to feasts, and their religious purposes); occasionally she gives some interesting details and new insights.

The catalogue itself is divided into two parts: part one dealing with human figurines, part two with the animals and various objects. The first part, which is obviously the most extensive, is subdivided into four chronological periods beginning with the second half of the third millennium B.C. and extending to the middle of the third century A.D. Within these chronological periods subdivisions are made according to type, posture, fashion and fabrication technique. Each of these subdivisions starts with a concise introduction of valuable information. It describes the characteristics of the group and deals with the chronology, as far as is possible. Comparison is often made with objects from other sites in the Near East.

The catalogue description of the objects themselves comprises clear technical data: excavation and museum numbers, location, dimensions, colour, texture of the clay, fabrication technique, and state of preservation. The description avoids repetition as only the most representative objects are fully described, while for the other items only particularities are mentioned. Finally, the two concordances to Assur numbers and catalogue numbers, and to inventory museum numbers and catalogue numbers are most useful.

At times the reviewer disagrees with the author's choice of classification, particularly where this is a deviation from the original scheme (i.e. the nude males Nos. 133-134 together with the nude females Nos. 8-26). Another question is whether No. 482 can be identified as a horseman, since this figure has no arms nor legs and is broken at its bottom.

In part two, due to insufficient data, the author had to abandon the chronological classification and arranged the objects according to type. The horses with horseman are arranged first, then animals alone (horses, cattle, sheep, goats, dogs, lions, donkeys, camels, deer, pigs, monkeys, birds) and finally miscellaneous objects (utensils, furniture, chariots and varia). Special attention is given to horses. They are numerous and are often fairly well detailed so that the author could even compare the harnesses of these horses with those on the Assyrian reliefs. Chariots, on the other hand, are equally numerous in Assur but, because they are treated so briefly here, they do not show to full advantage. It is unfortunate that the author never refers to the terracotta collection of Assur in the museum of Istanbul which could undoubtedly provide additional data.

An advantage of the book is that a great number of objects are illustrated, but unfortunately the 24 plates are of poor quality and the illustrations set too close to one another.

Finally, a large map of the excavations in Assur is provided (cf. W. Andrae, *Das wiedererstandene Assur*). In order to save you searching, I shall give away its location. It is hidden in the inside of the double folded bookcover. This was probably an ingenious idea to save paper and money, but how long will it take before the map is worn, and how can the book be covered and the map be used at the same time?

Despite these few criticisms, the author deserves con-

¹) The sculpture of the ED period has thoroughly been studied by E. Strommenger, *Das Menschenbild in der altmesopotamischen Rundplastik von Mesilim bis Hammurapi*, BaM I (1960), and more recently by E. Braun-Holzinger, *Frühdynastische Beterstatuetten*, ADOG 19 (1977).

gratulations for this thorough work. With great precision she uncovers an enormous collection of terracottas which was unknown for the greater part and provides a whole new dimension on terracotta production. This is a very important book which is indispensable for anybody interested in sculpture. It is the second publication on the archaeological material in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin³). We welcome it with enthusiasm and look forward to the following volumes from Berlin. Hopefully other museum will follow this example.

Leuven, December 1980

M. C. DE GRAEVE

* *

Philippe GIGNOUX, *Catalogue des Sceaux, Camées et Bulles Sasanides de la Bibliothèque Nationale et du Musée du Louvre II. Les Sceaux et Bulles Inscrits*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1978 (31 cm., iv + 162 pp., 81 pls.). ISBN 2 7177 1437 5.

As the title indicates, this is the second of two volumes devoted to the Sasanian seals and sealings in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Musée du Louvre. Only inscribed objects are included in this publication. The first volume, to be written by Ryka Gyselen, will be a full catalogue of all Sasanian seals and sealings in both museums, those having inscriptions and those having images but no legends. The dimensions of the objects, the shapes, materials and a comprehensive study of the iconography will be included in the first volume. None of this information is incorporated in the volume under review. This publication is, therefore, a work in progress and the present review is written only because there will be some delay, perhaps as much as two years, before volume one appears.

As Gignoux states in his introduction, the catalogue is arranged in a different fashion from other recent publications of Sasanian seals and sealings. Instead of a division of the objects according to subject matter, the grouping here is determined by the nature and content of the inscriptions: 1) Sceaux sans figuration, 2) Monogrammes inscrits, 3) Cachets administratifs et religieux, 4) Cachets privés, 5) Cachets privés avec formules, 6) Cachets à formules, 7) Cachets chrétiens, 8) Cachets parthes, 9) Cachets d'interprétation douteuses, 10) Amulettes. The sealings follow the seals and are arranged according to the geographical locations cited in the legends. Sealings without place names but having titles, proper names and formulae come at the end of the volume.

The inscriptional material presented in this volume can only be reviewed in depth by a specialist in the Middle Persian language but a few general comments will be included here. Gignoux has made a significant contribution, offering not only a transliteration but also, in each case, providing a translation or interpretation of the legend. Authors of other Sasanian seal publications have often refrained from giving any readings where there are uncertain or unclear legends and the reader is, consequently,

³) The first book in this series was: L. Jacob-Rost, *Die Stempel-siegel im Vorderasiatischen Museum*, Berlin, 1975.

left with no idea of the possible or probable sense of the inscriptions. Gignoux acknowledges the cooperation of J. Harmatta in reading the inscriptions and of R. Curiel in the classification of the objects. A glossary of the Middle Persian, Parthian, Arab and Bactrian words is included and adds to the value of this work.

A discussion of the titles and offices recorded on the seals and sealings includes those that are rarely found, governor and satrap, and those that are common, *magi* and scribe. Gignoux observes that proper names occur on the seals of persons holding the lowest offices, scribes and *magi* and, at the other end of the scale, on seals of high ranking individuals, ambassadors and members of the royal family. In general, however, proper names are not included in the legends and only offices and geographical locations are recorded. Perhaps the greatest disappointment for those studying the iconography of Sasanian seals is the fact that there is rarely any relation between the image on a seal and the accompanying inscription. An examination of the motifs on seals in Gignoux's classes 3, 4, 5, 6 reveals that distinctions between persons of different rank and office cannot be made on the basis of the subjects represented on their seals. In each of these groups there is a wide range of motifs. Whether, in fact, any motifs are more commonly or even exclusively used by a particular class or office will become apparent only when seals in other published museum collections are regrouped according to Gignoux's method.

Sasanian seals have been imitated since the appearance of the earliest publications of collections, and forgeries exist in all major museum collections. Gignoux addresses this problem in his introduction listing some of the forged seals of which originals exist in other collections. One fine, genuine Bibliothèque Nationale seal (4.31) has a forged counterpart in the British Museum (BM 119386). No reference to the British Museum seal is made in the text of Gignoux's volume. This type of information, one presumes, will appear in volume one. In seal class 9, Gignoux groups together seals having legends of doubtful interpretation. This is a warning to the reader that the seals, or at least the inscriptions, may be forged. However, there are problematical pieces scattered through the other classes as well (3.29, 3.30, 6.64, 6.65, 6.66, 6.69). These seals are not labelled as doubtful probably because the legends on them are accurately rendered. In fact, Gignoux states that it is difficult to identify forgeries on the basis of the inscriptions alone. Errors can occur in the legends on perfectly genuine seals and accurate inscriptions can appear on modern forgeries. An identification of the forgeries based on iconographic, stylistic and epigraphic evidence may appear in the first volume but until then the reader should use some caution and judgement in evaluating the seals.

The monograms are the first class of motifs discussed. This enigmatic subject deserves careful reconsideration now that a number of major museum seal collections have been published and the full range of forms as well as the popularity of some types begins to be apparent. Parallels for many of the types in this publication exist and will, undoubtedly, be noted in volume one. The inclusion of cross references such as those given for the monograms in Brunner's catalogue of the Metropolitan Museum seals (*Sasanian Stamp Seals in The Metropolitan Museum of*

Art, New York, 1978) is a useful contribution to the study of these devices. Gignoux, in part, describes the monograms in his catalogue entries as letter combinations, an interpretation of the motifs that has long had support among scholars. However, this introduces some problems and there are instances where two different descriptions of precisely the same yoke-shaped element occur (see seals 2.31 and 2.35). A.D.H. Bivar in the British Museum catalogue (*Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum, Stamp Seals II: The Sassanian Dynasty*) and Brunner in the Metropolitan Museum publication use more abstract terms in describing the monograms, or devices as Bivar prefers to call these signs. The extent to which the elements in the shape of letters are intended to be read and how the signs are to be interpreted remains uncertain.

The identification of various motifs in other classes is generally clear and precise. Some errors occur but Gignoux in his introduction is careful to warn the reader not to rely on his work for iconographic or stylistic details. A few misinterpretations are easily corrected. The image on seal 6.88 is not in the form of a question mark but is an ear and an earring. Catalogue number 4.34 has a nice example of a banqueting scene in which the male figure reclines with one arm on a pile of cushions, a cup in his hand. There is no reason to see in this image, „a merchant seated on a table ... his left hand supported by three pieces of merchandise". On 4.27 the "female figure" is a member of the royal family or a goddess, as a ball of hair, tied up above the head, is clearly visible. 4.76 shows a winged lion, not a griffin. Seals 6.77 and 6.81 both incorporate in their designs a cap surmounted by a griffin protome. On seal 6.77 another animal head also protrudes from the back and the image is, in this respect, almost identical to that on a damaged seal in the British Museum (Bivar, *Catalogue*, MGI) described as a *gryllus*. Catalogue number 6.81 on which there is only the griffin protome at the peak of the cap is the seal of a private person. This is also true of another seal, in the Hermitage Museum (A.Ia Borisov, V.G. Lukonin, *Sasanidskiye Gemmy*, Leningrad, 1963, no. 40), on which there is a figure wearing a stag-headed cap. On early Sasanian rock reliefs, silver vessels and coins, caps topped by the protomes of real or fantastic creatures are worn only by members of the royal family. However, this prestigious image could, it appears, be chosen as a seal device by persons of no particular rank or importance.

Finally there is the question of dating the seals. With the first major publication of Sasanian seals in recent years, Borisov and Lukonin's, *Sasanidskiye Gemmy*, an attempt was made to establish a date for the seals on the basis of the paleography of the inscriptions. Those with letters in the inscriptional form known from the rock reliefs could, with some confidence, be placed in the third century while the fully developed cursive script was identified as belonging to the sixth and seventh centuries. This left a long in-between period during which the letters gradually changed form and where dates in specific centuries could only be given with some hesitation. Bivar in his publication of the British Museum seals followed Lukonin's lead but issued a strong warning that the dates were not firm attributions only suggestions. Brunner also assigned dates to the seals in the Metropolitan Museum

in a similarly non-dogmatic manner. Gignoux has chosen to abandon this approach altogether recognizing that some forms of script were in use for several centuries and that it is difficult and misleading to suggest precise dates for the appearance or disappearance of particular forms of letters. Perhaps in volume one Gignoux and Gyselen will join forces and, on the basis of seal shape, style, iconography and paleography, offer dates for the seals. This would certainly be a valuable contribution.

The illustrations of the seal impressions are superb and even the sealings have been photographed from all angles to the best possible advantage, a tedious and difficult job. This volume is a significant contribution, by a scholar of great ability, to the field of Sasanian glyptic art. It gives the linguist, historian and art historian much to consider in the future.

New York, December 1980

P. O. HARPER

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S. ZAJADACZ, *Chaukhandidgräber — Studien zur Grabkunst in Sind und Baluchistan*. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1978 (24 cm., 103 pp., 112 plates, 10 Ornamenttafeln, map). ISBN 3 515 02533 2. Price: DM 48.—.

Around the turn of this century the first tombs, which are the subject of this book, were discovered. In the course of time their mysterious origin gave rise to various legends. These, as well as the fact that only very few of them carry a date, resulted in attributions ranging from the 14th to the 19th century. A careful study of these interesting monuments has, therefore, been a long-felt need, as very little has been published about them. Moreover, many are now fast disappearing, such as the beautiful tomb to the west of the graveyard at Goth Haji Allahdino (Pl. 37), which had vanished when the author paid a second visit to the site.

Collecting such extensive material was in itself no mean task. The author's troubles and tribulations ring a familiar bell for those acquainted with the peculiar problems involved in fieldwork in Sind. One of these is the fact, that the names of sites seem to change continually with the confusing result that the same antiquity is often referred to by different names in the various publications and is therefore difficult to trace in the field.

Over the years the author has discovered a large number of new tombs and graveyards. The fifty sites now known, in all about two thousand tombs, are listed on pp. 80-89 together with an indication of how to reach each site, a short description, the date and — if available — literature referring to the antiquity in question. Each location is indicated by its number on an accompanying map.

As dates start to appear on these tombs only in the 18th century, the author has had to reconstruct their development partly on the basis of stylistic comparisons with dated monuments such as those on Makli Hill near Thatta or further afield in Rājasthān and Gujarāt, and partly on the basis of shapes and decorations since comparable dated material is not available for the whole

period. This she does competently, describing each important tomb accurately and in great detail. As a result of this she is able to reconstruct the development of the Chaukhandi tombs and often date them to within a quarter of a century. The ten tables showing the chronological sequence of the applied motifs are a most useful outcome of this study.

In connection with the discussion of the motifs carved on these monuments there are interesting paragraphs about the shape and decoration of shields on some male tombs and jewellery on a number of female graves. The two motifs depicted on either side of a hero's head on a tomb at Malir (Pl. 62), which the author describes as a shield and an unknown object, could perhaps represent the sun and the moon, two eternity symbols often encountered on pāliyās or hero stones in Rājasthān dating from roughly the same period¹). A comparison of the depicted jewellery with traditional ornaments still worn in the area might have been interesting but would obviously have transgressed the limits of this study. The author identifies the different pieces of jewellery carved on the various tombs and it strikes us as strange that no ear-ornaments are mentioned. Consequently, we wonder whether the jewellery which she describes as "pendants with hooks" (Pls. 76-77, 79, 82, 84) are perhaps ear-ornaments, especially as they usually occur in pairs.

The long and important note 49 on pp. 40-41 seems a last minute addition to the book, for it suggests a more exact dating of a number of tombs (Pls. 28, 38 and 41) than that given in the body of the text and the captions of the plates illustrating these monuments. The dates mentioned in the captions of Pls. 64-65, 77-78, 82 and 110 are also narrowed down in the text on pp. 51, 50, 57, 57, 58 and 72 respectively.

The large number of excellent illustrations are most helpful in following the author's discussion. According to her the oldest of these tombs probably belong to the beginning of the 15th century or slightly earlier. They flourished from the 16th to the 18th century and the latest is dated A.D. 1942. In contrast to what was often believed in the past, the author is able to prove that the whole tradition goes back to local origins in Lower Sind, Kaṭhiāwār and Gujarāt. The book which has remarkably few misprints, ends with an English summary (pp. 93-99) and a list of illustrations, also in English (pp. 100-103), which gives more detailed information than that in German (pp. 90-92). Thanks to Dr. Zajadacz's painstaking study the Chaukhandi tombs have at last received the attention which these interesting monuments so fully deserve.

Universiteit van Amsterdam, J. E. VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW
December 1980

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¹) Cf. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *Indische Skulpturen der Sammlung von der Heydt*, Zürich, 1964, pp. 158-160; H. Goetz, *The Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*, Oxford, 1950, p. 162, fig. 57; H. Goetz, *The first Golden Age of Udaipur: Rajput Art in Mewār during the Period of Mughal Supremacy*, *Ars Orientalis*, vol. II, 1957, fig. 13.

J. E. van LOHUIZEN-de LEEUW (ed.), *South Asian Archaeology 1975*. Papers from the Third International Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe held in Paris. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1979 (25 cm., 187 pp., 59 figs., 3 tables, 1 folding map and 94 plates). ISBN 90 04 05996 2. Price: Hfl. 160.-.

The publication under review is dedicated to the late French archaeologist Jean-Marie Casal, the organizer of this Third International Conference. J. F. Jarrige has written a short obituary to open this collection of papers.

South Asian Archaeology 1975 is the third of the series in which the conference papers of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe are published. The fourth one, *South Asian Archaeology 1977* (2 vols.), was edited by Prof. M. Taddei and published by the Istituto Universitario Orientale, Seminario di Studi Asiatici, Series Minor VI, Napoli, whereas *South Asian Archaeology 1979* will be edited by Prof. W. Härtel and published in West Germany. It seems likely that future hosting countries of the South Asian Conferences will continue this line of publication and therefore the papers under review may possibly represent the last volume of this series to be published for some time by Messrs. E. J. Brill and edited by J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw.

This third volume which contains most of the papers read at the Third International Conference in Paris in 1975, encompasses contributions on Iran, the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and the littoral regions of the Arabian Gulf. Chronologically the topics on archaeology and art history span a time range from the 6th-5th millennium B.C. down to the 17th century A.D. The first nine papers which deal with prehistoric subjects are as follows —: P. Amiet, *Les Sceaux de Shahr-i Sokhta* (pp. 3-6), P. Ferioli, E. Fiandra and S. Tusa, *Stamp seals and the functional analysis of their sealings at Shahr-i Sokhta II-III (2700-2200 B.C.)* (pp. 7-26), S. Durante, *The Utilization of Xancus Pyrum (L.) at Shahr-i Sokhta*. Further Evidence for cultural Relations between India and Iran in the 4th-3rd millennia B.C. (pp. 27-42), K. Frifelt, *The Umm an-Nar and Jemdet Nasr of Oman and their Relations abroad* (pp. 43-57), E. C. L. During Caspers, *Statuary in the round from Dilmun*. Further Evidence for Trade Contact in the Gulf (pp. 58-75), J. F. Jarrige, *Excavations at Mehrgarh — Pakistan* (pp. 76-87), G. Stacul, *The Sequence of the Proto-historical Periods at Aligrama (Swāt, Pakistan)* (pp. 88-90), B. Allchin, *The Agate and Carnelian Industry of Western India and Pakistan* (pp. 91-105) and F. R. Allchin, *A South Indian Copper Sword and its Significance* (pp. 106-118). The five final articles discussing various art historian aspects comprise —: G. Verardi, *The Buddhist Cave Complex of Hōmay Qal'a* (pp. 119-126), J. C. Harle, *An early brass Image of a Bodhisattva with Kashmiri or Swāt Valley Affinities* (pp. 127-134), G. Michell, *The Gauda Temple at Aihole*. The problem of the Beginnings of Early Western Cālūkyan Architecture (pp. 135-150), J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The Pre-Muslim Antiquities of Sind* (pp. 151-174) and E. Hartkamp-Jonxis, *Some Explorations in the visual Organization of Scenes on Rājasthāni Cloth Paintings in the Honour of Pābūji* (pp. 175-187).

Since this *South Asian Archaeology 1975* appeared in

print in 1979, several contributions, especially those dealing with prehistoric subjects, must be read against additional and more recently published, archaeological material and/or further investigated and integrated intercultural relationships, and mercantile or socio-economic potentials.

The importance of P. Amiet's paper is twofold. Firstly Amiet estimates the usage of cylinder seals in the first occupation level at Shahr-i Sokhta, i.e. Period I, as "En conclusion, il semble que les sceaux du niveau I de Shahr-i Sokhta remontent plutôt à la fin de l'époque de Djemdet-Nasr et à l'époque immédiatement subséquente. Ils se rattachent à la famille mésopotamienne, répandue principalement dans la région de la Diyala, et largement aussi en Elam, et présentent des affinités avec la glyptique proto-élamite. Ils sont témoins les plus avancés vers l'est du rayonnement de la civilisation mésopotamienne prise en un sens très large. Mais on peut penser que leurs porteurs appartenaient plus précisément à la famille élamite, comme ceux qui s'installèrent passagèrement à Tépé Yahya. Ces gens pourraient s'être lancés en avant-coureurs, plus loin que les commerçants venus de Susiane et qui jalonnèrent le plateau de relais d'étapes tels que Malyan et Yahya, ainsi que Sialk IV. Il n'est pas interdit de supposer qu'ils s'identifient avec de tels commerçants, mais seule la découverte de tablettes proto-élamites permettrait de l'affirmer" (pp. 5-6). Secondly there are certain indications that the use at Shahr-i Sokhta in Period I, of the characteristic Mesopotamian type cylinder seal is intimately connected with an overland connection with the Punjab, *in casu* Harappa, northern Afghanistan, northern Iran with a bifurcation to the Helmand Basin, and the Diyala Region of Mesopotamia. This phenomenon should have antedated the use of the sea routes in the later mid third millennium B.C. which focussed on Sind, with Moenjodaro as its eastern geographical boundary¹). A cylinder seal impression discovered at Umm an-Nar, which can be dated to the first half of the third millennium B.C. appears to corroborate this supposition²).

The paper prepared collectively by P. Ferioli, E. Fiandra and S. Tusa is of particular interest for the study of administrative practices and security methods as applied to the storage of goods and merchandise in the warehouses at Shahr-i Sokhta. Besides the well-recognized method of closing jars and other containers by means of stamped clay sealings, thus protecting the contents against unauthorized opening, the plaster casts of the reverse of the Shahr-i Sokhta sealings also reveal that additional sealings had been placed on variously shaped rough wooden knobs, which show wound around them a few turns of unknotted cord and which had been plugged into the wall beside the door for security reasons. At Shahr-i Sokhta "holes were even discovered in the wall beside a doorway (pl. 7) meant to take the pins, a few specimens of which have been perfectly preserved (pl. 8, fig.)" (p. 15). In this way

¹) During Caspers, E. C. L., 'Sumerian traders and businessmen residing in the Indus Valley cities — A critical assessment of the archaeological evidence', (paper read at the 1979 Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, Boston, U.S.A.), *Annali of the Istituto Orientale di Napoli* (forthcoming); Id., 'Sumerian trading communities residing in Harappan Society', in: *A Sir Mortimer Wheeler Commemorative Volume* (eds. B. B. Lal, S. P. Gupta) (forthcoming).

²) Amiet, P., 'A Cylinder Seal Impression Found at Umm an-Nar', *East and West* (N.S. Vol. 25, Nos. 3-4), 1975, pp. 425-426.

doors were kept closed to prevent the store-houses and other rooms from being entered by unauthorized persons or broken into by intruders. The authors point out that similar systems of guarantee have also been recognized at Mundigak and Lothal and stress that "Basically, the whole of the Middle East adopted the same system of clay sealings during all periods, i.e. from the 3rd millennium B.C. onwards. In this connection it would be interesting to investigate and compare all systems of control and guarantee related to economic or commercial functions in China and Central Asia during the period covered by our survey, i.e. in those regions which are known to have had comparatively close relations with the Mesopotamian area from Neolithic times onward" (p. 21).

In his short review of *South Asian Archaeology 1977* in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, Berlin, 1980, B. Brentjes remarked that "Charakteristisch für die moderne Archäologie ist die starke Hinwendung zu naturwissenschaftlichen Methoden und Arbeitsbereichen. So bearbeiten ..., S. Durante "Marine Shells from Balakot, Shahr-i Sokhta and Tepe Yahya" (S. 317-344)" (p. 526). Under the same heading Durante's contribution of 1975 would have fallen but in 1977 this horizon was brought into a wider perspective.

K. Frifelt's paper on "The Umm an-Nar and Jemdet Nasr of Oman and their Relations abroad" deals with an area which, since the late 1950^{ies}, has become a field of rapidly increasing interest and scholarly study. Ever since the limited Danish excavations on the small island of Umm an-Nar off the coast of the Sheikdom of Abu Dhabi in 1959³), a number of foreign archaeological missions have been concerned with the pre-Muslim history of the Musandam — Oman Peninsula. New discoveries lead yearly to a rapidly increased understanding both of the various phases of the earliest history of the former Trucial States, presently renamed the 7 United Arab Emirates, and those of the Sultanate of Oman and Muscat. K. Frifelt's paper, should, therefore, be read against a considerable number of new archaeological reports and the collective data of geological, sedimentological, botanical and zoological studies by per example the Danish, British, American, French, German, Italian and Pakistani expeditions, studying the pre- and protohistory and also the early pre-Muslim historical periods of the Peninsula. A short survey of the more recent, much wider and better understood intricacies of prehistoric background knowledge of the Oman Peninsula in the late 4th-1st millennia B.C. here follows as a footnote⁴).

³) Thorvildsen, K., 'Gravroser på Umm an-Nar', *Kuml*, 1962, pp. 191-207, English version 'Burial Cairns on Umm an-Nar', pp. 208-219.

⁴) Berthoud, T., *Etude par l'analyse de traces et la modélisation de la filiation entre minéral de cuivre et objets archéologiques du Moyen-Orient (IV^e et III^e millénaire avant notre ère)*. Thèse présentée à l'Université Pierre et Marie Curie Paris VI (2 vols.), 1979; de Cardi, B., 'Archaeological Survey in the Northern Trucial States', *East and West* (N.S. Vol. 21, Nos. 3-4), 1971, pp. 225-289; de Cardi, B., Vita-Finzi, C. and Coles, A., 'Archaeological Survey in Northern Oman, 1972', *East and West* (N.S. Vol. 25, Nos. 1-2), 1975, pp. 9-75; de Cardi, B., 'Survey and Excavations in Central Oman, 1974-75', *The Journal of Oman Studies*, Vol. 1, 1975, pp. 109-111; de Cardi, B., Collier, S. and Doe, D. B., 'Excavations and Survey in Oman, 1974-1975', *The Journal of Oman Studies*, Vol. 2, 1976, pp. 101-187; de Cardi, B., Doe, D. B. and Roskams, S. P., 'Excavation and Survey in the Sharqiyah, Oman, 1976', *The Journal of Oman Studies*, Vol. 3, Part 1, 1977, pp. 17-33; de Cardi, B., 'Surface Collections from the Oman Survey, 1976', *The*

For obvious reasons the reviewer cannot remark on her own contribution, but it suffices to mention that she intends in a forthcoming article to further corroborate the suggested possibility of an early date for the two stone rams from Diraz, Bahrain, based on 4th millennium Mesopotamian representations. Similar reclining stone rams of far superior 4th millennium manufacture come from Uruk, Susa, Tepe Yahya and are exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, N.Y., with an alleged provenance in Iran. Additionally, a study of this group may well put the so-called ram-elephant statues from Moenjo-daro in a different light.

The site of Mehrgarh has been recently excavated by the French Archaeological Mission under the directorship of Dr. J.F. Jarrige and is referred to in the paper "Excavations at Mehrgarh — Pakistan". The site is situated in the north of the Kachi plain of Baluchistan, at the foot of the Bolan Pass, which connects Central Asia with the alluvial plains of the Indus river. It presents an excellent chance to build up a consistent, and a probably almost continuous, sequence of data for the north of the

Kachi plain and a succession of settlements from possibly the 7th-6th millennium B.C. to the 8th-7th centuries B.C. The publication of the first season at Mehrgarh in *South Asian Archaeology 1975* should be read concurrently with a far more detailed report of the work of the following seasons published in *South Asian Archaeology 1977* and *South Asian Archaeology 1979*⁵⁾. The reader should also be aware that the preliminary subdivision of the occupation deposits in Phases I-IV has now been altered and Phase I = Period IV, Phase II = Period V, Phase III = Period VI and Phase IV = Period VII. Additionally, three earlier periods those of Periods I-III, complete so far the present sequence.

Brentjes describes in his review of *South Asian Archaeology 1977* (above) this unique site as a "überaus wesentlichen Fundort, von dem noch vieles zu erwarten ist" ... (p. 526), thus doing an injustice of far reaching consequences, both chronologically, sequentially and interculturally, towards a better reappraisal of the interplay between the great urban civilization of the Indus Valley region and the Baluchi cultures. Besides the great possibilities for reconstruction of a mesolithic-neolithic background for the Baluchistan region, "For the Chalcolithic periods, as long as Baluchistan was considered as a marginal area towards which western innovations were diffused little by little, it was difficult to appreciate the significance of internal process and external parallels which were fragmentarily revealed by small scale and dispersed researches. But now, the important results from Mehrgarh can be interpreted in the light of the general cultural process affecting the whole western belt of the Indo-Pakistani Subcontinent. This becomes evident with the second half of the 4th millennium BC and the beginning of the 3rd millennium BC when increasing craftsmen activities are evidenced and when the opening of trade routes with Central Asia links in an obvious way sites like Mehrgarh, Mundigak and Shahr-i Sokhta. Through sites like Mundigak and Shahr-i Sokhta, more or less direct contacts are established between the fringes of the Indus Valley and South Turkmenia and the Eastern Iranian Plateau ..." ⁶⁾. A useful Chart of the Periods at Mehrgarh which appeared in *South Asian Archaeology 1977*, pp. 533-534 summarizes the cultural and chronological parallels and interrelationships with neighbouring cultural assemblages in Baluchistan, the Indus Valley regions, Afghanistan and Iranian Sistan.

With the contribution by G. Stacul on the Gandhara Grave Culture entitled "The Sequence of the Proto-historical Periods at Aligrama (Swāt, Pakistan)", the

⁵⁾ Jarrige, Jean-François & Lechevallier, Monique, 'Excavations at Mehrgarh, Baluchistan: Their Significance in the Prehistorical Context of the Indo-Pakistani Borderlands', in: *South Asian Archaeology 1977*, Vol. 1 (ed. M. Taddei), Naples, 1979, pp. 463-535; Audouze, F. & Jarrige, C., 'A Third Millennium Pottery-Firing Structure at Mehrgarh and Its Economic Implications', in: *South Asian Archaeology 1977*, Vol. 1 (ed. M. Taddei), Naples, 1979, pp. 213-221; Lechevallier, M. & Quivron, M., 'The Neolithic in Baluchistan — New Evidence from Mehrgarh', in: *South Asian Archaeology 1979*, (ed. W. Härtel), Berlin (forthcoming); Jarrige, J.F., 'Economy and Society in the Bronze Age in Baluchistan — New Evidences from the Kachi Plain', in: *South Asian Archaeology 1979*, (ed. W. Härtel), Berlin (forthcoming); Meadow, R.H., 'Faunal Remains from Mehrgarh: Early Cattle Domestication in South Asia', in: *South Asian Archaeology 1979*, (ed. W. Härtel), Berlin (forthcoming).

⁶⁾ Jarrige & Lechevallier, Naples, 1979, p. 532.

Journal of Oman Studies, Vol. 3, Part 1, 1977, pp. 59-70; Cleuziou, S., Pottier, M.-H. and Salles, J.-F., 'Mission Archéologique Française 1^{re} Campagne Décembre 1976/Février 1977' in: *Archéologie aux Emirats Arabes Unis — Archaeology in the United Arab Emirates*, Vol. 1, Al-Ain, 1978; Cleuziou, S., 'Three seasons at Hili: toward a chronology and cultural history of the Oman Peninsula in the 3rd millennium B.C.', *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, Vol. 10, 1980, pp. 19-32; Id., 'A report on the 2nd and 3rd campaigns at Hili 8' in: *Archaeology in the United Arab Emirates*, Vol. 2, Al-Ain (forthcoming); Id., 'Oman Peninsula in the early 2nd millennium B.C.', in: *South Asian Archaeology 1979*, (ed. W. Härtel), Berlin (forthcoming); Doe, D.B., 'Gazetteer of Sites in Oman, 1976', *The Journal of Oman Studies*, Vol. 3, Part 1, 1977, pp. 35-57; Frifelt, K., 'Arkaeologisk undersøgelse på Oman halvøen', *Kuml*, 1968, pp. 159-175, English version 'Archaeological Investigations in the Oman Peninsula', pp. 170-175; Id., 'Jamdat Nasr fund fra Oman', *Kuml*, 1970, pp. 355-383, English version 'Jamdat Nasr finds in the Oman', pp. 374-383; Id., 'Excavations in Abu Dhabi (Oman)', *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXXIII, 4, 1971, pp. 296-299; Id., 'A possible Link between the Jemdet Nasr and the Umm an-Nar Graves of Oman', *The Journal of Oman Studies*, Vol. 1, 1975, pp. 57-80; Id., 'On Prehistoric Settlement and Chronology of the Oman Peninsula', *East and West* (N.S. Vol. 25, Nos. 3-4), 1975, pp. 359-442; Id., 'Evidence of a Third Millennium B.C. Town in Oman', *The Journal of Oman Studies*, Vol. 2, 1976, pp. 57-74; Id., 'Oman during the Third Millennium BC: Urban Development of Fishing/Farming Communities?', in: *South Asian Archaeology 1977*, Vol. 1 (ed. M. Taddei), Naples, 1979, pp. 567-587; Hastings, A., Humphries, J.H., Meadow, R.H., 'Oman in the Third Millennium BCE', *The Journal of Oman Studies*, Vol. 1, 1975, pp. 9-56; Hoch, E., 'Reflections on Prehistoric Life at Umm an-Nar (Trucial Oman) Based on Faunal Remains from the Third Millennium BC', in: *South Asian Archaeology 1977*, Vol. 1 (ed. M. Taddei), Naples, 1979, pp. 589-638; Højgaard, K., 'Dentition on Umm an-Nar, c. 2500 B.C.', paper read at the 1980 meeting of the Seminar for Arabian Studies; Humphries, J.H., 'Harvard Archaeological Survey in Oman: II — Some later prehistoric sites in the Sultanate of Oman', *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, Vol. 4, 1974, pp. 49-77; Pullar, J., 'Harvard Archaeological Survey in Oman, 1973: I — Flint Sites in Oman', *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, Vol. 4, 1974, pp. 33-48; Saeed-ur Rahman, [Hilli 2 excavations] in: *Archaeology in the United Arab Emirates*, Vol. 2, Al-Ain (forthcoming); Tosi, M., 'Notes on the Distribution and Exploitation of Natural Resources in Ancient Oman', *The Journal of Oman Studies*, Vol. 1, 1975, pp. 187-206; Id., 'The Dating of the Umm an-Nar Culture and a Proposed Sequence for Oman in the Third Millennium B.C.', *The Journal of Oman Studies*, Vol. 2, 1976, pp. 81-92; Tosi, M. & Durante, S., 'The aceramic Shell-Middens of Ras al-Hamra. A Preliminary Note', *The Journal of Oman Studies* (forthcoming); Weisgerber, G., '..... und Kupfer in Oman' — Das Oman-Projekt des Deutschen Bergbau-Museums, *Der Anschnitt Zeitschrift für Kunst und Kultur im Bergbau*, 2-3/1980, 32. Jahrgang, pp. 62-110; Id., '3rd ml. copper production in Oman', paper read at the 1980 meeting of the Seminar for Arabian Studies.

origin of which is still a matter of controversy⁷⁾, and the two interesting papers by B. and F.R. Allchin both dealing with aspects of the pre- and protohistory of India proper, *South Asian Archaeology 1975* closes with five papers of an art historian nature pertaining to Afghanistan, Kashmir, Pakistan and India. Of particular interest is the contribution by J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw "The Pre-Muslim Antiquities of Sind" in which she stresses the fact that up to the present archaeologists have paid insufficient attention to the early historical period of Sind. She pleads, "that it is high time to redirect our attention to the early monuments in the Indus delta of which we know so little. In most cases they have suffered a great deal of damage since the day of Cousens. ... The matter is most urgent, not only because of the increasingly bad state of repair of the monuments themselves but also because a re-examination of all the material belonging to the first ten centuries of the Christian era will be most rewarding as I have tried to illustrate by way of a few examples comprising monuments, sculptures and coins which resulted in changes of interpretation and even dates" (p. 173).

Finally we should express our sincere thanks to the Editor for her perseverance to get the papers of this Third International Conference in print in spite of the financial difficulties to which she refers in her Preface.

Leiden, October 1980

E. C. L. DURING CASPERS

ARABICA-ISLAM

Bernhard LEWIN, *A Vocabulary of the Hudailian Poems*. Göteborg, Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-Samhället, 1978 (24 cm., VII, 484 S.) = Acta Regiae Societatis Scientiarum et Litterarum Gothoburgensis, Humaniora 13. Preis: 100.- Skr. — ISBN 91-85252-16-6.

Die Dichtung der Banū Hudail, der einzige uns erhaltene Stammesdīwān, hat die Arabistik seit ihren Anfängen beschäftigt. Schon J.J. Reiske (1716-74) begann mit der Bearbeitung der Texte. Im 19. Jh. entstanden die ersten Teileditionen von J.L. Kosegarten (*The Hudsailian Poems*, I, London 1854) und J. Wellhausen (*Lieder der Hudhailiten, Arabisch und Deutsch*. In: *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*. I, Berlin 1884). Um vieles später, nach der Auffindung des restlichen Dīwāns, folgten die Editionen von J. Hell (*Neue Hudailiten-Diwane*. I u.II, Hannover und Leipzig 1926-33) und von F. Bajraktarević (JA 203/1923 S. 59-115; 211/1927 S. 5-94). Inzwischen liegt auch eine Gesamtausgabe vor (A. Farrāğ, *Šarḥ aš'ār al-Hudaliyīn*. I-III, Kairo 1384/1965). Für die frühe Forschung gilt ohne Einschränkung der Satz, mit dem Wellhausen seine Edition einleitet: „Das Interesse, das wir an den alten Beduinenliedern nehmen, ist kein poetisches, sondern ein sprachliches und historisches". Ein halbes Jahrhundert mußte

⁷⁾ See e.g. Stacul, G., 'Painted Pottery from the Swat Valley, Pakistan (ca. 1700-1400 B.C.)', in: *South Asian Archaeology 1979*, (ed. W. Härtel), Berlin (forthcoming) in which the possibility of a connection with Cemetery H at Harappa has been considered.

vergehen, bis E. Bräunlich die Hudailitendichtung in einer bahnbrechenden Studie zum Gegenstand literaturwissenschaftlicher Analysen machte („Versuch einer literarisch-schichtlichen Betrachtungsweise altarabischer Poesien". *Der Islam* 24/1937, S. 201-69). Trotz dieses Durchbruchs sind wir weit davon entfernt, die Gedichte der Banū Hudail in ihrer Eigenart und in ihrem Verhältnis zu anderen Zeugnissen der Beduinenpoesie genau zu kennen. Auch die Tatsache, daß wir eine poetische Tradition über 5 Generationen (etwa 550-700) verfolgen können und damit die Möglichkeit haben, Motiv- und Stilwandel in einer Stammesdichtung von der vorislamischen Epoche bis zur Umayyadenzeit zu untersuchen, ist von der Forschung noch kaum beachtet worden.

Unter diesen Umständen ist das Vokabular, das Lewin vorlegt, überaus willkommen. Er geht von den europäischen Editionen aus und gibt bei den Belegen zusätzlich die Seitenzahl der Ausgabe von Farrāğ an. Dem arabischen Wort folgen die englische Übersetzung, ein oder mehrere Textbelege, die bisweilen übersetzt sind, und eine Reihe von Belegstellen. Da es sich um ein begrenztes Corpus handelt, liegt der Gedanke nahe, daß die Belege vollständig angegeben sind. Auch die Bemerkungen Lewins über Zweck und Nutzen des Vokabulars (vgl. Einleitung) wecken die Hoffnung, daß eine verlässliche Hilfe zum Textvergleich und zur Feststellung des gemeinsamen Motiv- und Bildbestandes der Hudailitendichtung geschaffen werden sollte. Stichproben haben jedoch ergeben, daß die Stellenangaben auch bei selteneren Wörtern keineswegs immer vollständig sind. Wer z.B. unter *ḥamāma* (Tauben) nachschlägt, um zu erfahren, wie oft das bekannte Motiv der „klagenden Taube im Dickicht" von den Dichtern der Banū Hudail behandelt worden ist, erhält keine verlässliche Antwort, da die Textstelle Abū Du'aib Nr. XXVI,4 nicht angegeben ist. Selbst bei den wenigen Stichproben, die ich gemacht habe, bin ich zudem auf Lücken im Vokabular gestoßen. Damit schränkt sich der Wert der Arbeit für sprach- und motivgeschichtliche Untersuchungen erheblich ein; um genaue Ergebnisse zu erhalten, ist man wie bisher auf die zeitraubende Durchsicht der Texte angewiesen. Als Hilfsmittel für das Verständnis der Gedichte dagegen ist das Vokabular von größtem Nutzen und jeder, der mit der frühen arabischen Dichtung arbeitet, wird dem Vf. für seine Mühe dankbar sein.

Saarbrücken, September 1980

RENATE JACOBI

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Heikki PALVA, *Narratives and Poems from Hesbān, Arabic texts recorded among the semi-nomadic al-'Ağarma tribe (al-Balqa' district, Jordan)*, Göteborg, Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1978 (24 cm., 110 pp.) = Orientalia Gothoburgensia 3. ISBN 91-7346-049-4. Price: Sw. Cr. 50.-.

This collection of prose and poetic texts from a Jordanian semi-nomadic tribe is important for two reasons: in the first place it increases our knowledge of a very interesting group of Arabic dialects, and in the second place it improves our understanding of the complicated nature of Arabic popular poetry.

In a number of previous studies the author has dealt with Syrian and Jordanian dialects, and with the dialects of the al-Balqā' district in particular¹). This new book provides useful additions to the results of the former studies. As for popular poetry, this is the first occasion on which it is studied in detail by Palva.

The dialect of the al-'Ağārma tribe, as Palva has demonstrated earlier, belongs to the Arabic bedouin dialects of the Orient. These bedouin dialects of Syria, Jordan, Iraq and the Arabian Peninsula are clearly distinguishable from sedentary dialects of the region. The characteristics of the former dialects have been described by Cantineau in a study that can still be considered authoritative²). Texts and studies can be found in the collections previous to it, by Wetzstein, Wallin, Montagne, Musil and others; in recent times Johnstone has discussed mainly Eastern Arabian dialects³), and in this context an article by Ingham⁴) should also be mentioned.

Cantineau has established the division of the group into two main categories: the dialects of the "great" camel-rearing tribes of Central and Eastern Arabia and the Syrian desert, and those of the "small" cattle-rearing nomads and semi-nomads in the Syrian/Mesopotamian area, on the fringes of the Syrian Desert⁵). The 'Ağārma dialect is, of course, part of the latter category.

Up to this moment, more attention has been paid to the "great" bedouin dialects than to the "small" ones. This is to be regretted, since the latter are subject to a number of factors which render them extremely interesting. In this respect, Palva's studies are most welcome, since the author demonstrates the influence of those factors on the "small" nomad dialect of the 'Ağārma. In "Ağ. Studies" he has given a systematic account of these factors, viz. classifying, koineizing and bedouinizing tendencies. In "Narratives and Poems" he continues by explaining (in footnotes) forms that are results of one of these processes. Like in "Ağ. Studies", he indicates these forms as L-forms, K-forms and B-forms respectively.

At times it is hard to decide which of these tendencies is operating. This problem occurs in the case of the internal passive (*wāṭēna* "we have been trampled", p. 74/note 160; *dābhu* "they are killed", p. 86/note 194; *dābeh* "he was killed", p. 34/note 60), which has, in earlier literature, been considered a peculiarity of bedouin dialects and might

thus be explained here either as a genuine 'Ağ. form, or as a B-form. But Palva correctly attributes it to a classicizing tendency, since the internal passive is not in fact productive in bedouin dialects: its frequent occurrence in bedouin narratives and poems is a result of the conservative linguistic tradition of such texts.

With regard to the B-tendencies, it should be mentioned here that Palva has been the first to recognize them as an external influence on the small nomad dialects⁶).

The results of koineization have been studied earlier in a wider sense⁷). But nomad dialects in particular are fit to be studied with respect to this phenomenon, because "nomad" forms in these dialects are quite easily to be distinguished from "sedentary" forms. Palva gives some interesting examples of these K-forms in "Narratives and Poems". Unfortunately he has, in my opinion, overlooked one aspect, viz. the fact that "small" nomad dialects are probably, from a synchronic geographic point of view, a transition between nomad and sedentary dialects. Cantineau has indicated clearly the difference between K-forms and forms that are results of this transitional state⁸) (I propose to indicate these forms as T-forms). Palva has failed to elaborate this concept, and thus explains all "sedentary" forms in the texts as K-forms; in some cases this may be not the only solution, esp. when we are not dealing with an incidental "sedentary" deviation of a bedouin phenomenon, but with a more or less equal distribution of sedentary and bedouin forms. Two examples:

1. In my opinion, forms with non-affricated *g* that can be contrasted with forms with affricated *ḡ* in the same phonetic circumstances, may be T-forms as well as K-forms, e.g. *sāḡifa* (f15/p. 72; f21/p. 74), *fāḡīdat* (f14/p. 72) / *māḡīd* (e49/p. 66), *sāḡifa* (f5/p. 70/note 148); *'arāḡīb* (e47/p. 64), *bāḡi* (f3/p. 68), *bāḡīn* (f9/p. 70), *lāḡīt* (a9/p. 22/note 33), *wāḡef* (a25/p. 28) / *m'āḡeb* (g17/p. 80), *nāḡes* (a22/p. 26); *ḡādīma* / (c3/p. 42), *ḡarība* (a12/p. 24), *ḡābīlīn* (g34/p. 84), *ḡābīlīn* (g26/p. 82); *ḡābassha* (a2/p. 20/n. 23) / *ḡādarna* (b13/p. 38).

2. The pron. suff. 2 pl. m. in 'Ağ. is both *-ku* and *-kom*. Palva regards the latter variant (p. 80/note 179, with reference to "Ağ. Studies" p. 27), as genuine 'Ağ., and the former as a K-form. However, the evidence he provides is not very substantive. In the texts *-kom* is used by a young speaker in a narrative fragment (f7/p. 70). This leads me to believe that it may be a T-form as well as a K-form.

In a number of cases Palva himself has noticed the coexistence of two or more variants, both in nomad and sedentary dialects, without alluding to koineization, e.g. dem. pron. *hāda* / *hāḡa*; (p. 20, cf. 'Ağ. Studies pp. 28-29); the verb *'aṭā* / *'anṭā* / *'aṭ'ā* "to give" (p. 24/note 35); the noun *waket* / *waget* "time" (pp. 52, 56). This, too, might have to do with the transitional position of the dialect.

Compared with Palva's previous studies, the present book includes quite a lot of poetical fragments. Therefore, the author, although his primary objective is to deal with the dialectological features of the texts, gives some remarks about the poetical structures of these fragments, and of

⁶) E.g. pp. 53/note 108, 57/note 116, also 'Ağ. Studies, p. 49.

⁷) Cf. W. Diem, "Divergenz und Konvergenz im Arabischen", *Arabica* 25 (1978), pp. 128-147, and references there.

⁸) Cantineau, *AIEO* 3 (1937), pp. 228-229.

bedouin poetry in general, for that is the type of poetry to which they belong. He does not say anything explicit about the position of bedouin poetry within Arabic popular poetry in general, but he quotes (with approval) Socin, who has concluded that the former poetry is a direct organic continuation of classical, and particularly pre-Islamic, Arabic poetry⁹). This implies that it must be distinguished from the poetry of the sedentary population, as Petráček does¹⁰). On the grounds of Socin's theory, Monroe has used bedouin poetry as external evidence for his application of the Parry-Lord theory of oral-formulaic poetry on pre-Islamic Arabic poetry¹¹). In a footnote (p. 7/note 3) Palva says (with some reservations) that Monroe "successfully applies the so-called Parry-Lord theory to pre-Islamic poetry which, as he shows, follows the formulaic pattern typical of orally composed poetry". But, since the objective — not mentioned by Palva — of Monroe's study is to prove the authenticity of most pre-Islamic poetry, I question whether his application of the formulaic theory can actually be called very successful. His discovery and analysis of formulas, formulaic systems and structural formulas within the traditional metres do not, in my opinion, prove that later philologists were completely unable to fake *ḡāhiliyyah* poems. Furthermore Monroe's statistical analysis does not seem very convincing, because of the unavoidable short-comings mentioned by himself; in addition, among the parts of pre-Islamic poems to which he compares the first 10 lines of 4 well-known pre-Islamic *qaṣīdahs*, one encounters occasionally specimens from lines in another metre than the one for which they serve as evidence. This does not accord with his introductory remarks¹²). Finally, Monroe has focused on the formula; he has paid far less attention to themes and clichés. The technique of formulaic composition serves to help the composer/singer overcome a certain special difficulty. In the case of Homer, this difficulty is the metre, but in *Beowulf*, it is alliteration and in the *Nibelungenlied* it seems to be the rhyme scheme¹³). Thus, in a study of the formulaicity of Arabic poetry, not only the metres should be examined, but also the monorhyme scheme.

The Parry-Lord theory has also been applied, by Alwaya¹⁴), to contemporary bedouin poetry. Palva mentions this study, but he does not apply the theory on his own material, although he shows some characteristics of oral-formulaic poetry in it: the rareness of internal enjambement of the caesura (p. 18), the optional use of the conjunction *w-*, which is illustrative of the "adding style" (p. 11), and the vague distinction between the functions of a poet (*ṣā'ir*) and a reciter/transmitter (*rāwī*) (pp. 6-8).

⁹) A. Socin, *Diwan aus Centralarabien*, Hrsg. v. H. Stumme, Bd. I-III, Leipzig 1900-1901, III, pp. 46-70.

¹⁰) K. Petráček, *Drei Studien über die südsemistische Volkspoesie*, Prag 1966, pp. 49-96.

¹¹) J. T. Monroe, "Oral Composition in Pre-Islamic Poetry", *Journal of Arabic Literature* 3 (1972), pp. 1-53.

¹²) Monroe, pp. 33-36, cf. *ka-wahyi saḡā'ifin*; *li-man ṭalalun ka-l-wahyi*, p. 47.

¹³) In 1976-77, scholars from various disciplines at Leiden University have held a seminar on the application of the Parry-Lord theory on a number of traditional literatures. As a result, many problems with regard to this theory have arisen.

¹⁴) S. Alwaya, "Formulas and Themes in Contemporary Bedouin Oral Poetry", *JAL* 8 (1977), pp. 48-76.

The problem with regard to bedouin poetry is, I think, that the distinction between it and sedentary poetry has not been investigated sufficiently to be considered absolutely certain. It seems, with some reservations, to be correct as far as the rhyme¹⁵) and the stylistic features, studied by Petráček, are concerned, but the correctness of the contrast between the accentual metre of sedentary poetry and the quantitative metre of bedouin and classical poetry has not been the subject of further investigation. Actually, there is need for a wide ranging comparative study of Arabic popular poetry as a whole, including bedouin poetry, with special reference to the metrical structures.

A step in this direction has been made by Jargy in a survey of popular poetry from Lebanon, Syria, Jordan Iraq and Egypt¹⁷). But this author does not deal with the abovementioned distinction. As for the metrical structures, he regards the metres of popular poetry as syllabic, i.e. based on the number of syllables, as opposed to the quantitative classical schemes¹⁸). Unfortunately he has not provided any arguments for this. He only rejects Abdel-Nour's scansion of Lebanese *zaḡal*-poems according to the classical metres¹⁹), because these poems have been composed by educated persons²⁰). Nevertheless, I believe that Abdel-Nour's method, in which he follows, and tries to correct — and not to reject — earlier scansions by Marçais and Stumme, deserves more attention, since the poets in question were at least as much under the influence of the traditions of folk-poetry, as of classical poetry. Moreover, Abdel-Nour demonstrates how the abovementioned scholars have failed to recognize the classical metres in popular poems as a result of their incorrect interpretation of the syllabic structures of the lines. Therefore, if we can say that much of the (sedentary) popular poetry published as yet has not been adequately explained (or transcribed, for that matter), we can not exclude with certainty the possibility that the metres of those poems are quantitative. Some reservations, then, would arise concerning the metrical distinction between sedentary poetry and classical and bedouin poetry. In this context, it is significant that many lines in bedouin poems fit in the classical pattern only after the insertion of additional vowels. The resulting scansion, which, it should be said, imposes the syllable structure of literary Arabic on the dialect, is according to Palva (p. 15), "more pertinent to the metrical structure of the poem" than a scansion which leaves the syllabic structure of the dialect (which admits such syllables as *CvC*, non-final *CvCC* and initial *CCv*) untouched. A well-founded justification of this statement would have been welcome.

I hope these observations will make it clear that bedouin poetry needs to be studied more extensively and with

¹⁵) Socin, III, pp. 52-53.

¹⁶) Socin, III, p. 55, Petráček, p. 54.

¹⁷) S. Jargy, *La poésie populaire traditionnelle chantée au Proche-Orient arabe*, I, les textes, Paris-La Haye 1970. To my knowledge no second volume has been published. Jargy's book is neither mentioned by Palva, nor by Monroe.

¹⁸) Jargy, pp. 29, 30.

¹⁹) J. Abdel-Nour, *Étude sur la poésie dialectale au Liban*, Beyrouth 1957, pp. 91 ff.

²⁰) Jargy, p. 13; cf. A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, III, Wien 1908, pp. 232-234; *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, New York 1928, pp. 283 f., quoted by Palva, pp. 7-8.

reference to its role within popular poetry in a wider sense. The theory of oral/formulaic composition might be of help, provided it is not only applied to the metres. An effort should be made to study the two kinds of popular poetry with the same criteria. Support for this contention is provided by Jargy's observation about the way popular poetry is composed, and about the function of the *šā'ir*²⁰): these do not differ very much from what Musil (and Monroe and Palva after him) has said about the composition of bedouin *qasidāhs*.

For such a comparative study of Arabic popular poetry, Palva's Narratives and Poems supplies us with very useful material. His notations and translations are very clear and accurate. Mistakes and hesitations made by the speakers have not been omitted (e.g. pp. 47, 64), repetitions of verses and contractions resulting from rapid speech (e.g. p. 64), and disparities between the spoken and the sung versions are provided in footnotes (pp. 41, 49, 66, 74-75). Deviations from the dialect, prompted by metrical circumstances, are demonstrated. The explanations of words, in footnotes and in the glossary, are useful additions to the previous studies. Occasionally, Palva reconsiders earlier opinions of his own (p. 42). His remarks about historical backgrounds make the book interesting for the non-specialist reader, too.

The Hague, December 1980

JOHANNES DEN HEIJER

* *

Edward FENECH, *Contemporary Journalistic Maltese, An Analytical and Comparative Study*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1978 (8vo, xvii + 251 pp.) = Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics VIII. Price: Hfl. 72.-. ISBN 90 04 05756 0.

Both the title of the book under review and the apparently dull statistics it contains are apt to deter those whose interest in Maltese thusfar concerned the literary and/or spoken language only. To their detriment, undoubtedly. For anyone who will take for granted a certain degree of terseness will see his perusal rewarded by information about facts-behind-the-figures that are highly relevant, beyond the limits of contemporary journalistic Maltese itself, for an appraisal, if only by contrast, of literary and spoken Maltese.

The study is based on a month's run of three Maltese daily newspapers, with a total number of over 5,000,000 words. The analysis of this huge amount of material is very neatly done. The newspaper language is painstakingly dissected and all its characteristics are revealed. These are demonstrated to be, on the whole, quite distinct from — and by no means intermediate between — both colloquial and literary Maltese. The analysis covers the whole range from phonology and orthography, through morphology and syntax, to lexicology, phraseology and style. When studying the last mentioned branche of linguistics, the author distinguishes carefully between the four essential journalistic genres: news report, editorial, article and

²¹) Jargy, pp. 24-25.

advertisement. From the tables of frequencies of the various parts of speech, numbers of words per sentence, etc., a clear picture of the style of each of these genres emerges.

However, the average length of a sentence in each journalistic genre was established by studying the number of words in only ten sentences for each genre, from one issue of each of the three newspapers only (cf. p. 188). In my opinion, this leaves the figures concerning sentence-length with a rather small basis. The same applies to the statistics concerning the numbers of words occurring in literary and spoken Maltese texts. This is to be regretted, as sentence-length is a very important feature in the comparison of the journalistic language with the two other forms of Maltese (pp. 209-10).

The author has chosen to use the terminology of traditional Maltese grammar, as is within his right. But he commits an error when he classifies *meta* 'when', called a *conjunction* on page 59, as an *adverb* in the statistics on adverbs (p. 221).

An appendix on the language of older Maltese newspapers contains valuable information about the changing proportions of Semitic, Romance and English words in twentieth-century Maltese journalism: present-day journalistic Maltese is shown to be less semitic and more affected by English than 1929-1930 journalistic Maltese which, on the other hand, contained a high proportion of unmodified loan-words of Romance origin.

Utrecht, sept. 1980

ROEL OTTEN

* *

Fathi TALMOUDI, *The Arabic Dialect of Sūsa (Tunisia)*. Göteborg, Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1980 (8vo, 189 pp., 2 folding maps) = Orientalia Gothoburgensia 4. Price: Sw. Cr. 60. ISBN 91-7346-079-6.

In the sixties and seventies the Tunesian coastal town of Sūsa saw a dramatic increase in population. One of its effects was the infiltration of villagers in the Medina. Nevertheless, the genuine dialect of Sūsa is still spoken by the old generation there. In his study Fathi Talmoudi presents a structural description of the phonology and morphology of this urban dialect, followed by a classification of Tunesian dialects on the basis of a few selected features.

The author performed his task in the main accurately and clearly, and when below I pronounce some criticism on the book, I do by no means intend to discourage those interested in Arabic dialectology from purchasing it.

Most of my critical remarks will concern methodological irregularities in the presentation. When summing up vowel-phonemes (pp. 17-19), the author mentions vowel-allophones but not their distribution. This distribution one finds much later on in a very unusual place: in the chapter on phonological change (pp. 56-58).

One will look in vain for a demonstration of the opposition short vs. long vowels. This is highly unfortunate because the data used for demonstrating the vowel-phonemes (pp. 18-19) strongly suggest, though falsely so, that short and long vowels are complementarily distributed:

short ones appear there before CC, long ones before C. In this context the author should have presented pairs such as [rad:i:t]-[rad:i:t] (p. 81; resp. 3rd fem. and 2nd c. pf. of [rad:]).

The contrasts between consonant-phonemes are not presented systematically (why mention the opposition *b-k* but not *b-g*?) nor are distinctive features derived from them. Moreover, contrasts are shown in one position only.

In attributing phonological status to emphatic sounds their statistical frequency of occurrence is rightly taken into account (p. 39). The number of minimal pairs illustrating the contrasts [b]-[b̥], [r]-[r̥], [m]-[m̥] is even more reduced, if one requires that both words must belong to the same wordclass to be validly called a minimal pair.

As was mentioned before, the chapter on phonological change deals with allophones. Right alongside matters of a totally different nature are presented: assimilations, involving a change of phoneme. The description would have improved if 1. these matters would have been kept separate, 2. the notion of neutralisation had been used.

In most Arabic dialect-studies phonotactics is confined to a statement about syllable-patterns. It is a major asset of this book that Mr. Talmoudi gives full attention to the distribution of phonemes and their clustering potentialities. Possible two- and three-consonant clusters in various positions in the word are meticulously charted and/or listed.

Morphology is treated, not in terms of phonemes, but in terms of phonetic sounds. This has undoubtedly some advantages: while providing the reader with data enabling him to check the author's phonemic analysis, it protects the morphological data against possible shortcomings of the phonemic transcription at the same time. But there is also a serious disadvantage in this manner of presentation: besides leaving the results of the phonemic analysis unexploited, it makes the morphology emerge less clearly. This is especially so when the author presents as allomorphs phonetic variations of which the automatic nature has been demonstrated in the chapter on phonology (p. 156: /wəgət-C/ alongside /wəst/; cf. p. 58), or when he claims that the selection of the imperfect stem-vowel of the geminate verb is dependent on the /a/-allophone of the perfect-stemvowel (pp. 81-2), whereas it is the neighbouring phonemes that determine the choice of the imperfect-stemvowel (and the choice of the /a/-allophone in the perfect-stem!).

The chapter on morphology contains some occasional remarks on syntax. The author takes the existence of the various word-classes for granted and does not define them systematically in functional terms. It escapes the present reviewer why [ku:n] in [ku:n ɛ:n] 'who am I?' is an interrogative pronoun, but [nuw:ɛ] in [nu:w:ɛ marðo] 'what is his disease?' an interrogative adjective (pp. 149-150). He also fails to see what makes [me] ... [kɛ:n] 'only' ([me ra kɛ:n wildu] 'he saw his son only' p. 163) and [aks me] 'the contrary of' ([mel 'aks me qolthu] 'he did the contrary of what I said to him' p. 164) coordinate conjunctions.

Throughout the book the author compares the Sūsa-dialect with Classical Arabic, without letting this comparison interfere with the synchronic description. References to other dialects — mainly the Maghrebine dialects of Djidjelli, Cherchell and Tunis (Jewish) — are presented in footnotes. Data from the latter two dialects are con-

trasted with the Sūsa dialect in the chapter 'Comparison between three different North African dialects'.

The author's preliminary classification of Tunesian dialects in Northern, Sāhil, Central Western, Southern and, on top of that division, in urban, semi-urban, 'žba:li', rural and nomadic dialects is based on his study of the contrasts between /q/ and /g/ and differences in the free personal pronouns.

Utrecht, October 1980

ROEL OTTEN

* *

J. Spencer TRIMMINGHAM, *Christianity among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times*. London, Longman Group, 1979 (23 cm., xiv + 342 pp.) = Arab Background Series. ISBN 0 582 78081 0. Price: £ 11.50.

In a recent interview with the Lebanese daily (Libian sponsored) *al-Safir* the Libian president Mu'ammār al-Qadhafī declared that Arabs can not be christians. Those who are christians have — in his opinion — an European spirit in an Arab body. Indirectly he drew publicly the attention of the world to the fact that there are Arab christians. Many people both inside the Arab world — in particular in the Maghreb — and in the West often identify all Arabs as muslims. But as a matter of fact some 10% of the Arabs are christian.

Dr. John Spencer Trimmingham who is first of all known as a prolific writer on African Islam — he published books on: Islam in Ethiopia, Sudan, West- and East-Africa — wrote in Beirut during the civil war a new book *Christianity Among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times*. This reference to the civil war — the two year war as it is sometimes called — 1975, 1976 — is important not only because of the limitations the author faced as to the consultation of libraries during that period. It draws also attention (although outside the scope of the book) to the present day setting of the challenges for the Arab christians in Libanon and the Arab world at large.

This book is concerned with the history of the Northern Arabs during the first six centuries AD considered from a special point of view: the Arabs within a Near Eastern sphere in which the religion of Christianity is increasingly influencing culture and history.

In the first chapter a sketch is given of the historical background of the Arabs before the Christian era. The main study — chapter two to six — is confined to the Northern Arabs within the sphere of the Near Eastern civilizations, among whom Christianity spread. The two last chapters survey what meagre evidence exists as to Christian influence on the Arabs of the Peninsula proper, while the epilogue discusses the reasons for the inability of Christianity to make any appeal to nomads.

In the Epilogue the author states that "the foundation of this book has been Christianity among the Aramaeans" (308). One has to know what Dr. Trimmingham means by this term. He wants — rightly so — restrict the term semitic to its linguistic definition. For the age old peasant culture he adopts the term Aramaean. "It designates the cultivating peoples of the region where Aramaic was spoken throughout the early centuries of the Christian era,

who were at the same time a geographical and socially definable population" (2). "The term 'Arab' distinguished a particular cultural group of peoples having an outlook on life that derived from a nomadic heritage, but which tended to become blurred whenever changes in their mode of life took place through association and intermingling with other peoples" (3,4). At another point he states, "I use the term Jewish, Hellenistic, and Aramaean, therefore, to express distinctive views of life that indicate different interpretations of man's relationship to the World of the Spirit" (209).

This definition is rather important if not crucial for Dr. Trimmingham's understanding like the following quotation shows, "It is not in accord with the facts and a guard against misinterpretation to see Jesus the man as belonging to the natural Aramaean strata. Jesus was born a Jew, it is true, but Christian interpretation has gravely erred in identifying him spiritually with his religious inheritance. As a teacher he was indebted to spiritual aspects of his Jewish background, but he decisively repudiated the religious principles upon which the Jewish religion, and indeed Jewish life as defined by religious law, was based ... To see Jesus as born into an Aramaean peasant family is to see him as an ordinary human being, not as a Jew, that is, a peculiar human type which would link him with a tradition of interpretation of God's dealings with man which the Jesus-revelation controverts" (46).

This assessment is in our opinion not acceptable in the light of modern New Testament research with which Dr. Trimmingham seems not to be too familiar. One does not need to agree totally with those who write — cf. Charlotte Klein, *Anti-Judaism in Christian Theology*. (translated by Edward Quinn. Philadelphia Fortress Press 1978) — that Jesus was completely de-Judaized in western New Testament research and theology, in order still to counter the argument as if exactly the opposite took place. Likewise it can not stand modern insight simply to call St. Paul a *Hellenistic* (47) Jew, since he was more deeply rooted in Palestinian Jewry, at the feet of Gamaliel, "a Hebrew born of Hebrews", than was realized in the past. That makes a great deal of difference in the too quick and too polarized distinctions which Dr. Trimmingham makes between Jewish, Hellenistic and Aramaean. In particular the qualification he gives of the first one is not helpful and unacceptable when he time and again also in an anachronistic way speaks about the racist outlook and views of the Jews. So he says about king Herod that, he did not share their (that is the Jews) racist outlook, since he was an Arab on both sides ... (39) and about Mani who, "held Judaism with its racist basis, in particular abhorrence" (143); "A religion based on racial exclusiveness like Judaism" (160).

Although the author modestly concludes his preface by saying that "imperfect as the book may be, it may open the way for a better", he certainly deserves the credit for giving a survey of often difficult traceable and scattered material on Christianity in the Arab world before Islam.

Amsterdam, September 1980

A. WESSELS

* * *

John S. HABIB, *Ibn Sa'ud's Warriors of Islam. The Ikhwan of Najd and Their Role in the Creation of the Sa'udi Kingdom, 1910-1930*. Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1978 (25 cm, xvi + 196 pp.) = Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East. ISBN 90 04 05757 9. Price: Hfl. 60.—.

This account of the formative phase of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is largely identical with the author's Ph.D.-thesis presented at the University of Michigan in 1970 under the title *The Ikhwan Movement of Najd: its Rise, Development and Decline*. A sketchy introduction gives the essentials of the developments prior to the rise of this movement and stresses the continuity of loyalty to the Wahhābī tradition in Najd from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, without going into problems relative to the origins of Wahhābism itself. The author argues in favour of the view that the creation of the *Ikhwān* was the result of a conscious effort by Ibn Sa'ūd as part of his long-term planning aimed at re-conquering the former possessions of his family. In order to realize this aim Ibn Sa'ūd needed a mobile but permanently available loyal military force. This force came into being in the course of a process of (semi-) forced sedentarisation of the bedouin in settlements known as *hujar*. The establishment of the first of these *hujar*, al-Artawiya, which was to become one of the main centres of the *Ikhwān* and also a main centre of dissent later on, took place in 1912. This year marks the beginning of the rise of the movement. The end of this period came with the battle of Turaba, between the sharifian forces under al-Husayn's son, the *amir* 'Abd Allāh, and the *Ikhwān* under Ibn Sa'ūd, in June 1919. By then, the movement had reached its apogee, which continued for some five years until after the capture of the main urban centres of the Hijāz, including al-ḥaramayn, in the period between September 1924 and the end of 1925. Thereafter, the *Ikhwān*, who had become more zealous than their founder and had started to criticise some of Ibn Sa'ūd's policies as well as his efforts to restrain them, were replaced by the Wahhābī 'ulamā' of Najd as Ibn Sa'ūd's right hand. They were sent back to Najd, where, in the absence of provisions directing the practical implications of their ideological orientation, and notwithstanding Ibn Sa'ūd's efforts to accommodate their ambitions and to defuse their grievances (at meetings held in Riyadh in January 1927 and November 1928), the most substantial segment of the *Ikhwān* (consisting of Muṭayr, 'Ujmān and 'Uṭayba tribesmen), rebelled against him and faced him in battle (at Sabila on March 30, 1929). It was not until early 1930, however, that the rebellion was finally put down by Ibn Sa'ūd in collusion with the British whose substantial contribution to the successful elimination of the rebellion and thus towards the consolidation of Ibn Sa'ūd's position and the continued existence of the new Wahhābī state in consequence, is made clear. The end of the *Ikhwān* as a military force of relative independence was marked by the imprisonment of their most important leaders and the confiscation of a substantial part of the camel herds and horses of the rebellious tribes and their leaders. The remnants of the *Ikhwān* were incorporated into the National Guard as irregular units at a later stage. A number of appendices contain tables with names of *hujar* of loyalist *Ikhwān* (and the names of their 'umarā'),

of leaders present at the Riyadh meetings, of the number of warriors according to tribe and *hijra*; two letters to and from Ibn Sa'ūd in English translations, and lists with names of tribes and names of *hujar* inhabited by each of them. Unfortunately, no effort is made to reconcile the variations in the sources in order to arrive at one single comprehensive list.

The book contains a great deal of hardcore data and concrete facts concerning the *Ikhwān*: the composition of their forces, types of raids, logistics, war-cries, mobilization practice, numerical strength and style of dress, in addition to discussions of the lay-out of the *hujar*, the structure of the buildings and the size of their population. The most important primary source materials upon which this study is based are documents preserved at the Public Record Office in London and oral testimonies obtained by the author during a period of residence in Saudi Arabia. It is the use of these testimonies in conjunction with written source materials which makes this book valuable in addition to its basic merit of being the first systematic historical study of the origins of modern Saudi Arabia.

Here, however, our commendation must end. The main objection, and a rather fundamental one, which must be raised against this study is that it is frequently apodictic in its interpretation of the sources while it suffers from a general lack of concise reference to the source materials upon which it is based. Examples of statements illustrating both weaknesses are e.g.: "The people of Najd ... considered the inhabitants of the Hijaz as racially impure and religiously suspects" (p. 9); "The fame of these two *hujar* (al-Artawiya and al-Ghat Ghat; FDJ) ... sparked off a race by other tribes of Najd to have their own *hijrah*, ..." (p. 48); "They (the *Ikhwān*; FDJ) knew that they were his trump card, and they were not reluctant to press the advantage" (p. 86); "... he (Ibn Sa'ūd; FDJ) knew that to move on the Hijaz would be to force the British to oppose him militarily" (p. 106); "... there now waiting for him as he made his descent into the town were his *Ikhwān*, once again happy to see their Imam, once again eager as children to pass on to him the prize" (p. 116). Such impressionistic and unfounded statements could be multiplied and constitute a constant source of irritation to the critical reader.

Moreover, it must be noted that the Foreign Office Papers in the Public Record Office seem to have been explored less than adequately: only papers from the class-number F.O. 78 [Turkey (Egypt)] seem to have been used, leaving aside such important classes of documents as F.O. 686 (Jeddah Embassy) and F.O. 882 (Arab Bureau). From among the twenty-four volumes in the series F.O. 78 (of which, surprisingly, the class-number is given nowhere in the book) mentioned in the bibliography, the volumes 4144 (1918/19), 4146 (1919) and 4147 (1918/19) contain the bulk of the documents (38 from a total of 78) which are being cited. This indicates the shallow documentation of this study and brings into focus its limitations as an exploratory and a far from definitive account.

The apparent lack of consciousness of the required degree of critical awareness, resulting in the curious mixture of fact and interpretation noted above, is basically an infringement of scientific method. It disqualifies the author as a historian and makes it seem likely that he has his roots in a more literature-oriented tradition in the field

of Arabic and Islamic studies. This background might account for an obvious lack of sensitivity to certain historical problems relative to social structure, e.g. the question concerning the precise impact of the up-heavals upon the tribes, who were almost all divided between those who had accepted Wahhābī Islam and settled in *hujar* and those who had accepted this conception of Islam but had remained nomads. In addition, one feels that the various factors which induced the settlement of segments of the various tribes mentioned by the author (conviction, hostage-taking, economico-political pressure, material benefits) should have been assessed for their relative importance in relation to each tribe. This might have brought into focus the probable size of each segment and would thus have allowed for a more precise picture of the development of the *Ikhwān* movement. Such a discussion would probably have provided the material for an analysis in terms of changes of world-view in conjunction with changes of bedouin ethos — which must have allowed them to re-interpret their lives and activities within a new religious framework. Instead, the author implicitly adheres to the simplistic notion that the strict ethos of the *Ikhwān* remained static to an extent which made it merely part of their world-view. That an analysis along such lines must be possible is suggested by the relevant data provided in D.P. Cole, *Nomads of the Nomads. The Al Murrah Bedouin of the Empty Quarter*, Chicago 1975, 120ff. This author, incidentally, also shows how inappropriate it is to call the Al Murrah "that most deprived and primitive of the peninsular nomads" as Habib does (p. 5f.).

In the course of his account the author modifies and corrects several myths and earlier distorted visions, implying the presentation of a more realistic appreciation of the *Ikhwān* than the one held by earlier writers. Yet, he seems to be so much in sympathy with his subject that his account occasionally gives the impression of being aimed at pleasing his Saudi hosts. What is one to think, for instance, of a declaration such as "The unalterable fact is that they did what they did ... as the logical result of their religious training at the hands of people who should have and probably did know better" (p. 36); and of the fact that he attributes to Ibn Sa'ūd a powerful vision of a modern, independent, viable country (cf. p. 155) and the *Ikhwān* with having injected into Arabia "a fierce national pride" (p. 156)? When one adds to this the dedication of the book: to the author's father, his mother and "to the memory of Faysal ibn Abd al-Aziz Al-Saud, truly a King" (cf. also the Preface, p. xiii), one can hardly escape the impression that the author must have other interests at heart.

To the above, I feel obliged to add at least the following points of criticism which illustrate once again the perfunctory conceptualization and the careless research and presentation characterizing this thesis:

- No exact date is given for the crucial battle of Turaba, neither in the chapter where the events preceding the battle, the battle itself and its implications, are discussed, nor elsewhere in the book.
- Since there is no evidence of Wahhābism having taken on the character of a millenary movement, it seems out of place to state that "they (the *Ikhwān*; FDJ) remained idle waiting for the Islamic millenium" (p. 79).
- The idea that Ibn Sa'ūd could easily have overrun the

northern Yemen (cf. p. 159) would seem to be unrealistic, disregarding historical as well as geographical realities.

d. The name of Sulaymān ibn Saḥmān al-Najdī is constantly misspelt as Ibn Samhan (cf. pp. 32, 82, 196), possibly under the assumption that this part of the name is a *nisba* denoting descent from the Banī Saḥmān, a Bedouin tribe inhabiting the eastern range of the Judean hills. The title of this author's book, referred to and quoted from by Habib (not from the original, which was certainly not seen by him, but from Muḥammad al-Madani, *Firqat al-Ikhwān al-Islāmiyya bi-Najd*, n.p., 1923) does not read *al-Hudiyah al-Sunniyah* (cf. p. 32), but *al-Hadiya al-Saniya* (the complete title being *al-Hadiya al-Saniya wa'l-Tuhfa al-Wahhābiya al-Najdiyya li-Jami' Ikhwānina al-Muwahhidin min Ahl al-Milla al-Hanifiya wa'l-Tariqa al-Muhammadiya*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Manār 1342; cf. *GAL*, S iii, 498 and L. Massignon in *REI*, 1, 33ff.).

Finally, it must be observed that the index leaves much to be desired: many technical terms mentioned in the book have not been included, and a considerable number of page references are incomplete or incorrect. No rule seems to underlie the presence or absence of English translations of Arabic book titles in the notes and the bibliography. Apparently, the author has been as careless with his proof-correcting as he has been with the compilation of his manuscript: the book abounds with printing errors and typographical inconsistencies (e.g. in the use of italics for technical terms and book titles). Even in the course of a first cursory run-through the reviewer counted more than fifty of such errors.

University of Leiden, January 1981

F. DE JONG

* *

Johannes REISSNER, *Ideologie und Politik der Muslimbrüder Syriens. Von den Wahlen 1947 bis zum Verbot unter Adib al-Šisakli 1952*. Freiburg, Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1980 (21 cm., vi + xii + 455 pp.) = Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Band 55. ISBN 3 87997 073 4.

Scientific works dealing with the Syrian Muslim Brothers are scarce, and for that reason alone Mr. Reissner's slightly revised doctoral dissertation, presented originally in 1978 to the Free University of Berlin, and now published in book form, should already be considered a welcome contribution to a field which for long has enjoyed relatively little academic consideration.

Dr Reissner proposes in his work to study the Syrian Muslim Brothers within the frame of what he considers to be the most essential political, social and cultural developments which determined Syrian history in the period under review, i.e. the time in which the Brothers could, after having consolidated themselves as an organisation in 1946, politically develop with relatively the least obstacles and could optimally unfold their characteristics as these really were: from the elections of 1947 when three Muslim Brothers were elected in Parliament until the prohibition of their organisation during the dictatorship of Adib al-Shishakli in the beginning of 1952. Dr Reissner claims that his work "is not intended to be, and neither

can be, a general history of the Syrian Muslim Brothers". His claim is correct insofar as three quarters of his book are mainly confined to a relatively short period of the history of the Syrian Muslim Brothers; but on the other hand his study's scope is much wider than its title would suggest. Dr Reissner proposes to investigate to which extent and in which form Islam really determined the behaviour of the Syrian Muslim Brothers, as well as which function it had for their interests, and to which extent they were in the first place a product of their own time, as far as their understanding of Islam, their organisation, and their political and social goals were concerned; rather than that they were a movement with a rigid, Islamic inspired, ideology which "imposed" itself on the time epoch of his study. In doing so, the author has widened the scope of his book so as to include much of Syria's social and political history relevant to the developments which gave rise to the ideas and behaviour of the Syrian Muslim Brothers as a movement or a society.

The book is divided into four parts. Part A (pp. 1-79), "Sozialer Wandel und Säkularisierung", provides a useful account of socio-economic developments in Syria during French Mandate and of the process of secularisation which to a certain extent set the political and socio-economic scene, the description of which may contribute to better understanding the rise of the Muslim Brothers as a movement. Part B (pp. 80-162), "Organisation, Verbreitung, und Ideologie", discusses the historical development of the organisation of the Syrian Muslim Brothers until 1947, as well as some fundamental characteristics of their ideology. Part C, "Opposition im Namen des Islam" (pp. 163-299), and Part D, "Islamischer Sozialismus und Neutralitätspolitik" (pp. 300-406), give a scrupulously carefully written political and ideological history of the Syrian Muslim Brothers between 1947 and 1952.

Dr Reissner's dissertation is to a great extent based on a study of the Syrian Muslim Brothers' own periodical *al-Manar* (from Spring 1947 till May 1949) and their subsequent mouthpiece *al-Manar al-Jadid* (from November 1949 till January 1952, when the Brothers' organisation was forbidden). The facts and insights obtained from these sources are supplemented by a study of secondary sources on Syria, political memoirs, interviews with some Syrian Muslim Brothers, ideological works of Mustafa al-Siba'i, Muhammad al-Mubarak and others, and documents obtained from the Center for Historical Documents in Damascus and the Public Record Office, London.

The book is superabundant with details, and clearly retains the character of a thorough doctoral dissertation, German tradition. Since Dr Reissner has stated at the beginning of his book that he did not intend his work to be a study narrowly confined to the Syrian Muslim Brothers only, and did not want it to be strictly patterned in sections on "History", "Organisation", and "Ideology", considering this "too exemplary", it would perhaps be unjustified to reproach him for bringing in on various occasions lots of detail which might have been done without in order to explain — sometimes on a somewhat higher level of abstraction — the circumstances under which the Muslim Brothers emerged. Although this might on the one hand have improved the coherence and readability of some parts of the book, it adds on the other

hand to its value because it now includes many facts which would otherwise be very difficult to obtain. I mention by way of an example the survey of various Islamic reform societies (*Jam'iyat*) which existed in Syria during French Mandate, and which is apparently included to demonstrate amongst other things that the Society of the Syrian Muslim Brothers during the first years of its existence differed almost in nothing from these other *Jam'iyat*: they all represented the rising petit bourgeoisie, which had to maintain itself not only against mandatory rule, but also against the new national upper-classes.

The interesting picture which emerges from Dr Reissner's description of the Syrian Muslim Brothers is not that of a fanatic and dogmatic society, but rather that of a politically relatively moderate and pragmatic movement. He notes that the Brothers usually co-represented the general political mood, and in any case never opposed the main stream when important Syrian political questions were concerned. From their political argumentation and ideological approach to current problems it was often impossible to deduct that they considered Islam as a comprehensive and crucial system affecting all aspects of life and as a theoretically decisive yard-stick with which to measure all things. Occasionally they argued on a purely Arab nationalist or even secular level, and they sometimes used a political vocabulary which contradicted their ideology of harmony between the social classes. In the period under study, the Brothers did not turn out to be a movement which at all costs wanted to implement the idea of an all embracing Islamic order, but rather a society seeking to achieve its own interests, which in practice were those of a restricted part of the urban Sunni petit bourgeoisie. If they argued from an Islamic viewpoint at all, Islam used to function as their religious-moralistic and ethical basis of legitimation, constituting the deeper dimension of their thought. This basis tended to become the more important as they were in the opposition, or when they considered Arab-national-religious identity to be threatened. The role of the Syrian Muslim Brothers could be of particular importance when political or social tensions could be translated into Islamic religious terms, or when such tensions could be given a dimension which would make it appear as if Islamic values were being threatened.

Although the ideological position of the Syrian Muslim Brothers towards Christians and Jews is explained, the book does not consider the Brothers' attitude towards heterodox Muslims, such as Alawis, Druzes and Isma'ilis, notwithstanding the fact that the Brothers' organisation did have branches in regions which were predominantly inhabited by the minorities concerned, such as in Latakia and in the Jabal al-Duruz. The absence of this ideological point may be explained from the generally pragmatic attitude of the Muslim Brothers: Since members of these heterodox Islamic minorities did not play a prominent political role in the period on which the study concentrates, the Brothers may at the time have considered it inopportune to ideologically deal with their position. In their opposition to the heterodox Islamic minoritarian dominated Ba'th regimes which ruled Syria since 1963, the Muslim Brothers' severely critical attitude towards these groups later became one of the key issues however, by which they tried to win support amongst the Sunni majority of the population.

Although Dr Reissner's book is written in such a broad perspective that it might be fruitfully used by specialists and non-specialists alike, its purely academic character will in practice probably tend to restrict its readership to the former; and it is to the specialist who does not mind to digest a lot of detail before being presented with a number of very interesting conclusions about the Syrian Muslim Brothers that this profound study should be highly recommended.

The Hague, September 1980

NIKOLAOS VAN DAM

* *

Hanna BATATU, *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq. A Study of Iraq's Old Landed and Commercial Classes and of its Communists, Ba'thists, and Free Officers*. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1978 (25 cm., ii + xxiv + 1284 pp.) = Princeton Studies on the Near East. Price: \$ 94.00. ISBN 0-691-05241-7.

This monumental work of Hanna Batatu, Professor of Political Science at the American University of Beirut, is the result of about a quarter of a century of serious study on Iraq. It constitutes the long-awaited sequel to his important, though unpublished, Ph.D. thesis *The Shaikh and the Peasant in Iraq, 1917-1958*, presented to Harvard University in 1960.

In fact, Professor Batatu's newly published volume consists of three books. Book One, "The Old Social Classes" (pp. 1-361), comprises a study of the landowners and the men of money and commerce of prerepublican Iraq, and concentrates on the wealthier and more influential layers of the classes concerned in the period of the monarchy (1921-1958). Since many characteristics of the social structure in the monarchical period had their roots in a more distant past, Batatu has extended his descriptive analysis, when necessary, back to Ottoman times. "Apart from throwing some light on the circumstances, the power, the function, the way of thought, the political behaviour, the social standing, and the origin of the position of wealth of the landed, commercial and moneyed elements, the aim of this part of the study is", in Batatu's own words, "to find out whether a class approach would open to view historical relations or social features that would otherwise remain beyond vision or, to put it more generally, whether such an approach, when applied to a post-World War I Arab society, is capable of yielding new insights or valuable results".

Due to the extremely complex and many-sided character of the class picture of Iraq, in which elements with respect to wealth, ethnicity, sect or religion, regional or tribal affiliation, political influence or social prestige, and others, are in many cases simultaneously at work, Batatu has been forced to conduct his discussion — in all three books — on a low to medium level of generality. In his Preface Batatu states: "Perhaps the exposition lapses here and there into minutiae or verges on a scholarly overkill". Generally he has taken care, however, not to lose sight of the wider context, and to bring to the surface only

the details that could simultaneously throw light upon conditions of society. Political scientists fond of high-level abstract theoretical discussions should realize here that high-level abstract theoretical statements about complex societies such as exist in Iraq and other Arab Fertile Crescent countries, could easily turn out to be oversimplifications which ignore, or are not completely in line with, many of the essential (and extremely useful) data given in the Batatu study.

Batatu shows which long-range effects the gradual transformation of Iraq into an adjunct of the international industrial capitalist system had upon preexisting norms and structures. He demonstrates the important influence which the stabilization, expansion, and, eventually, extreme concentration of private property had upon the formation, emergence and decline of classes.

After giving in his Introduction a highly useful treatise on the diversity of the Iraqis, the relative incohesiveness of their society, and their progress during the monarchy toward a more consolidated political structure; and after explaining the major religious-class and ethnic-class correlations; Batatu devotes separate chapters to each of the major dominant classes and status groups: The *Mallaks* or landowners; the Shaykhs and Aghas, and their relations to the peasants; the *Sadah* or claimants of descent from the Prophet Muhammad; the old "aristocracy" of officials; the *Chalabis* (merchants of high social standing), the Jewish merchants and merchant-Sarrafis; and finally the ex-Sharifian officers. Batatu shows how during the twenties and thirties these dominant classes and status groups were vying with one another for power, prestige, and property, whereas during the two last decades of the monarchy, the same groups tended to close ranks in order to defend the social order from which they all benefited, and which then became threatened by underprivileged groups.

Book Two, "The Communists from the Beginnings of Their Movement to the Fifties" (pp. 363-705), deals with the history of the Communist Party of Iraq, its ideological developments, organisation, and the social backgrounds of its members. Whereas Book One devotes much more attention to the state of affairs at the upper social and political levels, Book Two examines what was happening underneath the structure of power and in the lower reaches of society.

Book Three, "The Communists, the Ba'thists, and the Free Officers from the Fifties to the Present" (pp. 707-1110), continues with the developments which the Communist Party of Iraq made through until the mid-seventies, and describes the political, socioeconomic and other backgrounds of the major political groups which competed for power in the post-monarchical period till about 1977. Though extensive consideration is given to the Ba'th Party and the Free Officers — in fact Book Three contains masses of data, as well as various insights not to be found anywhere else in published literature on Iraq — the history of the Communists is *relatively* represented on a larger scale. One reason for this is, as Batatu explains, "that this history forms the original nucleus out of which the books in question have grown".

Batatu convincingly explains why the solidarity of successive ruling groups, at least since November 1963, expressed itself recurrently in combinations of regional,

localistic, sectarian, or tribal or semitribal forms, but underlines simultaneously that these groups and the individuals composing them "were predominantly of middle condition and tended, in some respects, to look into life from similar standpoints and tackle many problems in a similar manner. That being so, and since they could not make particular but only general laws, they naturally benefited, by their public measures, the middle classes, even though they were acting on their own account". Batatu's analysis is always multi-dimensional. He never tumbles into the pitfall of oversimplification by attaching too great importance to one or two factors only. Although personal and accidental factors have indeed played an important role in political developments in Iraq, Batatu is able to unambiguously show that the oppositional or revolutionary politics of Iraq also had their distinct structural aspects and cannot be properly understood in purely personalized terms. Thus, he explains the socioeconomic and other factors which led to strong representation in Iraqi power institutions of, for instance, Sunni Arabs from the north, particularly from towns such as 'Anah and Takrit; or which factors helped form the mass backing of the Communist Party, in certain periods, among the Shurugis of Baghdad, i.e. the poor (Shi'i) tribal peasant migrants from the 'Amarah country south-east from the capital; etcetera.

One may not always completely agree with Batatu's analysis. With regard to the role of Takritis in the Ba'th regime which took over power in 1968 he remarks, for instance, that "their role continues to be so critical that it would not be going too far to say that the Takritis rule through the Ba'th party, rather than the Ba'th party through the Takritis". (p. 1088). It is clear that Takritis have since 1968 been strongly overrepresented in the most important Iraqi power institutions. But although it could be said that in a country like Iraq reliance on regional and tribal ties appears to be preconditional at present for staying in power, political developments in Iraq since 1968 would, to this reviewer's opinion, nevertheless justify the conclusion that the present regime is in the first place Ba'thist, and that being a Ba'thist is decisive for being in power. The high placed Takriti Ba'thists may from their viewpoint consider themselves as a temporarily indispensable safety device, necessary to keep the present Ba'thist leadership in power during a transitional period long enough to have Ba'thism penetrate deeply into Iraqi society and to broaden the Ba'thist elite's composition gradually, so as to finally win wider recognition in Iraq of its legitimacy as a ruling party. But this is only one of a few minor disagreements of interpretation, which do not detract from the enormous value of the book. Incidentally, Batatu realistically doubts whether the Ba'th Party alone would be able to run the country in the long run, and concludes: "These are tasks that are too great for any party acting singly, or simultaneously engaged in combating civil strife, and can be accomplished only if the country's principal forces — the Ba'th, the Communists, and the Kurdish Democrats — pull together and work hand-in-hand for the good of their people". (p. 1134).

The book contains 181 (!) tables with, among other things, historical, economic, social and biographical data (many of which are extremely difficult to obtain, and are

published here for the first time). The latter make the book also a highly useful "Who's Who in Iraq".

Batatu's work draws in part upon the extensive and richly varied secret records of Iraq's Directorate General of Internal Security, as well as upon the British public records, Arabic printed sources, the unpublished memoirs of Colonel Rajab 'Abd al-Majid, secretary of the Free Officers' Movement, and on a mass of interviews with Iraqis who participated, or were close to those who took part themselves, in the developments described.

The three books of Batatu's study may be read more or less separately; they might have enjoyed wider readership if published as separate volumes.

The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq is a fascinating, rich, and highly original, monumental work of scholarship. It is an excellent, and definitive standard work, indispensable for anyone — historians, political scientists, sociologists and others alike — with a serious interest in political, social and economic developments in the Arab countries of the Fertile Crescent, Iraq in particular.

The Hague, September 1980

NIKOLAOS VAN DAM

* *

Abdelkébir KHATIBI/Mohammad SIJELMASSI, *Die Kunst der islamischen Kalligrafie*. Köln, Du Mont Buchverlag, 1968 (31 cm., 256 pp.). ISBN 3 7701 0961 9. Price: DM 128.—.

The reviewer of this book is faced with a dilemma. It is no doubt one of the most beautifully reproduced books in the comparatively great number of studies devoted to various aspects of Islamic calligraphy during the last decade (the publications by Martin Lings and Yasin H. Safadi occupy an outstanding place among these). The photographs are superb, the layout masterly, and even the scholar who is accustomed to deal with problems of calligraphy is enchanted by the skillful projection of an Arabic page or a single letter (even though the enlargement shows irregularities in the lines which, to my feeling, detract from the perfection of the letter). The text cannot claim to be scholarly, and the title of the English version of the book, *Splendour of Islamic Calligraphy*, certainly conveys its character better than the German title. Its authors give a survey of the early development of calligraphy, theology and 'the Word', the way how letters are constructed, deal with some styles and with the artistic application of calligraphic devices to the page. Like similar books produced lately in Iran, this book, too, tries to introduce the reader into the mystical, sometimes even magic quality of Arabic writing. That is legitimate, because the religious interpretation of the letters, and of writing in general, has its roots already in the Koran, and has been developed by the mystics in every corner of the Islamic world. Since the authors belong to North Africa, Maghribi script, otherwise usually underrepresented in books of this kind, is shown here in some of its finest examples, and the art historian is grateful for the fine reproductions of the 19th century Moroccan calligrapher

al-Qandūsi's colorful work. The Eastern Islamdom, however, it not as well represented as one would have liked it, and here, quite a few mistakes have crept into the descriptions: the authors tend to take a typical *marshq*, sheet with exercises, in *nasta'liq* for *shikasta* (p. 1; p. 58, p. 230); page 2 is not *ta'liq* but a clear *gulzār thuluth*, p. 28 is *tughrā*-style; p. 91 is a good *nasta'liq* but the text is Arabic, which is not too frequent in this style; p. 123 is not *ta'liq* but *naskh* close to *raq'a*; p. 132 the lion is in *thuluth*, not in *ta'liq*; p. 141 is *muhaqqaq* or *rihāni* (the page is so badly framed that the first letter of the Sura is hidden!); p. 160/1 the charming bird is a white falcon, alluding to 'Abdul Qādir Gīlāni's soubriquet *bāz-i ashhab*, 'White Falcon'; p. 170 the anthropomorphic script is 7/14 cty., not 7/8, and probably even earlier; here, A. Grohmann's study about zoomorphic and anthropomorphic styles (BIE XXXVIII) should have been consulted; p. 243 is not *Huwa* but an incomplete *amantu gemisi*, a boat made of the letters of the profession of faith, with the connecting letter *w* 'and' used as oars; here, the actual text between the *w*'s is left out.

A serious problem is posed by the translation. It is a pity that the translators apparently did not bother at all to look up any German book on Islam, not to mention the standard works on Islamic Calligraphy such as E. Kühnel's *Islamische Schriftkunst* or A. Grohmann's fundamental *Arabische Paläographie* (both not in the bibliography). They could have avoided wrong expressions such as *Kufische Qarmate-Schrift* or the form *neschi* which should be either *nashī* oder *naskhi* in order to avoid wrong pronunciation. The *Brüder der Integrität* for the *Ikhwān aṣ-ṣafā* is as thoughtless as the transcription, which poses as scientific; yet, the diacritical marks are scattered at random over the words. The German text itself sounds in certain places pretty meaningless (perhaps that is intended to add to the 'mystical' quality). I wonder why a renowned publisher who had such an artistically superb book at hand should not have tried to have at least the translation controlled by a specialist who knows the technical terms and a bit of Arabic history and theology.

The reviewer would have loved to bestow high praise upon the book because it is a feast for the eyes, but her delight is marred by the all too numerous flaws in the translation and the legends.

Harvard University,
Cambridge, Mass., December 1980

ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL

TURCICA

Lars JOHANSON, *Altürkisch als "dissimilierende Sprache"*, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, Wiesbaden (24 cm., 157 pp.) = Abhandlungen der Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1979, No. 2 — Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. Price: DM 52,—. ISBN 3-515-02955-9.

The book under review contains eight chapters bearing the following titles: 1. Dissimilation theory. 2. Synchronic

aspects. 3. Diachronic aspects. 4. The phonotactic norm. 5. The distribution of suffix sequences. 6. The corresponding norms of other graphic arts. 7. The assimilating system. 8. Despirantization. The book ends with a comprehensive list of used bibliography.

In chapter I the author critically examines the dissimilation hypothesis, according to which the oldest known Turkish was a "dissimilating language" (e.g. R. Giraud, Sir G. Clauson), that means that of suffixes beginning with a consonant, which have a voiced and a voiceless variant, the former variant occurs after voiceless and the latter after voiced consonants. As examples are given exclusively suffixes beginning with a non-nasal dental. Suffixes beginning with gutturals, labials, affricates and sibilants show no traces of the tendency towards dissimilation. Moreover, not all suffixes beginning with a dental show this tendency. The only endings which can serve as arguments for the dissimilation hypothesis are those of the perfect and the *casus loci* as well as some less frequent affixes.

The examination of the graphic conditions in the Orkhon runic inscriptions shows, according to the author, that the hypothesis of the "sonority dissimilation", embarrassing in the sight of general linguistics, is actually groundless, as it rests on an inadmissible identification of graphic and sound units. The difficulties in discovering the factual distribution follow not so much from the inadequate graphic system as from a superficial interpretation of facts and partly also from the fact that Orkhon Turkish represents a dynamic "language state" which reflects an important shifting of the phonotactic structure.

Chapter II discusses the synchronic aspects of the problem. It is generally accepted that the language of Old Turkish inscriptions had two non-nasal dental phonemes, one fortis /t/ and one lenis (mostly viewed as /d/, sometimes as /ð/). Sir G. Clauson states three distinctive units: [t], [d], and [ð], but nothing is said about their phonological status. However, it is certain that the T- and D-runes which are the graphic representations of the respective dentals, show at least medially a distribution which signals functional distinctiveness. Accordingly, we can assume two phonemes at least. It is interesting to state that in certain positions the grapheme distribution is restricted. Thus in initial word position only T-runes occur so that we can presume the neutralization of the phonological opposition. More remarkable is the distribution in the initial suffix position: the systematic change of D- and T-runes (in perfect and locative suffixes) indicates that the realization of the dental element depends on the preceding final position in the stem.

The author further examines and evaluates from various angles the hitherto existing interpretations of the distribution conditions. He distinguishes two main types of interpretation¹⁾:

Interpretation I <D> is realized as a stop:

[KtV]
[KdV]
[VdV]

¹⁾ [V] stands for any vowel, [K] for [l], [n] or [r] and [K̇] for one of the remaining consonants; < > is a morphological notation.

Interpretation II <D> is realized as a stop and fricative:

[KdV]
[KðV]
[VðV]

Examining in detail the Chuvash parallel of the distribution of the <D> variants and some other conceptions, the author comes to the conclusion that the comparisons done speak in favour of Interpretation II. The author stated that the relation between the graphemic and dental distributions is systematic and the differences in notation can be interpreted neither as mistakes in spelling nor as phonetic variations. Interpretation I which presupposes a simple relation between graphemes and phonemes cannot explain the above-mentioned differences. Interpretation II which works with the relations of graphemes to allophonic units makes the explanation of notational differences plausible. The probability of this interpretation is strengthened by the graphic norm of the Sogdian Sūtra-alphabet. Both interpretations, however, present one decisive obstacle: how to explain that [ð] or [d] are typical for the position after a few sonorous consonants. This situation leaves Interpretation II highly questionable, too.

In chapter III the author deals with diachronic aspects of both interpretations. Diachronically each interpretation has two variants:

I A [d] is primary: [KdV] > [KtV]
[KdV] > [KdV]
[VdV] > [VdV]

I B [t] is primary: [KtV] > [KtV]
[KtV] > [KdV]
[VtV] > [VdV]

II A [d] is primary: [KdV] > [KdV]
[KdV] > [KðV]
[VdV] > [VðV]

II B [ð] is primary: [KðV] > [KdV]
[KðV] > [KdV]
[VðV] > [VðV]

Interpretation I A implies that the original [d] partly remains preserved, partly changes into [t]. According to the author all explanations of this interpretation have the same weakness in common, viz. that [d] should be primary also after voiceless [K]-consonants.

Interpretation I B implies that [d] in [KdV] and [VdV] developed from [t]. This view is shared by many turcologists who support the conception according to which the Turkish consonantism exhibits only the development from voiceless to voiced sounds, or from fortes to lenes respectively and that an opposite direction of development is in no case known. To all variants of this interpretation is common that they offer unacceptable arguments for the change [KtV] > [KdV].

In the case of Interpretation II A and II B the author comes to the conclusion that in general phonetic as well as in specific turcological respect most plausible is the development of [d] > [ð] in an intervocalic position (II A). The preservation of an original feature [+ fricative] (II B) is naturally equally possible. The original absence of this feature after [K] (II A) is plausible; its existence in position II B is hardly thinkable. In this respect Interpretation II A is the only acceptable one.

To sum up, both variants of Interpretation I must be dropped from "sprachgeschichtlichen Gründen". On the other hand, Interpretation II stands the test in most points

of the diachronic analysis. However, the problem of dissimilation has proved as a crucial obstacle in all four interpretations and so none of the supposed solutions can be accepted.

In chapter IV the author points out to discrepancy between the structure of the suffix sequence and the structure of the primary stem and raises the question how to describe the situation in suffix sequences: whether as a "not far developed" assimilation, or as a functional irrelevance of voicefulness under a foreign influence, or as a "sonority dissimilation".

Chapter V deals with the distribution of sounds in suffix sequences, examines the process of vowel disappearance, the post-vocalic development, the development after sonorous sounds, after [l], [n], [r], [D], [z], [t], etc. Also these qualitative changes have shown that the relations to the graphics can only be represented consistently and systematically in accordance with Interpretation II.

Chapter VI discusses the possible interpretations of the distribution rules in other scripts, chapter VII presents an attempt at suggesting the development leading to the "assimilating" system. This "assimilating" system comes into existence with the realization of the syncopation. After a voiceless consonant the dental is pronounced with a weak voice: the original [baq^oð^om]²⁾ "I looked" changes into [baqð^om]. Thereby a new polarization arises:

[K^oðV] { $\xrightarrow{\quad}$ [Kd]
 $\xrightarrow{\quad}$ [KdV]

Ipso facto there arise new allomorphs with a weak beginning ("Anlaut") which stand, on morphological level, in opposition to the remaining allomorphs with a voiced beginning. Thus the opposition [\pm voiced] asserts itself for the first time in the phonotactic word structure. Since then it has remained decisive for the "consonantal harmony" of almost all Turkic languages.

The last, VIIIth chapter, contains some reflections on such questions as how long the suffix variants with an initial [ð] which can be inferred from the Orkhon inscriptions and from some Manichaean texts remained preserved, or whether the occurrence of a fricative allophone of the lenis phoneme is dialectically limited, or why the Karakhanidian [ð] appears only in word stems and not in suffixes. Although these and other questions can not always be given an exhaustive answer, the author's inquiries have contributed much to a better understanding of these phenomena.

The author ends the chapter and the whole book by stating that the unifying despirantization and the analytical development in many cases really effect a kind of differentiation of the "Stammauslaut" and "Suffixanlaut". This "dissimilation", however, differs essentially from the alleged "sonority dissimilation" discussed in preceding chapters. In the first place, it is not a phonetic art but it arises from the cooperation of phonic, morphological, and functional factors. In the second place, it can — unlike the "sonority dissimilation" — be altogether clearly established (by means of the above-mentioned factors). In the third place, it comes into existence in the time when the

²⁾ ^o indicates voice weakness ("Stimmtönschwäche"), ^o voice ("Stimmtön"), ^o stands for a connecting vowel ("Bindevokal").

"dissimilating" Old Turkish might have changed into an "assimilating" language.

In this review we could pick up only some of the innumerable problems connected with the solution of the main problem of the book, viz. that of dissimilation in Old Turkish. In this materially rich work we lack nothing that would directly or indirectly concern the problems in question. The author examines the problems from all possible angles: from the point of view of synchrony, diachrony, phonotactic norm, analysis of various graphic arts, etc. This richness of different approaches to the problems must needs lead to more unfailing results. Moreover, it is a merit of the author's analysis that he consequently follows a structural conception of language, that he distinguishes between phonemes and their realizations, that he is aware that phonemes must not be confused with morphonemes and that it is necessary to differentiate allophones (phoneme variants) from morphological variants and to separate strictly synchrony from diachrony.

Prague, October 1980

JIRÍ KRÁMSKÝ

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Jakob von BETZEK, *Gesandtschaftsreise nach Ungarn und in die Türkei im Jahre 1564/65*. Herausgegeben und bearbeitet von Karl Nehring, München, 1979 (8vo, XII + 80 S.) = Veröffentlichungen des Finnisch-Ugrischen Seminars an der Universität München, Serie C, Band 10. Preis: DM 28.—.

We welcome here a venerable member of the family of itineraries to Constantinople, appearing in print for the first time. With the establishment of Constantinople as the capital of the Ottoman Empire in 1453 and the development of relations, political and diplomatic, with the European powers, the ancient 'Heerstrasse' from Belgrade, the subject of an exhaustive monograph by C.J. Jireček in 1877, was filled again with armies and travellers. Those who had made the arduous and adventurous journey sometimes recorded their experiences along the road, centuries before Murray and Baedeker produced their guide-books, and gave details of the hostleries, geographical features and the day's mileage from one town to the next. Some were published at once, to be used by other travellers, by geographers, strategists, and for entertainment. The great era of the genre, historical-geography, not literature, is the sixteenth century. The first published itinerary in German is that of Benedict Kuripečič, travelled 1530, printed 1531; the second is that of Hans Dernschwam, travelled 1553, edited by F. Babinger, 1923; the third is the work under review, the journal made by Jakob von Betzek of his first journey from Vienna to Constantinople in 1564, his stay there, and his return in 1565. He travelled with the three Imperial legates, Mihajlo Černović, Alban György Csurdai, whose servant von Betzek was, and Ákos Csaby, as they carried the tribute from Maximilian II to Süleiman I (please note, not Süleiman II).

The work consists of three separate journals, transcribed from manuscript copies, said to be of the seventeenth

century, contained within Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus 9026. No bibliographical description of the manuscript is attempted (although a reference is made, in another context, to the entry in Chmel, *Die Handschriften der k. k. Hofbibliothek in Wien*), nor are we told if other copies, or the holographs, exist. It is suggested (p. III) that the manuscript used is that described by Hammer, *GOR III*, pp. 748-9, which he calls k. k. Hofbibliothek CVI. hist. prof.; it is not explained, however, why the first journey to Turkey (pp. 1-47), apparently Cod. Vindob. 9026, ff. 200-241, is cited by Hammer (p. 749) as ff. 30-75, although the return journey (pp. 48-57) begins with Hammer at f. 166 and is Cod. Vindob. 9026, ff. 166-175. The third work (pp. 58-64; ff. 70-75), describing further travels between Vienna and Buda, is not specified by Hammer. It is remarkable that no mention is made of Hammer's detailed map of the route from Constantinople to Niš, his account of the itineraries, including von Betzek's, and study of the route based on them (*GOR III*, pp. 797-804). But no bibliography is given, no attempt made to utilise in the notes the rich and fascinating resources available from the other members of the family; for example, Schweigger, who travelled the same way in 1576 and illustrated much of it. To the uninitiated reader of this book it might seem that von Betzek was making his journey along an unknown route. Moreover, the editor could have found his unidentified places by referring to the literature: so, n. 68, *Spaterichi* is the Spahiköi of Jireček, p. 126; n. 75, *Alaglika* is the Aladžaklisse of Jireček, p. 129, not Vakarel, a different village; n. 83, *Mustafabristi oder Gubri* deserves more explanation, as in Jireček, p. 132, than just the modern place-name, Svilengrad; n. 87, *Birobascha* is the Piri-Pascha-Köji of Dernschwam/Babinger, n. 172; and n. 105, *ein Seulen, so Hercules gebaut haben soll* is more likely to be Pompey's column (illustrated Schweigger, facing p. 135) than Kiz kulesi.

Undoubtedly, the manuscript must be hard to read and the language of the journal is difficult, requiring careful study to understand it, more than for the works of the perhaps better educated writers of the early prints. No comparison of the text and transcription is possible but, even so, occasionally the confusion of 'n' and 'u' may be remarked; for example, n. 90 *Binadiss* should be *Biudadiss* (cf. Hammer, *GOR III*, p. 798: *Biwados*); n. 91 *Binck* should be *Biuck*, in *Büyük Çekmece*; n. 133 *Manna* should be *Mauna*; and for n. 143 *pingeln* I suggest 'prügeln'. For the unidentified n. 202 *Walluck Wascha* I suggest 'Bölük başı'.

Indeed, we can welcome this handy edition of Jakob von Betzek's report, and now we are able to profit from his ingenuous impressions of Ottoman Constantinople at the height of its splendour, his descriptions of Süleiman going to the hunt and at the audience (pp. 31-3), his eyewitness account of the Turkish fleet sailing off to the siege of Malta (p. 37). It has been very well worth waiting for.

Cambridge, January 1981

S. A. SKILLITER

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C. H. DODD, *Democracy and Development in Turkey*. Hull, The Eothen Press, 1979 (21 cm, x, 231 pp.). ISBN 0 906719 003 (paper cover). Price: £ 4.95. ISBN 0 906719 011 (hard cover).

Professor Clement H. Dodd has written extensively in the field of modern Turkish politics, his best known work to date being *Politics and Government in Turkey*, published by Manchester University Press in 1969. His new book, *Democracy and Development in Turkey*, is far more than a mere revision of the previous study. After presenting the appropriate introductions, the book focuses upon six main aspects of Turkish political culture and organization, namely: political elites; political culture and political ideas; the normative framework — the constitution; political parties and voting; sustaining forces — the military and the bureaucracy; pressures on politics — the trade unions, commerce and industry, and students.

In order to assess this book's value and applications, one should bear in mind that it originated in a series of Professor Dodd's political science lectures at the University of Hull. Dodd omits many details and trivia, concentrating on each of the above six aspects in a descriptive-cum-analytic presentation. For example, the chapter on political elites successively describes the bureaucratic, military, intellectual and political (but not economic) elites, analyzing the relations among them over the years and the changes in their relative impact upon public affairs. With equal perspicacity, Dodd presents and examines the special character of involvement in politics by the Turkish military, which sought primarily to defend the system rather than overthrow it; thus, the military establishment remains a potent sustaining force within the democratic regime, rather than one which endangers it, as has happened elsewhere all too frequently.

The chapter on political parties and voting is a succinct but comprehensive account of the current major political parties and their characteristics. Of special interest is the discussion of two relatively new parties, about which little has been published so far: the National Salvation Party and the National Action Party (the latter's name translates more accurately as the *Nationalist Action Party*). The study of voting in political elections considers ideological versus more practical motives influencing voting behavior. No conclusion has been drawn, however, as to which trend is more decisive, possibly because of a lack of definitive evidence.

There are three appendices: National Assembly Election Results, 1961-77; Regions and Provinces of Turkey; and Extracts from the 1961 Constitution of Turkey. The last of these is fourteen pages long (pp. 210-23) and is rather extensive. The three-page list of 'Further Reading' (pp. 224-226) is brief but useful nonetheless, although it comprises only books in English; surely various French and German works could have been included as well. The index is likewise too short (pp. 227-31); Bülent Ecevit, Chairman of the Republican People's party, is mentioned (eight times), while his rival for premiership, Süleyman Demirel, Chairman of the Justice Party, is not.

In summary, *Democracy and Development in Turkey* may be recommended unhesitatingly as an up-to-date, accurate and lucid textbook for any university course in Turkish politics. Lecturers and students alike will enjoy

the book and benefit from it, as will all readers interested in gaining a better understanding of political life in contemporary Turkey.

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, JACOB M. LANDAU
July 1980

IRAN

Wilhelm EILERS (Hrsg.), unter Mitarbeit von Ulrich SCHAPKA, *Die Mundart von Gāz*. Halbbd. 1. Einleitung, Grammatik, Texte, Faksimile. — Halbbd. 2. Übersetzungen, Glossar, Stichwortverzeichnis. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1979 (25 cm, xxxvi + 787 pp.) = Westiranische Mundarten aus der Sammlung Wilhelm Eilers, Band 2. ISBN 3-515-02461-1.

The second volume of the collection "Westiranische Mundarten aus der Sammlung Wilhelm Eilers" is elaborated according to the same principles as the first volume concerning the dialect of Khonsar, but its part containing texts is more extensive, especially through the inclusion of an extract from the manuscript of the Divan of the dervish 'Abbās of Gāz.

As the authors write in the introduction, the village Gāz is situated 18 km to the north of Isfahan, in a fruitful and well irrigated plain the horizon of which is bounded on the west by near, on the east by far mountains. Farming and cattle breeding as well as trade form the income basis of the inhabitants. In the year 1953 Gāz had about 10,000 inhabitants. The village is situated on an old caravan-route towards north, but nine kilometers east of the motor-road to Tehran.

The texts of this collection were put down in summer 1941 when W. Eilers followed the invitation of the family of the landowner Yahyā Xān-i-Bārūmānd in Gāz. Most of the texts were dictated by the host who also provided for further collaborators. W. Eilers visited Gāz for the second time in spring 1974 and for the third and fourth times in spring and autumn 1976. During these short visits he was able to check the texts and also to verify them in matter-of-fact respect.

The dialect of Gāz is spoken only in Gāz itself. The other villages in its vicinity have lost their dialect with the exception of the neighbouring Xurzūq, the dialect of which differs from that of Gāz only unessentially.

The second part of the book includes the grammar of the dialect of Gāz. In the part dealing with phonetics the following inventory of sounds is given:

- Long vowels: *ā ē ī ō ō ū ū*
 - Short vowels: *a ē e i o o ū ū*
 - Semivowels: *y w*
 - Diphthongs: *āu ōu ou ēi ēi ei āi ōi ōi*
 - Consonants: *b č d f g γ ġ h (h) x k l m n ŋ p q r s š t v z ž*
- The vowel *ā* is often strongly labialized (*ā̃*, *ō̃*). The diphthongs *ōu* and *ēi* are half monophthongized. The intervocalic *b* is lightly spirantized and marked *h*. It stands between *v* and the explosive *b* and in a rapid speech it changes into a labiodental *β* (*v*). Similarly as in volume I, describing the dialect of Khonsar, we lack here a phonemic

inventory of Gāzī. There can be doubts, for example, whether all above-mentioned diphthongs are phonemes, whether (*h*) is a phoneme or a variant of *h*, further nothing is said about the distribution of the sounds.

The accent is the same as in New Persian (combined dynamic and musical accent), resting usually on the last syllable, but there are cases of accent on the first syllable or on unstressed syllables in a final position within a sentence. In quadrisyllabic sense units consisting of two disyllabic words, the accent often rests on the first and fourth syllables (against the accent on the second and fourth syllables in a slow speech).

Some of the vowel changes (many are similar to those in the dialect of Khonsar):

- Very common is the change *ā > ū* before *n* (as in the colloquial New Persian): *biyābūn* "desert", *haiyūn* "animal", *nūn* "bread"; before *m*: *pēm* "news", *tēmūm* "whole, all".
- ā > -u-* before *m*, *v*, *b*, e.g.: *dumāy* "nose", *guwāb* "answer", *kubāb* "roasted meat, kebab".
- i > -ā-* before *-ssūn* (< *-stān*) — not in Khonsarī: *qabrāssūn* "cemetery", *zimāssūn* "winter".
- ē* for *-ā* in final position with monosyllables: *čī* "the well", *rī* "way".
- aŋg > -ēŋg* (not in Khonsarī): *āēŋg* "melody", *lēŋg* "lame", *rēŋg* "colour".
- Vowel dissimilation of New Persian *u-u* in succeeding syllables into *i-u*, e.g. *dirus* "right", *dirus* "gross, massive", *kiluft* "thick", etc.
- For diphthongs the same holds good in Gāzī as in Khonsarī. New is the further development of *ou* into *ō̃*, *ō̃j*, e.g. *ōlād* "children", *nōjkār* "servant", *nōrūz*, *nōjūz* "New Year", *šōiq* "demand, request", etc. Here belong also cases in which *ou < ab*, *af*, *ad*, *ah*, etc.: *kōš* "shoe", *lōj* "lip", *ōrešūm* "silk", *šōj* "night", etc.

There are also vowel changes caused by vowel harmony, and secondary vowel lengthening (e.g. *-u > -ū-*, *-ā > -ā-*, *-i > -ī-*).

We cannot discuss here in detail the fairly numerous consonant changes, but will at least briefly mention some of the more important ones:

- The disappearance of the final consonant of the final two-consonant group, e.g. *čōš*, *yoš*, *kāt*, *rās*, etc.
- Consonant assimilations:
 - st > -s(s)*, e.g. *dās(s)* "hand", *āsīn* "sleeve", *šās* "thumb", etc.,
 - zd > -z(z)*, e.g. *muz* "wages" besides *muzzī* (adj.), *nezik* "near", etc.,
 - s* for *-sm* and *-s-* for *-sn-*: *γis* "part", *rās*, *rās^m* "custom, habit", *firissāmūn* < *firisnāmūn* "send",
 - mb > -m(m)-*: *temūn* "trousers",
 - ž > -š* before *š*, *k* and *p* of the following syllable, e.g. *kārās šāiri bō* "his activity was writing of poetry".
- Consonant gemination: *āzzā* "free", *békkū* "(door) knocker", *dū sēmā* "two, three months", etc.
- Consonant metathesis: *bār ask* "on the contrary", *piltā* "wick", *sāhb* "morning", etc.
- Changes of individual consonants, e.g. *b < p-*, *-b > -f*, *-b > -m*, *č > s-*, *d > t-*, *-d > -t*, *-d > -y-*, *f > p-*, *g < k*, *-g < q-*, *ğ > ž*, etc. Some other changes:
 - Disappearance of initial *h-*, e.g.: *al-āšt* "to leave, let", *ašt* "eight", *ess-essā* "to be", *im*, *em* "also", *izāz* "thousand", *ušk* "dry", etc.

- b) Disappearance of intervocalic *-h-*, e.g. *būne* "pretence", *gāi* "sometimes", *māūr* "hill", etc.
 c) Disappearance of *-h-* in a consonantal group, e.g. *berāne*, *berāne* "naked, nude", *pāleūn* "hero", *šār* "town", *zāār* "poison", etc.
 d) Disappearance of final *-h* after a vowel, e.g.: *dē*, *dēi* "ten", *gire* "knot", *kilā* "hat", *mā* "moon", *siyā* "black", etc.
 e) Disappearance of initial *χ-*, e.g.: *āle* "aunt", *eš* "the plough", *ibize* "melon", *ūrd* "small", etc.
 f) Disappearance of *-r-* in: *āžišt* "value", *āžūn* "cheap", *dāvāze* "gate", etc.

In the part dealing with morphology we will mention some significant deviations from New Persian:

The anaphoric-deictic *-é*, *-ā* occurs often but not so frequently as e.g. in Khonsari or Zardušti.

The lack of izāfat is typical of old NW dialects and Gāzi preserved this state especially well. Besides, however, izāfat often occurs under New Persian influence, especially in poetry.

As for the nominal formation, Gāzi shows the formation of nouns from adjectives by means of *-ūn* < *-ān* which corresponds to the New Persian formation of abstract nouns in *-i*: *lārdūn* (besides *lārdi*) "the plain" from *lārd* "flat, plain"; *uškūn* "mainland" from *ušk* "dry".

Nominal formation by means of *-gi*: *bālegi* "greatness", *čilgi* "insanity, craziness", *žāngi* "marriage".

The suffix *-či* forms diminutives in and round Isfahan. In Gāzi: *ārči* "mill", *bērči* "small spade", *dārči* "small sickle", *digči* "small pot", etc.

Compounds are mostly formed in the same way as in New Persian. Of interest are some compounds with final verbal component, e.g. *békkū* "(door) knocker", *gime'sūz* "match", *kāppe-kāš* "builder's labourer", *kūre-peš* "potter", etc.

Prepositions are frequently dropped, as in colloquial Persian, when the sense is sufficiently clear — it is one of the agglutinative features of New Iranian.

Gāzi has two postpositions: 1. *-rā*, after a consonant mostly *-ā*. The use as in New Persian (direct definite object). 2. *-de*, presumably from New Persian *dar*.

In the part dealing with verbs the authors first mention punctual (momentary) and durative prefixes. The punctual aspect is expressed by *bā/bé/bi-*, the durative aspect by the suffix *-ē* which is attached to the verbal form and corresponds to the New Persian *Yā'-i-istimrāri*. Negation is expressed, similar to New Persian, by means of *nā/ne*. The prohibitive is formed mostly by *mā* (before a long vowel by *m-*), e.g. *mā-ās* "do not look!", *māke* "do not make!", *mākeš* "do not kill!", etc.

Further follows a detailed alphabetical list of verbal stems complemented by other necessary data, original forms, irregular forms, etc.

The infinitive is formed in Gāzi and in the other NW dialects of the Isfahan group as well as in Zardušti by *-mūn* (or *-āmūn* < *-ād-mān* with weak verbs). Preterite stems ending in a consonant often have an inserted *a*, i.e. *āmūn*, e.g. *ārtā-mūn* "to fetch", *firisnā-mūn* "to send", *numnā-mūn* "to show", *ōškufā-mūn* "to break", etc.

Like other NW dialects, more often than New Persian, Gāzi uses the so-called preverbs: 1. *bī* (< *bē*), 2. *dār* (< *dar* < *antar*), 3. *i*, 4. *vēr* (< *ašar* < *apar* < *upari*), 5. *vē*

(< *vā*). The preverb *hā* which is so characteristic of the other NW dialects, seems to be lacking in Gāzi.

The preterite of transitive verbs is formed, similar to NW and some SW dialects, according to the Middle Iranian, passively. The old inflectional endings were dropped and succeeded by the old passive perfect participle. The subject (agens) is expressed (when necessary) by enclitic personal pronouns. Analogically to the transitive we find even an intransitive passive inflection of the durative preterite (imperfect).

Very interesting is the formation of the durative preterite: a) The transitive durative preterite (imperfect) is formed by attaching the durative particle *-e* to the passive perfect participle with whose final *-e* it is joined with the help of *-y-*, e.g. sg. 1. *-ām-kārtē-y-e*, 2. *-ād-kārtē-y-e*, 3. *-āž-kārtē-y-e*, etc.

The transitive and intransitive with the postpositive subject suffix are no more distinguished in durative aspect. Surprising in the transitive verb are subject suffixes in *-ē* (instead of the expected *-ā*) attached to the preterite stem. b) The intransitive durative preterite (imperfect) abandons its inflexion and passes over, with the help of the pronominal subject suffix in accordance with the transitive paradigm, into an active formation, e.g. sg. 1. *šōi-m-e*, 2. *šōi-d-e*, 3. *šōi-y-e*, etc.

Weak verbs expand their present-stem for forming the preterite by attaching *-ā*, both with transitive and intransitive verbs. The personal endings are the same as in the present tense.

Remarkable is the tendency of forming to transitive verbs intransitive preterites as secondary forms which then sometimes acquire a passive sense. For such intransitive preterites are then preferred weak formations, e.g. *dē-rājā*, *dē-rājt* "he hang up" (trans.) against *dī-rāit* and *dī-rājā* "he was hung"; *bē-ž-sūt* "he set on fire" (trans.) against *bēsūt* or *bēsūzā* "he was set on fire"; *bēž-unt* "he cut off" against *bēunā* "he was cut off", etc.

With weak verbs there associate causatives, whose *-ān-*, in consequence of a strong stress, is shortened to *-n-*, e.g. *čāmn-/čāmnā* "to bend" is shortened to *čām* "to be bent". Also some non-causatives show, in contradistinction to New Persian, an *-n-* in the present stem, e.g. *nān-(nih-)*, *rōn-(rōp-)*, *gāin (gāy-)*, etc. These and other verbs form the preterite stem by attaching *-t* to the present stem (a kind of weak formation, instead of *-āt*), similar to New Persian: *čīn-/čīnt*, *kān-/kānt* (as in New Persian), *sūn-/sūnt*, etc.

Proper passive voice which would not be formed by means of auxiliary verbs is not observed in Gāzi. On the other hand, it exists in present-day NW dialects; it is often a special form of intransitive verbs.

Perfect of transitive verbs is formed by personal pronominal suffix and the passive perfect participle (with or without *bi-*); sometimes a copula is attached to it. Owing to occasional contractions the perfect is often hard to discriminate. E.g. sg. 1. *-ām-bāsse*, 2. *-ād-bāsse*, etc.

The perfect of intransitive verbs is formed by passive perfect participle (with or without a copula) plus personal endings of the intransitive preterite, as well as, corresponding with the transitive perfect, by *biye* for the durative formation: sg. 1. *biye-ān*, 2. *biye-i*, 3. *biye (ū)*, etc.; durative: sg. 1. *biye biye-ān*, etc.

Pluperfect of transitive verbs is formed by personal pronominal suffixes plus passive perfect participle *bō*, e.g. sg. 1. *-ām-bāsse-bō*, 2. *-ād-bāsse-bō*, etc.

Pluperfect of intransitive verbs: personal endings are attached to the copula, e.g. sg. 1. *ūme/būme-bōyān*, 2. *būme-bō-i*, etc.

There is no proper future in Gāzi. It is expressed by means of the verb *gū-* "to want"; *gūme bēšan* means both "I want to go" and "I shall go".

The syntax of Gāzi corresponds on principle with that of Khonsari¹).

Part III includes texts. The collection of texts is far more extensive than in vol. I. While vol. I includes 84 pages of texts, vol. II has 167 pages of texts (not including the manuscript of the extract from the dervish 'Abbās's *Dīvān*). Like in vol. I the collection of texts contains fairy tales, various short stories, texts on weather, farmer's calendar, farming, irrigation, plantation of trees, flowers, sheep-farm, manufacture of cheese, various customs and superstitions, wedding, a considerable number of proverbs, poems, etc. The choice of texts is varied and testifies to a fortunate choice of the informants.

Part IV includes translation of all texts of Part III with ample comments, both material and linguistic ones.

Part V contains the Glossary of alphabetically ordered Gāzi words, mostly nouns and adjectives. Not fully represented are pronouns, numerals, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, interjections, and verbs, as well as words of the same or similar pronunciation and meaning as in New Persian. Part VI is an index of German catchwords.

The whole work represents a successful effort to record and preserve in written form an ancient dialect spoken, in the time of recording, on a very limited area. It is an extremely valuable contribution to the endeavour to preserve the dialects exposed to the danger of becoming extinct.

Prague, November 1980

JIRÍ KRÁMSKÝ

VARIA

Klaus BERGER, *Die Auferstehung des Propheten und die Erhöhung des Menschensohnes. Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Deutung des Geschickes Jesu in frühchristlichen Texten*. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976 (24 cm, 650 p.) = Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments, Band 13. Prix: DM 98.—. ISBN 3 525 533659.

L'ouvrage à présenter se divise en deux parties: I Zur Deutung des Geschickes Jesu in den frühchristlichen Schriften; II Die Auferstehungsvisionen. L'auteur a séparé les notes du texte; une bonne décision en vue du fait que le texte lui-même ne couvre qu'un tiers du livre (p. 9-235), tandis que les notes abondantes, bourrées de références, occupent les autres deux tiers (p. 237-636; un index

¹) Cf. our review of vol. I in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol. 37 (1980) 85-87.

des renvois néotestamentaires conclut l'ouvrage, p. 637-650).

Dans un premier paragraphe, l'auteur explique ses propres vues méthodologiques en ce qui concerne la première partie, mais valables aussi en bonne part pour la deuxième partie sur les visions. Berger veut reprendre le travail de la «religionsgeschichtliche Schule» en la remplaçant par une «methodisch reflektierte Traditions-geschichte». La réflexion méthodique conçoit la tradition apocalyptique comme déterminée par «allgemein gewordene fixierte Ausdrucksweisen» (p. 10): expressions et thèmes ou complexes de celles-ci se maintiennent dans la tradition malgré leur contexte. Dès lors les textes néotestamentaires sur la mort et la résurrection de Jésus sont à replacer dans l'ensemble d'énoncés pareils dans la tradition juive, hellénistique et paléo-chrétienne, avec la conséquence que les données traditionnelles plus récentes peuvent contenir une forme aussi valable ou même meilleure du thème en question (à ce point la position de Berger n'est pas nouvelle; il le reconnaît lui-même, voir p. 238, note 9). Ainsi l'auteur s'exprime à propos de *Sagesse* 11,14 de la façon suivante: «Der Gerechte wird verachtet, schliesslich aber — dadurch, dass Gott ihm nach schimpflichem Tod ewiges Leben verleiht — von Gott erhöht... Ähnliche Aussagen verwandter Struktur finden sich in jüdischen und christlichen Martyrertexten. In methodischer Hinsicht handelt es sich um ein gutes Beispiel für die formale Stabilität und Funktionsanalogie auch kleinerer Einheiten» (p. 17). De cette façon il découvre un développement «traditionsgeschichtlich» à partir de «Daniel» 7 vers «Apocalypse» 11 jusqu'au «Actes des Martyrs» (cf. p. 40-41; comp. p. 282, note 130), sur l'arrière-fond duquel le sort de Jésus comme prophète méprisé, tué et réhabilité par Dieu serait à comprendre. Point de départ est l'attestation dans les synoptiques de la résurrection individuelle non-eschatologique de prophètes (§ 2): le fait que Jean Baptiste pourrait apparaître à Hérode en guise de légitimation de la part de Dieu est expression d'une «Martyr-theologie» spéciale qui se retrouve dans «Apocalypse» 11 concernant les deux témoins. Presque tout le reste de la première partie traite alors de l'étude d'«Apocalypse» 11,3-13 et la comparaison avec les traditions sur Hénoc et Élie (§§ 3-13). Ce sont surtout les témoignages de l'apocalyptique postérieure qui jouent un rôle; ce qui est défendable du point de vue méthodique parce que la littérature apocalyptique en soi est déterminée essentiellement par le traditionalisme: l'on peut compter sur la stabilité des modes d'expression (Redeformen) prophétiques et apocalyptiques, et (surtout) sur l'influence importante des «Daniel-Traditionen» (cf. p. 13). L'analyse des matériaux apocalyptiques aboutit à un paragraphe sur la résurrection des martyrs (§ 14) et l'application sur la présentation du sort de Jésus (§ 15). La conclusion suit (§ 16): la tradition sur la mort et la résurrection d'Hénoc et d'Élie forme le parallèle le plus direct du sort de Jésus. «Die Aussageintention der den Jüngern und der Tradition über Hénoc und Elias gemeinsamen Basistradition war: Gottes letzter Gesandter wird getötet werden, Gott wird diesen aber aus dem Tode retten, nämlich seine Macht in dessen Auferweckung zeigen und so allen Streit um die wahre Gottesverehrung beenden» (p. 142). Et encore: «In der Tradition über die zwei Zeugen lag eine Konzeption über Auferweckung vor, die der Funktion nach

größte Ähnlichkeiten zur Auferstehung Jesu aufweist...» (p. 145).

La deuxième partie de l'ouvrage s'occupe des «Auf-erstehungsvisionen». Le premier paragraphe pose de nouveau le problème de méthode. De quelle façon les visions pascales se situent-elles en continuité avec le «trésor» des visions vétérotestamentaires? Berger nous répond: «Spät-jüdische und neutestamentliche Erscheinungsberichte... sind nicht als Kopien ihrer alttestamentlichen Vorstufen aufzufassen, sondern entstammen dem Schatz einer (vom Ursprung her allerdings wesentlich alttestamentlich fundierten) spezifischen Fachsprache» (p. 152). L'analyse des formes doit distinguer les éléments formels «interspécifiques» des éléments formels «spécifiques». La première catégorie (§ 2) documente le fonds commun d'un certain environnement littéraire et n'est pas propre à déterminer un genre bien précis; il s'agit des éléments traditionnels des récits d'apparition. En vue des écrits pascaux, l'élément de la découverte de l'identité de celui qui apparaît est de première importance (§ 3-6), aussi la fin de l'apparition comme indication de l'identité de celui qui apparaît (§ 7). Néanmoins, les formes réelles des récits d'apparition sont constituées d'une autre façon (§ 8). Il s'agit de «Elemente einer historisch einigermaßen lokalisierbaren 'Schul-sprache', die aber nicht frei kombinierbar sind, sondern jeweils bestimmten, wiederum in sich traditionell gebundenen Formintentionen eingeordnet werden» (p. 172). Les «intentions» peuvent être les suivantes: «Die Intention der Form geht auf das vom Angeredeten geforderte Tun» (§ 9); la mission en vue de la prédication des récits d'apparition remonte selon Berger à une tradition visionnaire plus large et ancienne, ce qui vaut aussi pour la confirmation de l'aide (divine). L'«intention» peut présenter des variantes qui accentuent surtout l'accomplissement d'une mission ou le sort du récepteur de l'apparition (§ 10-12). Les apparitions pascales font principalement partie de la première catégorie (§ 9). Si celles-ci sont largement influencées dans leur construction et leur conception par les traditions d'apparition vétérotestamentaires et juives, comment se fait-il que Jésus y a pris la place du Dieu (ou de l'ange) apparaissant? La «justification» de la part de Dieu du juste persécuté pourrait être interprétée comme résurrection. D'autre part la conception de «Sagesse» 2-5 du «fils de Dieu» est dans ce contexte applicable au Jésus qui apparaît (§ 13-14). En même temps, Jésus est aussi décrit comme le «Seigneur» qui apparaît, ce qui est très proche des théophanies vétérotestamentaires, confirmant aussi son autorité et dès lors l'importance du témoignage (§ 15). Au contraire, «voir le fils de l'homme» ne semble pas être constituant pour la formation de la tradition chrétienne d'apparition (§ 16).

S'il n'est pas facile de résumer les points essentiels d'un exposé aussi compact que difficile à suivre, il l'est encore moins d'en donner une appréciation adéquate. Les points difficiles nous semblent se trouver dans la méthode «traditionsgeschichtlich» propre à Berger et dans la façon de laquelle celle-ci est applicable à l'exégèse. Il nous semble surtout que Berger ne voit pas suffisamment les limites de sa conception de l'histoire de la tradition. Il tend à surestimer la continuité entre formules traditionnelles et formes de tradition prophétiques et apocalyptiques d'une part, et d'autre part la tradition martyrologique chrétienne (p.ex. en ce qui concerne la vie post-mortale des martyrs,

comp. § 4 e.s.). Cette continuité n'est possible que grâce à une réduction «traditionsgeschichtlich» des données littéraires. Ainsi il est essentiel pour l'exposé de Berger que la tradition sur les «saints» de «Dan.» 7 est réduite aux deux témoins dans «Apoc.» 11,3 e.s. (p. 42). La possibilité de cette réduction est prouvée à l'aide d'un seul autre exemple. Ensuite, Berger conclut d'après les parallèles que les deux témoins ne sont autres que Hénoc et Élie. Cela est prouvé aussi à partir des présuppositions dans les traditions sur Hénoc et Élie (§ 7), mais la plupart des renvois qui suivent ne concernent qu'Élie.

Le problème fondamental est que Berger considère les textes uniquement comme véhicules d'une certaine ou de certaines traditions. On a l'impression que pour lui un texte n'est expliqué que par son arrière-fond traditionnel. Cependant cet arrière-fond traditionnel n'est autre qu'une reconstitution à base de textes parfois très divergeants. (Cette reconstitution détermine aussi la connection entre les deux parties du livre, la deuxième suppose la première; celle-ci en effet démontre que résurrection et ascension ne sont qu'un seul événement, ce qui est essentiel pour l'exposé sur les visions. On se demande quand-même si toute vision pascalle est à comprendre dans ce sens, ou autrement dit: n'a rien à voir avec la littérature visionnaire qui n'a pas de rapport avec la notion de résurrection).

Concernant la base des textes, la méthode de Berger n'échappe pas à deux difficultés: 1° il n'est pas prouvé que tout parallèle mentionné constitue un cas de liaison traditionnelle. Ici surgit une difficulté supplémentaire: Berger renvoie continuellement à des textes apocalyptiques qui ne sont guère connus ou guère accessibles. De telle sorte il est difficile de contrôler les renvois. 2° Les textes mentionnés ont souvent une histoire de transmission trop compliquée pour pouvoir y emprunter tel ou tel motif traditionnel. P. ex. à la p. 342, note 355, on est renvoyé au *Martyre de Polycarpe* 2,4 pour le thème de l'adversaire qui est nommé «tyran». Il est très invraisemblable que l'expression ὁ τύραννος soit originale dans le texte du *Martyre de Polycarpe*: il est probable qu'elle appartient à la transmission textuelle byzantine (il est aussi inexact de prendre *Martyre de Polycarpe* 11,2 comme exemple du «Tyrannenschelte», cf. l.c. et p. 309, note 224).

L'auteur exagère parfois l'importance des renvois. À la p. 420, note 613 il remarque «Von Martyrern wird häufig gesagt, dass sie 'übergeben' werden»; alors suit l'unique référence à l'*Apocalypse d'Elie* copte. Le renvoi à l'édition de «St.» ne sera utile que pour ceux qui savent que cette abbréviation doit être résolue comme «Steindorf». La manque de clarté dans les renvois est une source permanente de difficultés pour le lecteur. Une liste de textes apocalyptiques avec abbréviations dans un autre ouvrage de Berger (*Die griechische Daniel-Diegesse*, 1976), auquel on est renvoyé (p. 6), n'est guère utilisable pour le lecteur du «*Die Auferstehung...*», d'autant plus que Berger ne se montre pas conséquent dans ses renvois. Les renvois aux textes de Nag Hammadi sont difficiles à déchiffrer (Que veut dire Epist Rhégin in K. 48, voir p. 266, note 71? Le renvoi à l'*Évangile de Vérité* à la p. 305, note 213 est manifestement inexact). Une fois on se sert d'une édition de textes, d'autres fois de traductions, malgré l'existence d'éditions. Si nous nous arrêtons ici, c'est pour regretter que l'auteur a développé des hypothèses intéressantes dans une forme peu lisible, laissant peu de

possibilités de contrôle au lecteur. Cela n'empêche pas que les vues de Berger peuvent se révéler fructueuses pour l'exégèse des récits pascaux, surtout pour les textes lucaniens, sur lesquels l'auteur donne une interprétation qui néglige moins l'apport rédactionnel du troisième évangéliste.

Leiden, octobre 1980

BOUDEWIJN DEHANDSCHUTTER

* *

Francis W. CARTER (Editor), *A Historical Geography of the Balkans*. London-New York-San Francisco, Academic Press, 1977 (xxvi + 599 pp.). Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 77-77367. ISBN 0-12-161750-5. Price: £ 22.-; \$ 43.-.

This book is an interdisciplinary study, containing 15 articles written by 13 different scholars, about the historical geography of the Balkans. It ranges in habitable time from 150.000 b.C. to approximately the year 1970, and it covers the area between the actual boundaries of the States of Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Greece and the European part of the Republic of Turkey, with the (arbitrary) exclusion of Hungary. As a matter of fact, not all aspects and themes have been given proper attention, and there are also some gaps. For example, little or no reference, except indirectly, is made of Albania; the important themes of the impact of agricultural methods, fiscal systems, a.s.o. do not come into focus. Of course, the editor is well aware of these shortcomings (cf. p. xi and p. 17-18). Nevertheless, this work presents a rich harvest of information, enhanced by the fact that each article is followed by a host of explanatory notes and bibliographic references. The text itself is enriched with many maps and graphics.

Here follows a short survey of the topics treated in this work. In chapter one (Introduction into the Balkan Scene, pp. 1-24) the Editor discusses the term: "Balkan" and gives a short survey of the up till now written Historical Geographies on the Balkans.

J. Nandris (chapter 2, The Perspective of long-term Change in south-east Europe, pp. 25-57) considers some aspects of the perspective of long-term change in south-east Europe over what is relatively speaking a short period, namely the Neo-thermal i.e. from about the tenth millennium b.C. up to approximately 1.000 b.C., which showed the emergence of the Neolithic.

J.L. Bintcliff (chapter 3, New Approaches to Human Geography. Prehistoric Greece: A Case Study, pp. 59-114) defines Historical Geography as follows: "The study of man's interaction with the landscape". Consequently, he tries to understand the function of some particular Mycenaean and Minoan archaeological sites in terms of their immediate natural surroundings, as based on the theory of locational analysis (cf. p. 60). Very interesting is also the relation between Ceremonial sites and the Landscape, leading to a kind of monastery model, able to integrate a diversity of regions on the economic and political level. He points out that this process is not only to be seen in the Mycenaean and Minoan phase of the cultural history of Greece, but also in Mesopotamia, Mesoamerica and Mediaeval Europe. Only then, when

the Monastery system was successfully established, the two secular powers, the kingdom and the towns, could emerge. They, rather naturally, began then to struggle to lessen the Church's hold on the land and the trade, as also the Church's rights over the laws as they applied to Church dependents (pp. 92-113). Much more should be said on this captivating article: Let those who are interested in this subject, read the original paper. A comparison between the approach of J.L. Bintcliff and the one of the French scholar G. Duby may be highly rewarding.

The Roman period (± 300 b.C.-100 A.D.) is discussed by G. Škrivanić in a thorough and highly technical contribution: (chapter 4, Roman Roads and Settlements in the Balkans, pp. 115-145).

Carter's paper (chapter 5, Urban Development in the western Balkans 1200-1800, pp. 147-195) deals first with the urban development in Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Zeta, Slovenia, Croatia and Slovenia and the Adriatic Coast in the Late Mediaeval Period (1200-1500) (pp. 149-176), and second, with the Early Modern Period (1500-1800), distinguishing the Area under Turkish rule (pp. 176-182) from those outside Turkish rule (pp. 183-187). Only one remark: I expected the author to go somewhat deeper into the "çiftlik" (the Turkish land tenure system) (p. 180), as he considers it to be "the key element, that would ensure the survival of the central structure" (of the Ottoman rule) (p. 187). Carter is obviously right when he states that "One of the biggest problems in the history of the western Balkans under Turkish rule is the question of the role played by towns and the urban economy" (p. 176). Of course, the same applies to the Anatolian area. It is of paramount importance that the turcologists present us in the near future a reliable general study of the Ottoman policies and techniques regarding the fiscal treatment of the soil and the towns.

J.M. Wagstaff (chapter 6, Settlements in the south-central Peloponisos, c. 1618, pp. 197-238) tries —, on the basis of a document made in the Morea in 1619, on behalf of the French Duke of Nevers, who was planning an uprising against the Ottomans — to identify some 160 village-names revealed in that report.

In chapter 7 (Brač Island, Dalmatia: A Case for Sequent Occupance?, pp. 239-270) F.W. Carter introduces the term "sequent occupance" to describe a chronological series of successive cultural geographies of an area. This hypothesis goes back to the work of an American historical geographer, D. Whittlesey, who wrote in 1929 on this subject. (p. 266, note 1).

The concrete confrontation of the history of the tiny Brač Island, situated along the Dalmatian Coast, with the theoretical development model of Whittlesey is not very conclusive, as Carter himself feels to admit in the "Conclusion" of his paper (p. 263-266). Obviously, the "sequent occupance-hypothesis" is too narrow in scope to deal with the unexpected in human history.

The paper of the late Cengiz Orhonlu (chapter 8, "Geographical Knowledge Amongst the Ottomans and the Balkans in the Eighteenth Century According to Bartinli Ibrahim Hamdi's Atlas", pp. 271-292) provides us with a refreshing picture of the Ottoman geographic activity in the 18th century.

C. Orhonlu's contribution is to be considered as one of the highlights of this book.

P. S. Koledarov in his contribution (chapter 9; Ethnical and Political Preconditions for Regional Names in the Central and Eastern Parts of the Balkan Peninsula. pp. 293-317) confronts the reader with the complex problems of the toponomics in this region.

D. Turnock deals with "the Industrial Development of Romania from the Unification of the Principalities to the Second World War in chapter 10 (pp. 319-378) and M. Sivignon outlines "The Demographic and Economic Evolution of Thessaly (1881-1940)" in chapter 11 (pp. 379-407).

In chapter 12 (pp. 409-436) "The Changing Urban Pattern of Yugoslavia" Veljko Rogić describes Yugoslavia's policy with regard to the basic spatial entities during the most recent historico-geographical period up to the 1970's.

G. W. Hoffman delineates in broad lines, and with a multitude of maps, the mosaic of conflicting linguistic and religious patterns of today's ethnographic map of Yugoslavia in chapter 13 (The Evolution of the Ethnographic Map of Yugoslavia. A Historical Geographic Interpretation, pp. 437-499).

One of the best papers of this book is — if I may say so — the one of R. I. Lawless (chapter 14, The Economy and Landscape of Thessaly during Ottoman Rule, pp. 501-533). It gives a rough outline of Ottoman land policies. On page 507 the author mentions the political struggles in Thessaly before the Turkish conquest in 1385. As regards the still debated question if the Turks are to be held responsible for the state of desolation and depopulation of Thessaly and Thrace — I wish to refer to the article of Michiel Kiel, "The Vakıfnâme of Raḳkas Sinān Beg in Karnobat (Ḳarīn-âbād) and the Ottoman Colonization of Bulgarian Thrace, 14th-15th century" (Osmanlı Araştırmaları. The Journal of Ottoman Studies, Istanbul, 1980, pp. 19-21) where some very important, but often forgotten sources regarding this topic are produced.

In chapter 15 ("Aspects of the Development of Capitalism in Yugoslavia. The Role of the State in the Formation of a 'satellite' Economy, pp. 535-580") J. B. Allcock treats the development of underdevelopment in Yugoslav society between World War I and World War II. His approach is based on the Centrum-Periphery-Hypothesis, as presented by A. Gunder Frank. (Metropolitan versus Satellite Centers). The author goes along with the fundamental assumptions of the approach of A. Gunder Frank. However, as regards the role of the state in the "satellization" of a country, the author tries to demonstrate in this particular case study that the theory of A. Gunder Frank does not sufficiently take into account the responsibility of state interference, which can effect the process of underdevelopment. Interesting as this problem may be, this particular paper could not completely convince this reviewer: the theoretical "exposé" is too defective to liberate the reader from the afterthought, that North-American scholars seem to have, in general, a rather a priori aversion against any form of state-interference. Nevertheless, let any reader of this paper judge for himself.

This book may be considered as an objective and useful introduction to the Balkans, intended for a broad readership. Indeed, the Balkans belong to those regions of the world which are most rebarbative to the Western public, as they still bear the stigma of a strong anti-propaganda activity in the West and the Slavic East, which lasted for

at least during the whole 19th century, the effect of which is still to be felt in the West, and even in some modern Balkan states as Bulgaria. It is high time that the West takes some distance in its approach to the Balkans, and tries to get a more neutral picture.

As this book illustrates this healthful attitude, this reviewer can only express his grateful regards to F. W. Carter and his colleagues.

University of Utrecht, October 1980

M. VAN DAMME

* * *

R. ELSTE, *Zur Vorgeschichte der Etrusker*. Hamburg, Senior Verlag Emmendingen 1979 (23 cm., 70 S. und 3 Textabb.).

Ziel des Autors, Facharzt für Psychiatrie und Neurologie, ist zusammenzufassen, was über die kleinasiatische Komponente der Etrusker bekannt ist. Schon bald wird deutlich, dass er sich mit der Identität der — was er nennt — „Proto-Etrusker“ oder „Vor-Etrusker“ beschäftigen will. Sie hätte eine von den drei Komponenten gebildet die zur Bildung des etruskischen Volkes und der etruskischen Kultur führten. Neben der kleinasiatischen Komponente (Tyrrhenern) sieht Elste ein vorindoeuropäisches Substrat („Ägäisch“) und ein indoeuropäisches Substrat („Italiker“). Elste geht dem sog. Etruskerproblem auf unwissenschaftliche Weise zu Leibe, nämlich durch das Ausklammern von archäologischen und linguistischen Daten. Aus der Bibliographie zeigt es sich, dass er z.B. nicht einmal H. Hencken, *Tarquiniā and Etruscan Origins* (1968) gelesen hat, eine der wichtigsten Bücher über die Identität der Träger der Villanova-Kultur in Etrurien. In Elstes Büchlein wird viel vorausgesetzt und fast so gut wie nichts bewiesen. Irrationale Beobachtungen liest man auf fast jeder Seite, z.B.: „wird diese nicht-etruskische „iranische“ (sc. Nase) später über die dardanische zur Toscanernase“? Wo noch etwas Sinniges behauptet wird, plaudert er Schachermeyr nach. Fast keine Quelle wird genau zitiert. Viele Einzelheiten verraten, dass Elste die Sachen nur oberflächlich kennt. Er datiert z.B. die Stele von Lemnos ins 7. Jh. v. Chr. Die Grenzsteine in Tunesien mit etruskischen Inschriften die deutlich machen, dass geflüchtete Etrusker sich im Ausland mit Dardanern identifizierten, verführt den Autor zu der Annahme dass Clusium (Chiusi) ursprünglich eine dardanische Ansiedlung gewesen wäre. Usw. Dass die Etrusker keinen Mondgott gehabt hätten, ist auch einer der vielen Fehler. Sie kannten Tiv (siehe A. J. Pfiffig, *Religio etrusca*, 1975, S. 127; Tiv wird genannt mit Usil (Sonne) auf einer Seite des Iecur Placentinum). Ich kann niemandem die Lektüre der Broschüre empfehlen. Sie ist mehr „fiction“ als „science“.

Leiden, January 1981

L. B. VAN DER MEER

* * *

Natalio FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS, *Los Thaumata de Sofronio*. Contribución al estudio de la *Incubatio* Cristiana. Madrid, Instituto Antonio de Nebrija, 1975 (xxvii + 409 pp.).

Those who work in the field of late antiquity know what it is to be hampered by the lack of critical editions of texts and of commentaries or studies on the texts themselves. Happily with this book we are the richer by one such textual edition and a study based on it. M. begins with a short account of the life of Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem (c. 634-c. 639), and of the times in which he lived, an account for which he was unfortunately unable to use the book of Ch. von Schönborn, *Sophrone de Jérusalem. Vie monastique et confession dogmatique* (Théologie Historique 20) Paris, 1972. M. describes the background to Sophronius' *Thaumata*, or the miracles which occurred in the shrine of SS. Cyrus and John in the Egyptian town of Menuthis (Abukir). The saints' shrine had itself replaced a pagan cult on the same spot — a phenomenon not confined to Egypt — and M. is well aware of the fact that this physical supplanting was carried over into the cultic rites of the Christian shrine, and reflected in the conflation of medicine, miracles, demons and magic in the mind of the people. There are, unfortunately, no archaeological remains of the site itself, but by drawing on archaeological reports of the baths of Abu Mina in the Egyptian desert of Mareotis M. is able to give us a vivid picture of the complex at Abukir against which to read the *Thaumata*.

In the chapters devoted to early Christian *incubatio* and, specifically, to *incubatio* in Menuthis (III and IV) M. points up well the paradox of a church which was highly intolerant of pagan practices but which at the same time looked benevolently on the practice of *incubatio*. The sound philology behind M.'s study of the *Thaumata* is particularly evident in the discussions of the epiphanies of the saints and of the cures they effected (ch. V and VI), where various expressions used for apparitions and afflictions are noted. There follows a useful assessment of the literary genre to which the *Thaumata* belongs. M. sees in the work strands of traditions as diverse as those of the *iaumata* of Epidauros and the discourses of Aelius Aristides, brought together by Sophronius into an edifying collection of miracles which speak clearly in favour of Chalcedonian doctrine. A chapter classifying the various *Thaumata* and some general conclusions round off the first part of the book.

The *editio princeps* of the *Thaumata*, based on the Cod. Vat. gr. 1607, was made in 1838 by A. Mai, who incorporated in his edition a Latin version by Boniface the *consiliarius* and Anastasius the Librarian. Mai's Greek edition and the Latin translation were taken over unaltered by Migne in PG 87 (3). M.'s edition is based on a rereading of Vat. gr. 1607, on hitherto unedited fragments of the *Thaumata* contained in the Cod. Ber. gr. 220 (Ms. Phill. 1623), and on the Latin translation. A glance at the apparatus criticus will show the reader that M. has greatly improved on Mai's text. The use of the Berlin manuscript has also enabled him to fill in certain lacunas in the Vatican text. The lists of *nomina sacra* and other abbreviations used in the two Greek MSS are, however, hardly necessary, and dividing the various *Thaumata* into chapters

rather than numbering the lines in each one often makes it irritating for the reader who wishes to use the critical apparatus. At the end of the edition M. provides indices of ancient writers, modern authors, and — especially to be appreciated — Greek words of linguistic, medical and pharmacological interest.

It will be evident to the readers of this journal that they have much to be grateful for in this work. The first half is not only of great use as a history of *incubatio* from the fourth to the seventh centuries: because of M.'s linguistic expertise it is also a guide to the development of the Greek language. All those with interests in early medicine or pharmacology, in magic, demonology and the continuation of pagan practices in an empire which was to all intents and purposes Christian, will welcome M.'s contribution here and the improvements he has made on Mai's text.

Vrije Universiteit
Amsterdam, January 1981

PAULINE ALLEN

* * *

Peter WIRTH, *Grundzüge der byzantinischen Geschichte*. Darmstadt, Wiss. Buchgesellschaft 1976 (viii + 173 pp., 7 maps.) = Grundzüge, Band 29. ISBN 3 534 00704 2.

The author of this short book brings wide and distinguished learning to his task. His aim, and that of the *Grundzüge*, is to reach a wide reading public, in this case a public for whom a history of Byzantium, embracing politics, church history, economic and legal developments, will be a matter of interest. Although W. recognises the importance of literary and philosophical works in Byzantium, he expressly avoids an appraisal of these genres, which in his opinion belong more to a history of literature or to a Geistesgeschichte.

At the outset W. tries to delimit the span of Byzantine power by fixing a starting point — in itself a complex question — and does not shrink from presenting his readers squarely and intelligibly with the problems. This first chapter, devoted to the late antique and early Byzantine period, begins with the reign of Diocletian and ends with the revolt of Phocas. Proper attention is given to external developments, such as the rise of the Germanic peoples, of the Isaurians and the Slavs. This holds true for the second chapter, which forms the body of the book, where W. outlines the middle Byzantine era, from Heraclius to the Fourth Crusade. Byzantium is seen here from without as well as from within, thanks to surveys of the Arabs and Islam, of Charlemagne and the Bulgars. A short consideration of the Latin empire follows. In the final chapter, which deals with the late Byzantine period, W. gives an account of the Palaeologue dynasty, including a useful commentary on the impact of the council of Ferrara-Florence on the course of Byzantine affairs.

Despite the enormous range of events, peoples and personalities covered by W. in 162 pages, the style of the book is generally readable and not too compressed, the putative general reader is not talked down to but at the same time is never left in the dark. Greek words are

given when necessary, and then in transliteration; no emperor is introduced without his chronological peg. W. can make modern comparisons to illuminate his meaning (p. 5) and summarise scholarly disputes for his readers where important issues are at stake.

On the debit side it must be said that the extreme length of some paragraphs (pp. 37-42, 65-9, 111-4) will be daunting for many general readers. Subsections throughout the book could have been much better indicated as an aid to the digestion of W.'s copious material — actual headings on separate lines or recourse to heavy type would have been preferable to the italics used.

A useful select bibliography of multilingual works is provided at the conclusion of the text. Of particular interest to the non-specialist are the titles of books concerning Byzantine subject-peoples and nations outside the empire (pp. 165-9). Of the seven maps which are to be found at the end of the book the first and the last are unfortunately too cramped to be of great use. This does not detract, however, from the value of this concise history of Byzantium — an undertaking which could be emulated profitably in other languages.

Amsterdam, Vrije Universiteit
January 1981

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ONTVANGEN BOEKEN

ALGEMEEN

A. Théodoridès, P. Naster, J. Ries, *L'enfant dans les civilisations orientales*. Het kind in de Oosterse beschavingen. Leuven, Éditions Peeters (24 cm., x + 186 pp.). ISBN 2 8017 0124 6.

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John Baines and Jaromír Málek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*. Oxford, Phaidon Press Ltd., 1980 (31 cm., 240 pp.). Price: £ 15.00. ISBN 0 7148 1958 1.

Emma Brunner-Traut, *Gelebte Mythen*. Beiträge zum altägyptischen Mythos. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1981 (21 cm., x + 113 S.). ISBN 3 534 08425 X.

Jeanne Bulté, *Catalogue des collections égyptiennes du Musée national de céramique à Sèvres*. Paris, Éditions du C.N.R.S., 1981 (25 cm., 155 pp., 24 pls.). ISBN 2 222 02817 5.

Johann Ludwig Burckhardt, *Entdeckungen in Nubien 1813-1814*. Tübingen, Edition Erdmann, 1981 (21 cm., 352 S., frontispiece). DM 36,-. ISBN 3 88639 501 4.

Rosalie David, *Cult of the Sun. Myth and Magic in Ancient Egypt*. London, J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1980 (24 cm., 203 pp., 36 pls.). £ 9.95. ISBN 0 460 04284 X.

Rosalie David, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*. Warminster, Aris and Phillips, 1981 (16 cm. oblong, xiv + 182 pp.) = *Modern Egyptology*. Price: £ 15.00., \$ 32.00. ISBN 0 85668 060 5.

Vera von Droste zu Hülshoff, *Der Igel im alten Ägypten*. Hildesheim, Gerstenberg, 1980 (24 cm., xiv + 302 S., 40 Tafeln) = *Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge*, No. 11. Preis: DM 45,-. ISBN 3 8067 8055 2.

Elmar Edel, *Neue Deutungen keilschriftlicher Umschreibungen ägyptischer Wörter und Personennamen*. Wien, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980 (24 cm., 48 S.) = *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte*, Band 375. Preis: DM 14,-. ISBN 3 7001 03700.

Études sur l'Égypte et le Soudan anciens. Lille, Presses Universitaires de Lille, 1981 (24 cm., 267 pp., 1 en dépliant) = *Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille*, no. 6. ISBN 2 85939 159 2. ISSN 0153-5021-6.

Fünf Jahre Neuerwerbungen der Staatlichen Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, München 1976-1980. Mainz am Rhein, Philipp von Zabern, 1980 (21 cm., 43 S.). DM 12,-. ISBN 3 8053 0493 5.

Farouk Gomaà, *Ägypten während der ersten Zwischenzeit*. Wiesbaden, In Kommission bei Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1980 (24 cm., viii + 170 S., 5 Karten, 1 historische Tabelle im Anhang) = *Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients*. Reihe B (Geisteswissenschaften) Nr. 27. Preis: DM 80,-. ISBN 3 88226 041 6.

James E. Harris and Edward F. Wente, *An X-Ray Atlas of the Royal Mumies*. Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 1980 (25 cm., xxviii + 403 pp.). Price: £ 33.00. ISBN 0 226 31745 5.

K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. III: 16-23. Oxford, H.B. Blackwell, 1980 (29 cm., pp. 481-736). Price: £ 2.00 per issue. ISBN 0 903563 50 9; 51 7; 52 5; 53 3; 54 1; 59 2; 60 6; 61 4.

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P.H. Newby, *Warrior Pharaohs. The Rise and Fall of the Egyptian Empire*. London & Boston, Faber & Faber, 1980 (25 cm., 212 pp.). Price: £ 8.95. ISBN 0 571 11641 8.

Alviero Niccacci, *Hyksos Scarabs*. Jerusalem, Franciscan Printing Press, 1980 (24 cm., 88 pp., 12 pls.) = *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Museum*, no 2.

Omèlie copte, scelte e tradotte, con una introduzione sulla letteratura copta a cura di Tito Orlandi. Torino, Società Editrice Internazionale, 1981 (23 cm., 317 pp.) = *Corona Patrum*. ISBN 88 05 03670 6.

Tito Orlandi (Ed.), *Eudoxia and the Holy Sepulchre. A Constantinian Legend in Coptic*. Milano, Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1980 (24 cm., 191 pp., 4 pls.) = *Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'Antichità*, 67. ISBN 88 205 0281 X.

Sergio Pernigotti, *La statuaria egiziana nel Museo civico archaeologica di Bologna*. Bologna, Istituto per la Storia di Bologna, 1980 (25 cm., 221 pp.) = *Cataloghi*, nuova serie no. 2.

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Hans D. Schneider, Maarten J. Raven, *De Egyptische Oudheid. Een inleiding aan de hand van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*. 's-Gravenhage, Staatsuitgeverij, 1981 (23 cm., 175 pp.). Price: fl. 25,-. ISBN 90 12 03231 8.

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Eugen Strouhal and Luboš Vyhnánek, *Egyptian Mumies in Czechoslovak Collections*. Prague, Národní Muzeum V Praze, 1979 (24 cm., ii + 200 pp., 24 pls.) = *Sborník Národního Muzea V Praze — Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae*, vol. 35 B (1979) no. 1-4.

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Rykle Borger, *Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste. Ergänzungsheft zur 1. Auflage*. Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, Kevelaer, Verlag Butzon & Bercker, 1981 (30 cm., S. 413-452) = *Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients und des Alten Testaments*, No. 33A. ISBN 3 7887 0669 4 (N.V.), 3 7666 9207 0 (B. & B.).

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Paul Åström and Sven A. Eriksson, *Fingerprints and Archaeology*. Göteborg, Paul Åströms Förlag, 1980 (30 cm., 88 pp.) = *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*, Vol. XXVIII. ISBN 91 85058 99 8.

Peter M. Fischer, *Applications of Technical Devices in Archaeology. The Use of X-Rays, Microscope, Electrical and Electro-Magnetic Devices and Subsurface Interface Radar*. Göteborg, Paul Åströms Förlag, 1980 (30 cm., 64 pp.) = *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*, Vol. LXIII. ISBN 91 85058 33 5.

Mareen F. Kaplan, *The Origin and Distribution of Tell el Yahudiyeh*. Göteborg, Paul Åströms Förlag, 1980 (30 cm., x + 336 pp., 134 figs.) = *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*, Vol. LXII. ISBN 91 85058 49 1.

Dan E. McCaslin, *Stone Anchors in Antiquity. Coastal Settlements and Maritime Trade-routes in the Eastern Mediterranean ca. 1600-1050 B.C.* Göteborg, Paul Åströms Förlag, 1980 (30 cm., xi + 145 pp.) = *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*, Vol. LXI. ISBN 91 85058 96 3.

Oscar White Muscarella, *Ladders to Heaven. Art Treasures from Lands of the Bible. A Catalogue of Some Objects in the Collection presented by Dr. Elie Borowski ...* June 23-October 28, 1979. Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1981 (27 cm., 333 pp., frontispiece). Price: \$ 40.00. ISBN 0 7710 6662 7.

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Julian Reade (ed.), *Chalcolithic Cyprus and Western Asia.* London, British Museum, 1981 (30 cm., 74 pp.) = *British Museum Occasional Papers no. 26.* Western Asiatic Antiquities 1981. ISBN 0 86159 026 0. ISSN 0142 4815.

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Axel von Saldern, *Glass 500 B.C. to A.D. 1900. The Hans Cohn Collection.* Los Angeles, Cal. Glas von der Antike bis zum Jugendstil. Sammlung Hans Cohn, Los Angeles, Cal. Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1981 (24 cm., 288 pp.). Preis: DM 20,-. ISBN 3 8053 0454 4.

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Agnès Spycket, *La Statuaire du Proche-Orient Ancien.* Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1981 (25 cm., xxix + 474 pp., 96 pls., 1 carte) = *Handbuch der Orientalistik. Siebente Abteilung. Kunst und Archäologie. Erster Band. Der Alte Vordere Orient. Zweiter Abschnitt. Die Denkmäler. B. Vorderasien, Lieferung 2.* Preis: fl. 320,-. ISBN 90 04 06248 3.

Ian A. Todd, *The Prehistory of Central Anatolia I: The Neolithic Period.* Göteborg, Paul Åströms Förlag, 1980 (30 cm., 177 pp., 12 pls.) = *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, Vol. LX.* ISBN 91 8505887 4.

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Alexander Broadie, *A Samaritan Philosophy. A Study of the Hellenistic Ethos of the Memar Marqah.* Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1981 (25 cm., x + 246 pp.) = *Studia Post-Biblica, vol. 31.* Price: fl. 84,-. ISBN 90 04 06312 9.

H. Z. (J. W.) Hirschberg, *A History of the Jews in North Africa.* 2nd rev. edition translated from the Hebrew. Vol. II: From the Ottoman Conquests to the Present Time. Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1981 (25 cm., xii + 351 pp.). Price: fl. 180,-. ISBN 90 04 06295 5.

F. Nigel Hepper, *Bible Plants at Kew.* London, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1981 (19 cm., 64 pp.). Price: £ 2.95. ISBN 0 11 241171 1.

J. Hoftijzer, *A Search for Method. A Study in the Syntactic Use of the H-locale in classical Hebrew.* Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1980 (25 cm., x + 288 pp.) = *Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics, Vol. 12.* Price: fl. 88,-. ISBN 90 04 06257 2.

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Ernest Krausz (ed.), *Studies of Israeli Society, Vol. I. Migration, Ethnicity and Community.* Eastbourne, Holt-Saunders Ltd., 1980 (23 cm., viii + 308 pp.) = *Publication Series of the Israel Sociological Society, Vol. I.* Price: £ 6.00. ISBN 0 87855 369 X.

Gerhard Krautwurst, *Studien zu den Septuagintazusätzen in 1. (3.) Könige 2. und ihren Paralleltextrn.* Mainz, Fachbereich Evangelische Theologie der Johannes Gutenberg Universität, 1977 (21 cm., viii + 364 S.).

E. Theodore Mullen Jr., *The Divine Council in Canaanite and Early Hebrew Literature. The Assembly of the Gods.* Chico, Scholars Press, 1980 (23 cm., xii + 327 pp.) = *Harvard Semitic Monographs, no. 24.* Price: \$ 10.50. ISBN 0 89130 380 4. ISSN 0073 0637.

Martin Rose, *Deuteronomist und Jahwist. Untersuchungen zu den Berührungspunkten beider Literaturwerke.* Zürich, Theologischer Verlag, 1981 (23 cm., 342 pp.) = *Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments, Band 67.* ISBN 3 290 12067 8.

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Alexandre A. Bennigsen and S. Enders Wimbush, *Muslim National Communism in the Soviet Union. A Revolutionary Strategy for the Colonial World.* Chicago, London, The University of Chicago Press, 1979 (23 cm.,

xxii + 267 pp.) = *Publications of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, No. 11.* Price: £ 14.00. ISBN 0 226 04235 9 (cloth), 04236 7 (paper).

Robert Brenton Betts, *Christians in the Arab East. A Political Study.* Revised edition. London, SPCK, 1979 (21 cm., xviii + 318 pp., 2 maps). ISBN 0 281 03665 9.

Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *Al-Maqrizi's "Book of Contention and Strife Concerning the Relations between the Banu Umayya and the banu Hashim"* Manchester, University of Manchester, n.d. (25 cm., 157 pp.) = *Journal of Semitic Studies, Monograph No. 3.*

Jean-Paul Charnay, *Les Contre-Orient, ou, comment penser l'autre selon soi.* Paris, Sindbad, 1980 (23 cm., 278 pp.) = *La Bibliothèque Arabe. Collection l'Actuel.* Prix: 65 FF. ISBN 2 7274 0051 9.

Moncef Chelli, *La parole arabe. Une théorie de la relativité des cultures.* Paris, Sindbad, 1980 (23 cm., 326 pp.) = *La Bibliothèque Arabe. Collection «Hommes et Sociétés».* Prix: 85 FF. ISBN 2 7274 0050 0.

Nikolaos van Dam, *The Struggle for Power in Syria. Sectarianism, Regionalism and Tribalism in Politics.* London, Croom Helm, 1981 (23 cm., 169 pp.). Price: £ 10.95. ISBN 0 7099 2601 4.

Ernest Gellner, *Muslim Society.* London, Cambridge University Press, 1981 (24 cm., x + 267 pp.) = *Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology, no. 32.* Price: £ 18.50. ISBN 0 521 22160 9.

Daniel Gimaret, *Théories de l'acte humain en théologie musulmane.* Paris, Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, Leuven, Éditions Peeters, 1980 (25 cm., xxii + 420 pp.) = *Études musulmanes XXIV.* Prix: 1225 FB.

Ignaz Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law.* Translated from the German by Andras and Ruth Hamori. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1981 (25 cm., xvi + 303 pp.) = *Modern Classics in Near Eastern Studies.* Price: \$ 29.50 (cloth), \$ 13.00 (paper). ISBN 0 691 07257 4 (cloth), 10099 3 (pbk).

Klaus-Peter Hartmann, *Untersuchungen zur Sozialgeographie christlicher Minderheiten im Vorderen Orient.* Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1980 (24 cm., xiii + 250 S., 5 Karten in der Kartenbeilage) = *Beiheft zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Reihe B (Geisteswissenschaften) Nr. 43.* Preis: DM 106,-. ISBN 3 88226 080 7.

Maria Höfner, *Sabäische Inschriften (Letzte Folge).* Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981 (24 cm., 60 S., 10 Tafeln) = *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 378. Band. Sammlung Eduard Glaser XIV.* Preis: DM 24,-. ISBN 3 7001 0383 2.

Raymond Jamous, *Honneur et baraka. Les structures sociales traditionnelles dans le Rif.* London, Cambridge University Press, Paris, Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1981 (24 cm., xiv + 303 pp., pls., maps) = *Atelier d'anthropologie sociale.* Price: £ 22.50. ISBN 0 521 22318 0.

Mohamed El Korso et Mikel De Epalza, *Oran et l'ouest algérien au 18^e siècle d'après le rapport Aramburu.* Alger, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1978 (21 cm., 168 pp.).

Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, *Some Religious Aspects of Islam.* Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1981 (25 cm., xii + 181 pp.) = *Studies in the History of Religions. Supplements to Numen.* Vol. 42. Price: fl. 56,-. ISBN 90 04 06329 3.

Günter Lüling, *Die Wiederentdeckung des Propheten Muhammad. Eine Kritik am „christlichen“ Abendland.* Erlangen, Hannelore Lüling, 1981 (23 cm., ii + 423 pp.). Preis: DM 48,-. ISBN 3 922317 07 3.

Michael Meinecke, *Die Restaurierung der Madrasa des Amirs Sabiq ad-Din Mitqal al-Anuki und die Sanierung des Darb Qirmiz in Kairo.* Mainz, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1980 (36 cm., 174 S., 44 Tafeln, 1 Falttafel) = *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Abteilung Kairo. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen.* Preis: DM 120,-. ISBN 3 8053 0317 3.

Konrad Miller, *Weltkarte des Arabers Idrisi vom Jahre 1154.* Neudruck des 1928 erschienenen Werkes. Stuttgart, Brockhaus Kommissionsgeschäft, 1981 (34 cm., 22 S., Karte). Preis: DM 280,-. ISBN 3 87103 019 8.

David Nicolle, *Islamische Waffen.* Graz, Verlag für Sammler, 1981 (24 cm., iv + 76 + 24 S.). Preis: öS 98,-. ISBN 3 85365 049 X.

Rudi Paret, *Schriften zum Islam. Volksroman-Frauenfrage-Bilderverbot.* Stuttgart, Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1981 (24 cm., ii + 276 S., Frontispiz) = *Schriften zum Islam.* Preis: DM 69,-. ISBN 3 17 005981 5.

Haim Shaked Itamar Rabinovich (ed.), *The Middle East and the United States. Perceptions and Policies.* Eastbourne, Holt-Saunders Ltd., New Brunswick and London, Transaction Books, 1980 (23 cm., xx + 420 pp.) = *Collected Papers Series.* Price: £ 14.50 (cloth), £ 4.25 (pbk). ISBN 0 87855 329 0. (cloth), 752 0 (pbk.).

Hanjörg Schmid, *Die Madrasa des Kalifen al-Mustansir in Baghdad. Eine baugeschichtliche Untersuchung der ersten universalen Rechtshochschule des Islam.* Mainz am Rhein, Philipp von Zabern, 1980 (36 cm., xii + 124 S., 18 Tabellentafeln, 16 Pläne, 36 Bildtafeln) = *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Baghdad.* Preis: DM 180,-. ISBN 3 8053 0445 5.

Andreas Tietze (Hrsg.), *Sieben Jahre in Aleppo (1656-1663). Ein Abschnitt aus den „Reiss-Beschreibungen“ des Wolfgang Aigen.* Wien, Verlag des Verbandes der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1980 (21 cm., iv + 189 S.) = *Beihefte zur Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Band 10.* Preis: öS 175,-. ISBN 3 85369 437 3.

Monika Tworuschka, *Die Rolle des Islam in den arabischen Staatsverfassungen Walldorf-Hessen.* Verlag für Orientkunde, Dr. H. Vorndran, 1976 (21 cm., 202 S.) = *Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte des Orients, Band 27.*

Reinhard Weipert, *Der Diwan des Ra'i an-Numairi.* Gesammelt und Herausgegeben von Reinhart Weipert.

Beirut, Wiesbaden, in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, 1980 (25 cm., IV S. deutsche Titelei, xxvi + 363 arabischer Text) = Beiruter Texte und Studien, Band 24. Preis: DM 58,-. ISBN 3 515 03175 8.

Muhammad Ibn Yusuf Az-Zayyani, Dalil al-Hayran wa Anis as-Sahran fi Akhbar Madinat Wahran. Texte établi par Mahdi Bouabdeli. Alger, Sned, 1978 (24 cm., viii pp., 296 pp. en arabe) = Publications de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Textes et Études historiques, No. 2.

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Steven T. Rosenthal, The Politics of Dependency. Urban Reforms in Istanbul. Westport, Conn., London, Greenwood Press, 1980 (22 cm., xxix + 220 pp.) = Contributions in Cooperative Colonial Studies, Number 3. Price: £ 17.75. ISBN 0 313 20927 8.

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HOOFDARTIKELEN

La Babylonie de Samsu-iluna à la lumière de nouveaux documents

Voici enfin paru cet ouvrage qui*), sous un volume assez mince (une centaine de pages et autant de planches), contient plus d'un demi-millier de documents administratifs et juridiques datant du règne de Samsu-iluna. On avait déjà pu se faire une idée de la richesse de ces textes par les très nombreux extraits que le CAD en a donnés (191 textes y sont cités plus ou moins longuement, certains à plusieurs reprises), et l'utilisation que certains privilégiés avaient pu faire du manuscrit inédit déposé à Chicago. Le livre est désormais accessible à tous: nul doute qu'il faudra plusieurs années pour que soit «digérée» une masse aussi considérable. Ce compte-rendu voudrait y aider: on y trouvera des remarques sur le classement des textes (chronologie, typologie), le regroupement des principaux lots d'archives, ainsi que des compléments et corrections au catalogue et aux index.

I^e PARTIE: LE CLASSEMENT DES DOCUMENTS

Les 561 documents copiés dans cet ouvrage sont présentés selon un ordre chronologique, à quelques exceptions près¹⁾. En voici la distribution:

- mu *Samsu-iluna* (luga1)(.e): 32 textes (n° 2, 4 à 13, 15 à 22, 23 «case», 24 à 27, 30 à 34, 38, 40, 41). Il peut s'agir de l'an 1, mais une telle formule peut aussi être une abréviation pour n'importe quel nom d'année (cf. le cas de TIM IV 5 et 6 cité par J.-M. Durand RA 71, 1977, p. 28 n. 3).
- an 1: 10 textes (n° 1, 3, 14, 23 «tablet», 28, 29, 35 à 37, 42).
- an 2: 18 textes (n° 43 à 59 et 551).
- an 3: 38 textes (n° 60 à 97).
- an 4: 28 textes (n° 98 à 125).
- an 5: 37 textes (n° 126 à 162).
- an 6: 49 textes (n° 163 à 211).
- an 7: 67 textes (n° 212 à 278).
- an 8: 35 textes (n° 279 à 313).
- an 9: néant (corriger au catalogue n° 297 «9» en «8»).
- an 10: 17 textes (n° 314 à 330).

*) Cet article rend compte du livre de Samuel I. Feigin, *Legal and Administrative Texts of the Reign of Samsu-iluna*. Introduction and Indices by A. Leo Oppenheim, with the assistance of Mark Cohen. New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1979 (x + 83 pp., C pl.) = Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts vol. XII. Je tiens à remercier R.M. Sigrist et J.-M. Durand pour les copies de textes inédits qu'ils ont bien voulu mettre à ma disposition; provenant respectivement de l'Andrews University Archaeological Museum (cote AUAM) et de l'École pratique des Hautes Études (cote HE). Ma reconnaissance va en outre à M. Stoll qui je dois un certain nombre de références.

¹⁾ Une telle façon de procéder n'est pas sans inconvénient: dans le cas présent, les textes des mêmes archives, mais datés du règne de Rim-Sin II (donc contemporains de Si 9), ne se trouvent pas dans YOS 12, mais dans d'autres volumes d'YOS. Par exemple, les archives de Sin-muštāl sont dispersées entre le vol. XII (n° 113, 167) et le vol. VIII (n° 54); noter de même que YBC 4857 (inédit cité dans YOS V p. 29a *sub* *li-tu-ra-am*) date sûrement de Rim-Sin II, car Ili-tūram et sa femme Awilti-ilī se retrouvent en HE 120 (Boyer, CHJ p. 1 et pl. VII); qui date de Si 11.

- an 11: 27 textes (n° 331 à 357 et 381-382).
 - an 12: 12 textes (n° 358 à 369).
 - an 13: 2 textes (n° 370-371).
 - an 14: 5 textes (n° 372 à 376).
 - an 15: 4 textes (n° 377 à 380).
 - an 16: 3 textes (n° 383 à 385).
 - an 17: 4 textes (n° 386 à 389).
 - an 18: néant.
 - an 19: 5 textes (n° 390 à 394).
 - an 20: 6 textes (n° 395 à 400).
 - an 21: 5 textes (n° 401 à 405).
 - an 22: 3 textes (n° 406 à 408).
 - an 23: 30 textes (n° 409 à 441 sauf 417-418-419 qui datent de Ha 39).
 - an 24: 21 textes (n° 442 à 459, 553, 554, 561).
 - an 25: 11 textes (n° 460 à 470).
 - an 26: 12 textes (n° 471 à 482).
 - an 27: 18 textes (n° 483 à 500).
 - an 28: 28 textes (n° 501 à 528).
 - an 29: 8 textes (n° 529 à 535, 538); ces textes ont été catalogués par erreur comme datant de Si 30, alors qu'il faut distinguer mu gibil (Si 29) et mu gibil 2.kam (Si 30).
 - an 30: 2 textes (n° 536 et 537).
 - an 32: 1 texte (n° 539).
 - an 36: 1 texte (n° 540).
 - date inconnue: 17 textes.
- Cette répartition chronologique reflète le même déséquilibre que la documentation qui était connue jusqu'à présent pour ce règne²⁾: sur 542 textes d'YOS 12 dont la date est connue, 373 couvrent les douze premières années, 157 les dix-huit années suivantes (Si 13 à 30), et seulement 12 les huit dernières années (Si 31 à 38). Ce phénomène correspond au rétrécissement géographique du royaume, qui s'est opéré en deux temps: perte définitive de la province méridionale après l'an 12 (région de Larsa et d'Ur), puis de la Babylonie moyenne après l'an 30 (région de Nippur et d'Isin)³⁾.
- Le contenu des textes de ce recueil est, comme l'indique son titre, de nature juridique et administrative. Voici un classement typologique des principaux contrats (prêts exclus):
- a) vente:
 - é.dù.a: n° 22, 42, 102, 153, 355, 537, 556, 559.
 - kishlah: 161, 227, 228, 390.
 - kišubba: 194, 214, 274.
 - esclave: 74, 76, 108, 156 (nourrisson), 222, 225, 231 (?), 275, 302, 312, 317, 322, 357, 552.
 - champ: 277 (Ú.SAL).

²⁾ Il faut ici nuancer ce propos. Ce genre de «statistique» peut en effet être bouleversé par la publication d'un nouveau lot d'archives. En l'occurrence, on sait que se trouve à Yale un lot (archives de Gimillum) couvrant la fin du règne de Samsu-iluna et le début de celui d'Abi'ešuh. Les dates en ont été publiées par Goetze, JCS 5, 1951, pp. 98-99; voir de plus Finkelstein, YOS 13 p. 1 n. 1.

³⁾ Pour Isin, les fouilles allemandes récentes n'ont découvert de textes datés de Babylone I que jusqu'à Samsu-iluna 27 (von Soden, Or 45, 1976, 108). Les fouilles clandestines ont produit des textes datant de Si 28 (AO 11135, J. Nougayrol, RA 73, 1979, p. 76), voire Si 29 (AO 10329, RA 73 p. 73, si toutefois ce texte provient bien d'Isin). Quant à Nippur, quelques tablettes encore inédites, conservées à Jena, datent de Si 30; cf. J. Oelsner, Neue Daten zur sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Situation Nippurs in altbabylonischer Zeit, Acta Antiqua Scientiarum Hungaricae t. XXII, 1974, p. 261.

- prébende: 297, 353 (rachat).
- b) adoption: 206, 331, 363.
- c) partage d'héritage: 75, 185, 190, 278.
- d) mariage: 371, 457.
- e) procès et accords: 46, 73, 186, 192, 212, 218, 236, 290, 320, 321, 325, 360, 382, 407, 408, 409, 551, 557.
- f) louage:
 - individu: 20, 138, 140, 146, 162, 207, 244, 253, 285, 299, 304, 314, 315, 333, 421, 442 (trois personnes et la hâche de Šamaš), 466, 527, 531. Reçu de salaire: 144, 208, 391.
 - maison: 11, 47, 144, 155, 289, 364, 423, 429, 464, 467, 468, 495, 523, 533, 542, 544, 553. Reçu de loyer: 2, 114, 197, 497.
 - champ: 32, 44, 72, 105, 135, 174, 215, 216, 217, 220 (sous-location), 247, 253, 286, 294, 298, 300, 301, 328, 370, 375, 380, 385, 396, 397, 398, 401, 403, 436, 452, 455, 459, 462, 471, 480, 484, 490, 492, 493, 494, 496, 502, 516, 534, 545, 550, 554, 560.
 - champ alimentaire (a.šā šuku): 83, 117, 167, 177, 258, 332, 336, 530, 543.
 - verger: 126, 281, 291, 395, 405, 434, 439, 440, 476, 558.
 - šukunnûm: 49, 176, 183, 303, 308, 365, 445, 446, 522, 541, 547.
 - bateau: 111, 115 (?), 119, 478, 546.
 - porte: 54, 107.
 - meule: 120.
 - prébende: 282; reçu de loyer: 329.
- g) contrat de pacage: 7, 103, 189, 200, 324, 406, 447, 456, 483, 499.
- h) divers: 28, 60, 158 (šū.dù.a), 169 (šū.dù.a), 184, 212, 250 (šū.dù.a), 376 (qātam nasāhum), 381, 400, 444, 469, 491 (échange), 536 (échange), 555 (šū.dù.a).

II^e PARTIE: RECONSTRUCTION DES ARCHIVES

Je suivrai ici la même présentation que précédemment pour YOS 14 (*BiOr* 36, 1979, 196 ss.).

ARCHIVES A ET B

Les Archives A et B ont trait à la gestion de palmeraies royales dans la province du *Yahrurum šaplûm*. La distinction entre A et B tient essentiellement à la chronologie, les textes regroupés en A datant du début du règne de Samsu-iluna, ceux de B étant postérieurs. Étant donné qu'on ignore tout de l'endroit (ou des endroits) où ces tablettes ont été retrouvées, mon classement (A 1 à A 9 et B 1 à B 9) ne prétend nullement reconstituer les archives telles qu'elles ont pu être découvertes par les fouilleurs clandestins; il s'agit plutôt d'un regroupement thématique par «dossiers».

Archives A

A 1: comptes récapitulatifs.

Le n° 56 (30/X/Si 2) est une grande tablette à 7 colonnes: on y indique la quantité de *dattes* qui doit être livrée en 2 ans (col. I); les apports effectués en Ha 43 (col. II) et Si 1 (col. III); les apports de *grain* (col. IV); puis l'*argent* ainsi que l'*argent* du sésame (col. V). La col. VI indique alors le reste à percevoir sur le dû de ces deux années, après déduction des versements de grain, d'*argent*, et d'*argent* du sésame. La col. VII donne le nom de chacun des *nukaribbû* dont la situation est ainsi établie.

Par chance, on possède deux tablettes correspondant à la perception du reste calculé col. VI: YOS 12, 112 est datée du 16/V/Si 4, Holma ZATH n° 5 du 10/V (sans nom d'année, mais sans doute Si 4 également). Voici les correspondances que l'on peut dresser (je n'indique que les lignes où le chiffre est identique):

- YOS 12, 112. 112: 11 = 56: 33; 112: 13 = 56: 9; 112: 21 = 56: 24;
- Holma ZATH n° 5. 5: 1 = 56: 6; 5: 2 = 56: 7; 5: 3 = 56: 10; 5: 4 = 56: 12; 5: 7 = 56: 18; 5: 9 = 56: 22; 5: 11 = 56: 29; 5: 20 = 56: 56; 5: 23 = 56: 65.

Un autre compte récapitulatif se trouve au n° 101. Dans cette liste à 4 colonnes figurent les apports de dattes (col. I) et d'*argent* (col. II) effectués en l'an 3 de Si, puis le reste (LĀL = *ribbatum*) (col. III) à payer par les individus dont le nom figure col. IV, soit 26 entrées (noms isolés le plus souvent, parfois groupés par deux, voire trois). Or il se trouve que dans quatre cas nous possédons le texte enregistrant la livraison de l'arriéré dû par les jardiniers débiteurs. Ces tablettes (qui font partie du groupe A 2, cf. ci-dessous) sont les suivantes:

- n° 128 (4/II/Si 5): apport d'un reste de 32,1.1 gur par Šamaš-nāšir: cf. 101: 10 où le reste est de 33,1.1.
- n° 131 (15/II/Si 5): apport d'un reste de 24,3.4 par Taribum¹⁴ šu.i: cf. 101: 6 où le reste est de 24,3.5.
- n° 172 (10/III/Si 6): apport d'un reste de 15,2.3 par Rabūt-Sin: cf. 101: 29 où le reste est de 6,2.3.
- n° 134 (25/II/Si 5): apport d'un reste de 41,3.6 dû par Šilli-Tišpak: cf. 101: 38 où le reste est de 42,0.0.

On constatera que les chiffres ne coïncident pas toujours exactement; peut-être des collations permettraient-elles de résoudre ce problème. Ce qu'il faut surtout retenir, c'est que, les apports ayant été effectués au mois II de Si 3, les arriérés ne sont réglés que deux ou trois ans plus tard (II/Si 5 dans trois cas; III/Si 6 dans un cas).

A 2: apports d'arriérés de dattes.

- n° 66 (10/III/Si 3): LĀL Ili-eribam pour Si 3.
- n° 85 (2/X/Si 3): LĀL Adad-bêl-ilī pour Si 2.
- n° 86 (2/X/Si 3): LĀL Wardiya et Imgurum pour Si 2.
- n° 87 (1/X/Si 3): LĀL ir-⁴pa.lal pour Si 2.
- n° 89 (1/X/Si 3): LĀL Šābulum pour Si 2.
- n° 128 (4/II/Si 5): LĀL Šamaš-nāšir pour Si 3.
- n° 131 (15/II/Si 5): LĀL Taribum pour Si 3.
- n° 132 (23/II/Si 5): LĀL Warad-Šerum pour Si 3.
- n° 133 (25/II/Si 5): LĀL Ili-eribam et Imgurum pour Si 3.
- n° 134 (25/II/Si 5): LĀL Šilli-Tišpak pour Si 3.
- n° 149 (11/VIII/Si 5): LĀL Nūr-ilišu et Taribum pour Si 4.
- n° 154 (23/VIII/Si 5): LĀL Ili-tappê pour Si 4.
- n° 170 (10/III/Si 6): LĀL Adad-bêl-ilī pour Si 2.
- n° 171 (10/III/Si 6): LĀL Šamaš-nāšir pour Si 4.
- n° 172 (10/III/Si 6): LĀL Rabūt-Sin pour Si 3.
- Boyer CHJ p. 46, HE 205 (10/III/Si 6): LĀL Nūr-ilišu pour Si 3.

A 3: apport de dattes SIG₅ et gurnu.

- Holma ZATH n° 3 (6/V/Si 4): compte récapitulatif à 3 colonnes (zū.lum sig₅ / zū.lum gur-nu / mu.ni.im); 15 individus (ou groupes d'individus).
- YOS 12, 109 (4/V/Si 4): document partiel qui correspond aux huit premières lignes de ZATH n° 3. Voir aussi Holma ZATH n° 2.

A 4: apports de dattes, rubrique ⁸¹šmá.i.dub NG, nu.bandā₃ NP:

- n° 59 (Babylone, Etel-pî-Šamaš).
- n° 273 (Borsipa, Mār-Tašmetum). Voir également HE 121 (inédit).

A 5: listes du type «quantité + NP»:

- dattes: n° 100 (24/II/Si 4); 125 (7/XII/Si 4); BIN 2, 94 (20/XII/Si 4).
- argent: n° 65 (—/III/Si 3); 82 (20/VIII/Si 3); 118 (10/X/Si 4); 173 (10/III/Si 6). Voir aussi BIN 2, 93 (25/III/Si 4) et HE 203 (sans date).
- sésame: n° 81 (20/VIII/Si 3); 151 (10/VIII/Si 5); 193 (15/X/Si 6). Avec un formulaire différent, n° 52. Peut-être aussi BIN 2, 103.
- farine: n° 90.

A 6: apports de dattes données à des Turukkéens:

- BIN 2, 102 (12/XI/Si 2): apport de 130,4.3 gur de dattes par Wardiya, Aḥūni, et Iddin-Amurru, de la ville de Kunnum; réception par Sin-rēmēni.
- Holma ZATH n° 4 (12/XI/Si 2): apport des mêmes, GİR Sin-rēmēni et Iškurra-mansi.
- VS 18, 87 (12/XI/Si 2): apport de dattes au palais par Iddin-Amurru, qui sont données aux Turukkéens; GİR Sin-rēmēni et Iškurra-mansi.
- YOS 12, 55 (13/XI/Si 2): apports de dattes par Aḥūni, Wardiya et Iddin-Amurru, de la ville de Kunnum, qui doivent être données aux Turukkéens; réception par Sin-rēmēni et Iškurra-mansi.

Pour des dattes que les Turukkéens doivent recevoir, cf. aussi n° 51 (Archives B 6); sur les Turukkéens, cf. H. Klengel, *Klio* 40, 1962, 5 ss.

A 7: prêts de dattes par le palais et le Šandan Šamaš-nāšir:

- n° 210 (30/XII/Si 6), 237 (10/X/Si 7), 256 (20/X/Si 7) et 257 (20/X/Si 7).

Ce šandan Šamaš-nāšir est l'auteur de toute une série de lettres (AbB 6, 81, 85, 88, 109, 118; Boyer, CHJ, HE 108; TCL 17, 11-17; YOS 2, 113). Noter aussi la présence de Šamaš-nāšir au n° 273 (Archives A 4).

A 8: verger des Rababéens:

- n° 126 et 434: pour ce dossier, cf. RA 75/1, 1981, p. 27s. Proches de ce lot: n° 135 et 217 (en particulier, présence du *nukaribbum* Marduk-dayyān).

A 9: divers:

- estimations forfaitaires (šukunnûm): n° 303, 308, SVJAD 91, qui datent tous trois de Si 8, mois VI.
- n° 110, 129, 150, 178, 271.

Archives B

Il s'agit des archives des chefs jardiniers (ŠANDAN) du *Yahrurum šaplûm*. Ceux-ci seront présentés individuellement (dossiers B 1 à B 7), les textes relatifs à la réquisition de travailleurs pour la moisson ayant par commodité été rassemblés en un dossier particulier (B 8).

B 1: Adad-šarrum, fils de Šalim-kinum:

- preneur dans le bail à ferme d'un champ n° 496 (Si 27);
- témoin au n° 490 (Si 27), avec son sceau; ce texte appartient vraisemblablement aux archives de Šilli-Papnigar (n° 473, 476, 490 et 554 [?]).
- Autres textes: Frank, StrKT n° 35 (= DCS n° 11); LB 952 (inédit cité par Veenhof, AOATT 220 et n. 350); fait l'objet d'une dénonciation anonyme dans la lettre inédite BNUS 352 (à paraître dans DCS n° 93, où un commentaire plus détaillé sera consacré à cet individu).

B 2: Aḥūšunu fils de Siyyatum:

- reçu de dattes apportées par des jardiniers (nu.kiri₆): n° 404; TJDB p. 151 (MAH 16186), p. 153 (MAH 16457); AUAM 2187.
- co-locataire du champ de Riš-Šamaš au n° 301 (Si 8); il y apparaît sans le nom de son père et sans son titre, mais l'autre locataire est son frère Sin-šamuḥ ŠANDAN, qu'on sait par ailleurs être fils de Siyyatum (cf. B 6).
- n° 486 (cf. B 8).

B 3: Awil-Eštar:

- reçu de dattes apportées par des jardiniers: n° 438, 449, 453, 454.
- n° 439 (Si 23): à la tête d'un groupe de cinq personnes à qui Taribatam loue un verger (noter II. 11-12: «il versera les dattes au palais»); avec son sceau.
- n° 446 (Si 24): estimation forfaitaire d'un verger du palais.

Il n'est pas sûr que ce soit lui qui figure au n° 476: 3, 4.

B 4: Ibbi-Ilabrat, fils de Aḥam-nirši:

- reçu de dattes apportées par des jardiniers: n° 402, 431; TJDB p. 150 (MAH 16162); p. 151 (16430); p. 152 (16340 et 16658).
- témoin en 462: 19 [B. 9] (avec son sceau) [B. 9], et MAH 16429.
- contrat d'embauche: HE 221 (Si 28) (= Boyer, CHJ p. 24 et pl. XXII); noter l. 8 kar ^{ur}bi-ka-si^{ki} (réf. à ajouter à RGTC 3 p. 40).
- Ibbi-Ilabrat était à la tête d'une équipe de jardiniers de Malgium: cf. B 8, et ses 2 sceaux (*infra*).

B 5: Mār-Bābilim fils de Ili-dādiya:

- reçu de dattes et d'*argent* apportés par des jardiniers: n° 374, 378, 384, 389; AUAM 2182; TLB I, 200.
- n° 405: loueur d'un verger à Taribatam contre un *biltum* en dattes (Si 21). Peut-être est-ce également lui le loueur en TJDB p. 95 (MAH 16530) (Si 21), texte mutilé qu'on doit désormais restaurer en fonction de YOS 12, 405; noter que les témoins des deux textes sont les mêmes.
- Mār-Bābilim était à la tête d'une équipe de jardiniers d'Uruk: cf. B 8. cela explique sa présence comme témoin en TLB I, 215 (Si 19): une certaine Lalūtum, «fille d'Uruk» (dumu.munus unu^{ki}.ga), esclave de Bēltani, est rachetée à cette dernière par son propre père, Ili-bāni (versement d'*iptirū*). Or nous connaissons bien cet Ili-bāni fils de Nabi-ilišu: c'est un *nukaribbum*, qui apparaît cinq fois entre Si 11 et Si 24 dans des reçus de dattes (son patronyme n'est cité qu'au n° 389). Il fait donc partie des jardiniers d'Uruk dont Mār-Bābilim était le chef (ŠANDAN erin₂ unu^{ki} en SVJAD 137: 1 et YOS 12, 378: 6): noter d'ailleurs les apports de dattes et d'*argent* d'Ili-bāni à Mār-Bābilim au n° 389, 374 et surtout TLB I, 200 (compte récapitulatif des apports de dattes et d'*argent* d'Ili-bāni reçus par Mār-Bābilim de Si 15 à Si 21).
- SVJAD 137 (21/VII / [nom d'année en blanc]): tablette à quatre colonnes ayant comme rubrique: kilib kiri₆ ia-ah-ru-rum ki.ta / ni.šu dumu.ká. dingir.ra^{ki} šandan erin₂ unu^{ki} / ša i-na qá-ti ta-ri-ba-tum im-ḥu-ru, «totalité des jardins du Yahrurum inférieur, placés sous la responsabilité de Mār-Bābilim, chef-jardinier des gens d'Uruk, qu'il a reçus des mains de Taribatam». Chacune des trois premières colonnes

est à son tour divisée en 3 sous-colonnes : la première donne la surface de chaque jardin proprement dit, la seconde la surface de terre cultivable (ab.sín) associée, la troisième la localisation (il n'y a pas de rubrique en haut de chaque sous-colonne, mais cette interprétation découle nécessairement du total en iii : 16'-17').

B 6 : *šîn-šamuḥ fils de Siyyatum* :
Ce personnage est à la jonction des Archives A et B, et prouve leur commune origine ; il existe d'autres indices de cette unité de provenance de A et B (cf. infra).

- n° 301 (Si 8) : co-locataire d'un champ avec son frère Aḫūšunu (cf. B 2).
- n° 51 (Si 2) : reçu de dattes destinées aux Turukkéens (cf. A 4).
- n° 7, 189, et Grant, *Haverford* n° 5 : contrats de pacage. Cf. J. N. Postgate, *Some Old Babylonian Shepherds and their Flocks*, JSS 20, 1975, 1 ss.
- n° 371 (Si 13) : sa fille Sābitum (cf. L. 1 et sceau de Sîn-šamuḥ) est donnée en mariage à Adad-šarrum, qui pourrait bien être le ŠANDAN de ce nom (B 1), auquel cas on aurait un bel exemple d'endogamie socio-professionnelle.
- n° 375 : loue un champ qui appartient à Ipiq-Annunī-tum ; noter l. 10 la mention de Šilli-Damkina (cf. B 7). Il n'est pas sûr que ce soit le même Sîn-šamuḥ locataire de champs aux n° 370 et 380.
- Pour son fils Nidnuša, cf. B 9.

B 7 : *Šilli-Damkina, fils de Mār-eršetim* :
— reçu de dattes : n° 479, 481.

- n° 437 : 9 (Si 23) : présent comme ŠANDAN dans ce texte d'apport de 60 gur de dattes pour l'an 22 de Si, provenant des vergers du Yaḫrurum inférieur, cultivés par les jardiniers de Malgium, chef-jardinier Šilli-Damkina, sous la responsabilité de Lūmur-ša-Marduk. Pour Šilli-Damkina comme chef d'équipe de jardiniers de Malgium, cf. B 8.
- n° 428 (Si 23) : livraison de 4 gur d'une sorte de poireaux (ga.raš.sag = *geršānum*), redevance (*biltum*) du champ du gal.ukkin.na Sîn-rēmēni.
- autres textes : Birot, TEBA n° 25, 28, 46 et 61 : voir le commentaire de M. Birot après chacun de ces textes, ainsi que l'addendum p. 174, «p. 63».
- proche de B 7 : n° 408, texte relatif aux outils du palais, où Šilli-Damkina est témoin (avec sceau).

B 7bis : *Taribatum* :
— apport de dattes par des jardiniers : n° 350, 351, 367. Taribatum n'est jamais qualifié de ŠANDAN, mais cela est vraisemblable si l'on compare ces textes avec ceux d'un formulaire analogue en B2 etc.

Ces chefs-jardiniers étaient responsables de nombreux vergers appartenant au Palais : cf. en B 5, SVJAD 137, qui est la liste de tous les jardins du Yaḫrurum inférieur placés sous la responsabilité de Mār-Bābīlim, ou encore, en B 7, le n° 437. L'exploitation de ces vergers semble s'être faite par une sorte de sous-traitance : un contrat était conclu entre un *sandanakkum* et un *nukaribbum*, fixant la redevance annuelle (*biltum*) que ce dernier devait verser à date fixe : c'est ce qui ressort du n° 405 et de MAH 16530

référence	date	travailleurs	ŠĀ	NĪ.ŠU	UGULA	lieu
YOS 12, 399	29/XIIb/Si 20	34 moissonneurs	nu.kiri ₆ sig ₄ ^{ki}	Ibbi-Ilabrat	—	—
411	16/I/Si 23	18 moissonneurs	37 nu.kiri ₆ .meš sig ₄ ^{ki}	Lūmur-ša-Marduk	Ibbi-Ilabrat	A.ŠĀ I ₇ Amatim
412	21/I/Si 23	13 moissonneurs	36 nu.kiri ₆ .meš [...]	Lūmur-ša-Marduk	Ibbi-Ilabrat	A.ŠĀ I ₇ Amatim
413	22/I/Si 23	8 moissonneurs	37 nu.kiri ₆ .meš [...]	Lūmur-ša-Marduk	Ibbi-Ilabrat	A.ŠĀ I ₇ Amatim
414	26/I/Si 23	13 porteurs	37 nu.kiri ₆ .meš sig ₄ ^{ki}	Lūmur-ša-Marduk	Ibbi-Ilabrat	A.ŠĀ uru BaDrum ^{ki}
415	28/I/Si 23	12 porteurs	37 nu.kiri ₆ .meš sig ₄ ^{ki}	Lūmur-ša-Marduk	Ibbi-Ilabrat	A.ŠĀ uru BaDrum ^{ki}
416	29/I/Si 23	10 porteurs	37 nu.kiri ₆ sig ₄ ^{ki}	Lūmur-ša-Marduk	Ibbi-Ilabrat	A.ŠĀ uru BaDrum ^{ki}
420	1/II/Si 23	12 (fossé)	37 nu.kiri ₆ .meš sig ₄ ^{ki}	Lūmur-ša-Marduk	Ibbi-Ilabrat	A.ŠĀ uru BaDrum ^{ki}
422	16/II/Si 23	8 (briques)	37 nu.kiri ₆ sig ₄ ^{ki}	Lūmur-ša-Marduk	Ibbi-Ilabrat	A.ŠĀ I ₇ Amatim
441	20 ³ /XIIb/Si 23	[x] nu.kiri ₆ [x]	37 nu.kiri ₆ [...]	Lūmur-ša-Marduk	Ibbi-Ilabrat	—
463	26/I/Si 25	[.....]	[.....]	Lūmur-ša-Marduk	[.....]	A.ŠĀ uru [...]
486	6/II/Si 27	45 moissonneurs	37 nu.kiri ₆ sig ₄ ^{ki}	Lūmur-ša-Marduk	Aḫūšunu	A.ŠĀ ... ša I ₇ Amatim
501	7/I/Si 28	17 porteurs	13 nu.kiri ₆ UNU ^{ki}	Š. et P.	Alī-lūmur	A.ŠĀ ... ša I ₇ Amatim
503	5/I/Si 28	8 moissonneurs	12 erin ₂ UNU ^{ki}	Š. et P.	Alī-lūmur	[.....]
TLB I, 212	6/I/Si 28	4 moissonneurs	12 erin ₂ nu.kiri ₆ UNU ^{ki}	Š. et P.	Alī-lūmur	A.ŠĀ uru BaDrum ^{ki}
MAH 16507	12/I/Si 28	40 moissonneurs	36 nu.kiri ₆ s[ig ₄].meš	Lūmur-ša-Marduk	Šilli-Damkina	A.ŠĀ ... I ₇ Amatim
504	17/I/Si 28	12 moissonneurs	13 nu.kiri ₆ UNU ^{ki}	Š. et P.	Alī-lūmur	—
505	8/I/Si 28	10 moissonneurs	13 [...]	Š. et P.	Alī-lūmur	—
506	23/I/Si 28	60 porteurs	13 nu.kiri ₆ UNU ^{ki}	Š. et P.	Alī-lūmur	[.....]
509	25 ³ /I/Si 28	[x porteurs]	37 nu.kiri ₆ sig ₄ ^{ki}	Lūmur-ša-Marduk	Šilli-Damkina	A.ŠĀ ... ša I ₇ Amatim
507	27/I/Si 28	20 ³ porteurs	13 nu.kiri ₆ UNU ^{ki}	Š. et P.	Alī-lūmur	A.ŠĀ ... ša I ₇ Amatim
508	30/I/Si 28	42 porteurs	13 nu.kiri ₆ UNU ^{ki}	Š. et P.	Alī-lūmur	A.ŠĀ ... ša I ₇ Amatim
TEBA n° 29	30/I/Si 28	38 porteurs	37 nu.kiri ₆ [...]	Lūmur-ša-Marduk	Šilli-Damkina	A.ŠĀ ... ša I ₇ Amatim
510	3/II/Si 28	15 porteurs	13 erin ₂ nu.kiri ₆ UNU ^{ki}	Š. et P.	Alī-lūmur	—
511	5/II/Si 28	24 porteurs	nu.kiri ₆ UNU ^{ki}	Š. et P.	Alī-lūmur	A.ŠĀ ... ša I ₇ Amatim
513	21/II/Si 28	26 erin ₂ .meš	13 nu.kiri ₆ UNU ^{ki}	Š. et P.	Apil-Amurrum & Alī-lūmur	—
528	14/7/Si 28	39 moissonneurs	13 nu.kiri ₆ [...]	Š. et P.	Alī-lūmur	A.ŠĀ ... ša I ₇ Amatim
529	5/I/Si 29	7 moissonneurs	13 nu.kiri ₆ UNU ^{ki}	Š. et P.	Alī-lūmur	A.ŠĀ ... ša I ₇ Amatim

N.B. «Š. et N P.» = Šarrum-kīma-ili Palūšu-lirik.

(B 5). Un autre type de contrat pouvait régler les rapports entre *sandanakkum* et *nukaribbum* : le bail ne fixait pas de redevance (cf. en B 3, n° 439 : zū.lum a-na é.gal i.lá.e), mais on procédait en temps voulu à une estimation forfaitaire (cf. en B 3 le n° 446 : 2 šukunnē kiri₆ é.gal). On possède par ailleurs de nombreuses quittances délivrées par ces *sandanakkū*, attestant qu'ils avaient bien reçu les dattes, et éventuellement l'argent, dûs par les jardiniers.

B 8 : *réquisition de travailleurs pour la moisson*.

On sait que le pouvoir ordonnait parfois à certaines catégories de personnel de s'occuper de la moisson de champs pour la redevance (*biltum*) duquel certains hauts fonctionnaires étaient responsables. Un cas de ce genre est illustré par la lettre adressée par le roi Abi'ešuh à l'ugula dam.gār Marduk-nāšir, au *kārum* et aux juges de Sippar (AbB 2, 66) : 16 hommes du *šusikkum* de Sippar-Amnānum et des environs, 4 esclaves des fils du juge Rīš-šamaš ainsi que Sîn-irībam et ses frères doivent se rendre sur le champ soumis à redevance du gal.ukkin.na Sîn-mušallim, y faire la moisson, et apporter le grain sur l'aire. Il en allait de même pour ces équipes de jardiniers. Toute une série de documents a trait à la moisson et au ramassage de la paille effectués sur le champ-*biltum* de Marduk-mušallim⁴) ; ce champ était situé le long du canal Amatum, près de la ville de BaDrum.

Le lot a été décrit par M. de J. Ellis avant même la parution d'YOS 12, dans *Agriculture and State* pp. 48-49 ; les références y sont toutefois incomplètes. Voici le tableau qu'il est maintenant possible de dresser (voyez colonnes 523-524).

On a donc affaire à deux groupes de jardiniers. Le premier comprend 37 hommes originaires de Malgium, ayant à leur tête Ibbi-Ilabrat (UGULA dans les 9 textes de Si 23), puis Aḫūšunu (UGULA en Si 27), puis Šilli-Damkina (UGULA en Si 28), lesquels apparaissent comme subordonnés de Lūmur-ša-Marduk. Le second groupe comprend 13 jardiniers originaires d'Uruk, ayant comme chef (UGULA) Alī-lūmur, qui dépend de Šarrum-kīma-ili et Palūšu-lirik. On peut donc reconstituer la hiérarchie suivante :

titre	Lūmur-ša-Marduk	Šarrum-kīma-ili & Palūšu-lirik
inconnu		
šandan	Ibbi-Ilabrat (cf. B 4) puis Aḫūšunu (cf. B 2) puis Šilli-Damkina (cf. B 7)	Mār-Bābīlim (cf. B 5) puis Alī-lūmur
nu.kiri ₆	13 hommes de Malgium	37 hommes d'Uruk

Cette hiérarchie se retrouve d'ailleurs exactement au n° 437 (cf. B 7). Elle montre qu'une traduction de *sandanakkum* par «arboriculteur» et *nukaribbum* par «jardinier» est inexacte, dans la mesure où il ne s'agit pas de deux *spécialités* différentes, mais d'une indication de *rang*⁵) ;

⁴) Sur ce Marduk-mušallim, qualifié de gal.ukkin.na dans les documents datés de Si 23, puis de ša_x.dub.ba (Si 27-28), cf. mes remarques dans JAOS 100 p. 468 et note 35. Remarquer le n° 399 (Si 20), où son titre semble être ZABAR.DAB.

⁵) Les textes de la pratique confirment ici l'indication de la série igi.duḫ.a (AFO 18, 1957-58, p. 831. 246 :¹⁴ gal nu.kiri₆ = *sandanakkum*. La traduction de M. Birot, TEBA n° 69 : 1-4, doit donc être ainsi modifiée : «travailleurs adjoints qui ont été fournis comme jardiniers (nu.kiri₆) aux chefs-jardiniers (šandan) par les bergers dépendant d'Apil-šamaš».

mieux vaut donc parler de «chef jardinier» et de «jardinier» (cf. en ce sens AHw 1001b et 802a respectivement : «Ober-gärtner» et «Gärtner»).

La difficulté essentielle des textes rassemblés dans le tableau ci-dessus vient de ce que le nombre de moissonneurs ou porteurs indiqué (x) est parfois supérieur au nombre des *nukaribbū* (y) : par exemple, 40 lū še.gur₁₀.meš šà 36 nu.kiri₆.meš sig₄^{ki} (MAH 16507). Cela a donné lieu à une controverse entre Ellis, Kutscher & Wilcke, et Kraus, que la publication de la totalité des textes permet maintenant de résoudre⁶). On observe en effet que lorsque x > y, et *seulement en ce cas*, le document indique un nombre de jours de travail :

- MAH 16507 : x = 40 > y = 36, [š]a iš-tu iti bār.z[à.gar ud].4.kam / a-di ud. 12.kam ša 9 [ud.meš] «depuis le 4/I jusqu'au 12, (soit) pour 9 jours».
- YOS 12, 506 : x = 60 > y = 13, ša iš-tu iti bār.z[à.gar ud. 19.kam a-di ud. 23.kam ša ud.4.kam, «du 19/I au 23, (soit) pour 4 jours».
- YOS 12, 508 : x = 42 > y = 13, l. 10 : ša ud.3.kam.
- YOS 12, 510 : x = 15 > y = 13, l. 9 : ša ā.ni ud.2.kam
- YOS 12, 528 : x = 39 > y = 13, l. 2 : ša ud.[3⁷.kam].

Il apparaît par conséquent qu'il ne s'agit pas de moissonneurs ou de porteurs *fournis* par les *nukaribbū*, ce que le formulaire ne permet pas de comprendre (on aurait en ce cas *ki y nu.kiri₆*, et non *šā*) : le chiffre indiqué correspond à des *journées de travail*, et non au nombre des travailleurs.

On doit enfin noter que ces documents n'appartiennent nullement aux archives de Marduk-mušallim comme l'a indiqué Ellis, mais bien aux archives des *sandanakkū*⁷).

Au même dossier doivent être joints deux autres groupes de textes, malgré la différence de formulaire :

- trois étiquettes conservées à la B.NU. de Strasbourg, datant de Si 27 (Frank StrKT n° 23 et 24, et DCS 122 inédit) ; elles sont du type «x moissonneurs, NP, date», et portent toutes les trois l'empreinte du sceau du šandan Šilli-Damkina (cf. YOS 12, 408).

- trois listes :
 - AUAM 2472 : 6 NP₁ / 2 NP₂ / 1 NP₃ / (total) 9 erin₂.še.gur₁₀.ku₅ / ugula *Šilli-Damkina* (Si 29) ; liste du même genre (non datée) en HE 204.
 - Grant, Smith College n° 263 : liste de 14 NP, suivis par 6 uru BaDrum^{ki} : (total) 20 erin₂ še.gur₁₀.ku₅.meš ugula dingir-šu-ba-ni (Si 28).
 - Birot, TEBA n° 61 : liste de NP, total : 14 erin₂ šil-li^d-dam¹.k[i.na], 7 erin₂ dingir-šu-ba-ni.

Il s'agit donc de listes de moissonneurs recrutés par Šilli-Damkina (cf. B 7) et Ilšu-bani ; noter en Grant, *Smith College* 263, la référence à la ville de BaDrum.

Il existe encore quatre autres listes qui doivent appartenir au même dossier : n° 460 (2 moissonneurs, NP, date) ;

⁶) Ellis, *Agriculture and State* p. 49 ; Kraus, *BiOr* 34, 1977, 149a, «4.a» ; Kutscher & Wilcke, *ZA* 68, 1978, p. 99 ; et Stol, *JAOS* (à paraître).

⁷) On possède par ailleurs un certain nombre de lettres écrites à ces *sandanakkū* par leurs supérieurs :

- lettres de Lūmur-ša-Marduk : YOS 2, 3 ; TCL 17, 43 (à Aḫūšunu et Šilli-Damkina) ; AbB 6, 185 (à Šilli-Damkina et Ibbi-Ilabrat) ;
- lettres de Šarrum-kīma-ili et Palūšu-lirik : YOS 2, 95 (à Alī-lūmur, Apil-Amurrum, Awīl-Eštar et aux autres) ;
- lettres de Gimillum : YOS 2, 92 (à Sîn-šamuḥ, Adad-šarrum, Šunatum, Šilli-Damkina et aux autres ; noter ll. 22 et 23 la mention de lū.sig₄^{ki}) ;
- lettres d'Etel-pi-Marduk : YOS 2, 120 (à Sîn-šamuḥ).

On remarquera que la plupart de ces lettres se trouvent à Yale, ce qui n'est pas fortuit !

488 (2 moissonneurs, 2 porteurs de paille, NP, date); 489 (2 porteurs de paille, NP, date); et 512.

B 9 : divers.

— groupe de louage de champs où le preneur est Nidnuša (N.) ou/et Hābil-kīnum (H.): n° 385 (Si 16): N.; Ungnad, ZA 36 1925 p. 89 n° 1 (Si 18): N.; n° 393 (Si 19): N. et H. nu.kiri₆; n° 398 (Si 20): N.; n° 401 (Si 21): N.; n° 462 (Si 25): H. (le propriétaire est Kunna, cf. sans doute Archives F; noter le sceau d'Ibbi-labrat (cf. B 4)).

Ce Nidnuša est sans doute identique au fils de Sin-samuh (B 6) qui confie son troupeau à un berger en Pinches, JRAS 1917, 723 ss., Harding Smith Collection n° 15 (Si 26), où Ibbi-labrat šandan est témoin (l. 20) avec son sceau. Noter aussi dans cette perspective qu'au n° 401 figure le sceau de Marduk-zuqqip, qu'on retrouve au n° 380 (B 6).

— n° 470: reçu d'argent par 5 personnes, dont seul Šilli-Damkina est qualifié de šandan; mais on y retrouve aussi Adad-šarrum et Ibbi-labrat. A rapprocher peut-être du n° 482, lequel a des liens avec les 4 textes de TEBA signalés en B 7.

— Aḫum-waqar fils de Rabūt-Sin: n° 544, 553. Cet individu appartient au cercle des arboriculteurs (cf. Grant, Haverford n° 7: 14).

— Groupe formé par Grant, Haverford n° 7 et Riftin, SVJAD 88, qui offrent des liens avec les n° 421 (Archives F) et 553 & 544 (supra).

Que les deux groupes A et B aient une même provenance est indiscutable. En 273 (A 4), on trouve un apport de dattes effectué par le sandanakkum Šamaš-nāšir, et le texte précise que ces dattes proviennent des jardins du Yaḫrurum šaplūm (ll. 3-4: zū.lum kiri₆.meš ia-ah-ru-rum 'K.I.TA'). On retrouve la même indication en AUAM 2182 (B 5), un reçu de dattes par le sandanakkum Mār-Bābilim, qui indique šā kiri₆ Yaḫrurum ki.ta, et au n° 437 (B 7), un apport de dattes effectué par les jardiniers de Malgium ayant à leur tête le sandanakkum Šilli-Damkina, šā kiri₆ ia-(ah)-ru-rum ki.ta (l. 7). Or cette région, dénommée Yaḫrurum šaplūm (Yaḫrurum inférieur) a été localisée par Leemans, s'appuyant sur SVJAD 137: «all these facts, considered together, make it plausible that the text refer to North-Babylonia, more especially the region directly south of the city of Babylon, the region of Kiš and Marad» (JESHO I, 1958, p. 140 n. 1)⁸). Cette conclusion de Leemans est aujourd'hui confirmée par d'autres textes des mêmes archives A et B. Ainsi trouve-t-on mention de Kunnum en BIN 2, 102 et YOS 12, 55 (A 6); on retrouve Āl-Malāḫi en YOS 12, 308: 3-4 (kiri₆ a-ḫu-wa-qar uru ša mā.laḫ₄), Holma ZATH n° 3: 15 (a-ḫu-wa-qar uru-mā.laḫ₄^{ki}) et YOS 12, 112: 11 (Kubbulum ša mā.laḫ₄). Noter enfin la mention de uruHarmatum ša urukiš_{ki} en YOS

12, 56: 25, 65 (A 1), de Dūr-Apil-Sin en AbB 6, 185: 8 (Archives B), ainsi que de Sarbatum (n° 56: 50, 65; Archives A 1; ville conquise l'an 1 de Sin-muballit, donc dans le sud de la Babylonie du nord [cf. Stol, Studies, 28 n. 9]).

Il est donc assuré que les vergers dont la culture fait l'objet des archives A et B étaient situés dans la région de Kiš-Marad-Dilbat⁹; il n'est malheureusement pas possible d'être plus précis, et d'indiquer sur quel tell les clandestins ont trouvé ces tablettes, dont le plus gros lot a abouti à Yale.

La présence de gens originaires de Malgium et d'Uruk dans ces archives avait jusqu'à présent brouillé les cartes¹⁰. Le contexte dans lequel ils apparaissent est toutefois clair. Il s'agit d'une part d'un groupe de 37 jardiniers d'Uruk, ayant à leur tête Mār-Bābilim, puis Āl-lūmur, et d'autre part d'un groupe de 13 jardiniers de Malgium, dirigés par Ibbi-labrat, puis Šilli-Damkina. Or ces deux groupes sont requis pour la moisson d'un champ situé près de la ville de BaDrum, sur le canal Amatūm. Pour que ces hommes d'origine géographique différente travaillent en un même lieu, il faut qu'ils se trouvent éloignés de chez eux. L'histoire et la localisation même de Malgium ne sont pour l'instant l'objet que d'hypothèses: mais il est clair que ces jardiniers de Malgium sont des gens déplacés, quelque soit leur statut précis (exilés ou déportés)¹¹. Ce groupe de 13 jardiniers ne représente d'ailleurs qu'une faible part des gens de Malgium installés dans cette région, comme le montre TIM 2, 131 (= L. Cagni, AbB 8, 131). Dans cette lettre, Taribatūm (peut-être le même personnage qu'en SVJAD 137: 4) réprimande le responsable des canaux; il est question l. 8-9 du champ de 5000 gens de Malgium, et d'un champ-biltum de 180 bur: «si tu ne barres pas le canal Amatūm, le déficit de la redevance (biltum) et des rēdū sera placé sur ton compte» (ll. 7'-9'). Le champ-biltum de Marduk-mušallim, placé sur le bord du canal Amatūm (supra B 8), doit faire partie de ces 180 bur. Le parallélisme entre les ll. 8-9 et 7'-9' laisse penser que les gens de Malgium et les rēdū sont identiques; noter dans le même sens en SVJAD 137, iii: 11' la mention de šu.peš lū.SIG₄^{ki} et en BIN 7 182 des gens de Malgium (erin₂.meš lū.SIG₄^{ki}) voisins du verger loué par des šu.peš (...) lū uru-ra-ba-bi-iki (ll. 2-3): on pourrait donc avoir, parmi ces gens de Malgium déplacés, outre nos 13 nukaribbū, des rēdū et des bā'irū en grand nombre.

Pour les gens d'Uruk, la situation est plus claire: il s'agit de gens qui ont fui le Sud au moment où celui-ci a échappé au contrôle de Samsu-iluna, aux environs de l'an 10. Il est très intéressant de les voir ici cultivant des jardins dans la région de Kiš, puisque c'est précisément dans

⁸) Les seuls toponymes qui ne s'inscrivent pas dans le triangle ainsi défini est Girsu (TCL 17, 43: 7 et SVJAD 137, i: 13). S'agit-il vraiment de Tello?

⁹) Ainsi M. de J. Ellis a-t-elle considéré les Archives B 8 comme originaires de «Southern Babylonia» (Agriculture and State pp. 46-49), terme pour le moins ambigu.

¹⁰) On trouve déjà des gens de Malgium dans cette région au début du règne de Samsu-iluna. Cf. BIN 7, 182 (24/XII/Si 4), qui appartient à A 8: le verger loué se trouve da kiri₆ «kiri₆» erin₂.meš lū.SIG₄^{ki} (l. 4), et on retrouve le canal Amatūm l. 7 (moyennant une correction qui n'a rien de drastique: à sag.ki¹ ki.ta i, <a>-ma-tim). Noter que F. R. Kraus, à cause de la mention des gens de Malgium et du nom du scribe, Ibni-Tiṣpak, s'était demandé si ce texte ne provenait pas d'Ešnunna (JCS 3 p. 48).

cette ville qu'une partie des cultes d'Uruk se trouve attestée à la fin de la première Dynastie de Babylone (cf. Finkelstein, YOS 13, préface pp. 11-12)¹²). Finkelstein était resté très prudent sur les raisons d'un tel transfert, déclarant: «... nor do we have any clue as to the political, religious and historical circumstances which led to this development». Dans son compte-rendu d'YOS 13, M. Birot avait suggéré: «on peut se demander si, au moment où les cités du Sud furent arrachées à la domination babylonienne, les cultes de l'antique cité de Gilgameš ne furent pas transférés à Kiš» (BiOr 31, 1974, 272a). On en a désormais, me semble-t-il, la preuve.

Archives C: Šēp-Sin, fils de Šamaš-muballit (Larsa).

Un premier groupe de textes est formé par les n° 417-418-419. Il s'agit du reçu par trois ugula nam.5 (417: Abum-waqar; 418: Sin-gimlanni; 419: Ilīma-abī) d'oignons délivrés par l'ugula dam.gār Šēp-Sin. Ces trois documents datent d'Ha 39 (et non Si 23 comme l'indique le catalogue), et sont à verser au dossier de la sūtu que doit reprendre M. Stol. Au n° 419, Ilīma-abī a apposé son sceau, où figure le nom de son père, Nirah-šemi. Cet Ilīma-abī fils de Nirah-šemi est connu dans TSifr 44: 53 et 35a: 40, et, avec le titre de dam-gār, en TSifr 42: 18 (cf. Archives familiales... p. 319 où on ajoutera: «1 = 2»). Au n° 417, alors qu'on attendrait le sceau d'Abum-waqar, on trouve celui de Sin-šemi. Cela confirme l'hypothèse que j'avais émise à ce sujet dans Archives familiales... p. 130 n.a) (Abum-waqar dam.gār = Abum-waqar ugula nam.5), et p. 282 à propos des deux sceaux utilisés par cet Abum-waqar (le sceau n° 27 est ici utilisé en Ha 39, le premier usage du sceau n° 2 ne remontant qu'à Ha 41).

Les autres textes datent bien du règne de Samsu-iluna: — n° 10 (28/IV/Si 1): reçu d'argent par Šēp-Sin (sceau). — n° 61 (23/I/Si 3): créance de Šēp-Sin sur deux frères qui ont reçu de la laine en Ha 43, Si 1 et [2], et doivent en rendre la valeur en argent.

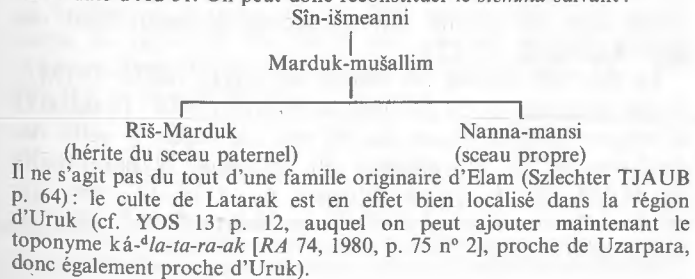
¹²) Aux indices réunis par Finkelstein, M. Stol a ajouté la lettre TCL I, 19 = VAB 6, 181 (JCS 25 p. 217). On peut encore enrichir le dossier. Dans le domaine de l'onomastique (cf. YOS 13 p. 13 n. 57), on ajoutera Uruk-liblūt en TCL I, 157 (index de TCL I sub Ad-di-liblūt) ainsi que Eanna-liblūt en VS 18, 15: 7. Pour le culte de Lатарак (YOS 13 p. 12), on notera que le sceau cité par Finkelstein (cf. YOS 13 p. 89 n° 308 [Aš 8]) se retrouve en VS 18, 31 (Aš 3):

⁴nanna-ma.an.si
dumu ⁴amar.utu-mu-ša-lim
ir ⁴la-ta-ra-ak

(Selon Klengel, JCS 23 p. 128a, il ne s'agit pas de l'empreinte d'un sceau, mais d'une mention en petits caractères à côté d'une autre empreinte). Or VS 18, 31 provient incontestablement de Kiš. La dévotion à Lатарак se retrouve sur un autre sceau:

⁴amar.utu-mu-ša-lim
dumu ⁴EN.ZU-iš-me-a-ni
ir ⁴la-ta-ra-ak

(Slechter, TJAUB pp. 62-63: UMM G 59). Ce sceau est utilisé en fait par Riš-Marduk, fils de Marduk-mušallim (l. 7); le texte provient de Kiš et date d'Ad 31. On peut donc reconstituer le stemma suivant:



- N° 62 (23/I/Si 3): créance de Šēp-Sin sur les mêmes individus (laine reçue en Ha 40 et 41).
- n° 70 (13/VI/Si 3): dattes reçues par Šēp-Sin sous Si 1 et 2. Au cas où il dépasserait l'échéance, il devra payer en argent selon le cours du palais.
- n° 127 (29/I/Si 5): Šēp-Sin a vendu à crédit 1 talent 20 mines de laine à Ubayatum qui doit lui verser 8 sicles d'argent dans 2 mois.
- n° 182 (15/VII/Si 6): reçu de dattes et de légumes par Šēp-Sin dam.gār larsa^{ki} (ce qui confirme l'opinion de Leemans: il n'est plus alors ugula dam.gār, cf. OBM p. 87). Noter que sous Si 5, les quantités de laine, poissons, dattes et légumes reçues par Šēp-Sin figuraient sur un seul document (HE 111 = Boyer, CHJ p. 27 et pl. V). Pour l'an 6, il semble qu'on ait rédigé des documents séparés par type de produits: cf. HE 113 (Boyer, CHJ p. 33 et pl. VI), qui date du 15/VII/Si 6 comme YOS 12, 182, mais est consacré aux poissons.
- n° 250 (30/IX/Si 7): affaire de garantie (qatātum) impliquant l'ugula dam.gār Sin-mušallim ainsi que Šēp-Sin.

Il existe plusieurs textes où le protagoniste principal est Šēp-Sin sans qu'on puisse prouver qu'il s'agit du même individu: n° 76 (achat d'une esclave), 106 (prêt de grain), 275 (vente d'une esclave), 357. Noter enfin la présence de notre Šēp-Sin comme témoin au n° 46 (sceau: fils de Šamaš-muballit). Parmi les textes des archives de Šēp-Sin récemment publiés, outre ceux contenus dans VS 18, on doit signaler JCS 31, 1979, p. 140 n° 13.

Archives D: Nabi-Sin.

Sept textes d'YOS 12 appartiennent à ce lot, auxquels il faut ajouter sept tablettes de la B.N.U. de Strasbourg, dont trois ont été publiés par Frank dans StrKT, et quatre autres sont inédits (à paraître dans Documents Cunéiformes de Strasbourg = DCS). Voici une présentation chronologique des activités de ce Nabi-Sin, un commentaire plus détaillé lui étant consacré dans DCS:

- StrKT 15 = DCS 91: lettre de Šamayatum fils de Sin-uselli à Nabi-Sin.
- YOS 12, 16 (24/V/Si 1): restitution d'argent à un associé.
- YOS 12, 20 (21/VI/Si 1): embauche.
- StrKT 39 = DCS 109 (30/IX/Si 1): association.
- StrKT 31 = DCS 105 (30/XI/Si 1): prêt d'argent à rendre en grain.
- YOS 12, 144 (30/VI/Si 5): location d'une maison.
- YOS 12, 148 (8/VII/Si 5): prêt de laine à rendre en grain.
- DCS 106 (12⁷/X/Si 6): prêt de grain à intérêt.
- DCS 107 (1/VII/Si 7): prêt d'argent à intérêt.
- YOS 12, 234 (2/VII/Si 7): idem.
- YOS 12, 235 (3/VII/Si 7): idem.
- DCS 108 (20/IX/Si 7): idem.
- DCS 98 (20/III/Si 8): embauche.
- YOS 12, 317 (21/VII/Si 10): achat d'un esclave.

Archives E: Pirḫum (Larsa).

Les archives de cet individu, très vraisemblablement un tamkārūm de Larsa, comportent une trentaine de textes.

- E 1: embauche.
- n° 140 (25/V/Si 5): embauche ana GI.DUB.IL É.GAL-lim.
- n° 146 (3/VII/Si 5): embauche de Eriša ana iupšikkī.
- Au n° 145, Eriša reçoit du grain et de l'huile ki'pir-

hu-um a-gi-ra-ni-šu, «de Pirhum, son employeur» (*āgirānum* est ici un doublet sur *āgirum*, et désigne donc l'employeur, et non le salaire [corriger en ce sens le catalogue p. 6]).

- n° 244 (30/VIII/Si 7).
- n° 253 (10/X/Si 7).

E 2: *reçus de produits* KI Pirhum.

Le formulaire de tous ces textes est très simple: (objet) *šu.ti.a NP ki Pirhum*; date (éventuellement, sceau de celui qui reçoit l'objet).

- grain: n° 53, 124, 181, 208
- huile: n° 4, 9, 40, 191, et Szlechter TJDB p. 37 (MAH 16596).
- bitume: n° 6, 123, 136.
- cuivre et sacs: n° 18.

E 3: *louages*.

- meule: n° 120.
- portes: n° 54 et 107.

E 4: *commerce du palais*.

- n° 3: reçu par Pirhum d'une série de marchandises; pour ce type de textes, cf. vg TSifr n° 78 ou TCL XI n° 197.
- n° 14: Aplum, ugula nam.5, reçoit de Pirhum 2 5/6 sicles et 15 grains d'argent, valeur des dattes qui sont des biens du palais (šām é.gal l. 8).
- n° 36: liste argent + NP. «Total: 1/2 mine 7 sicles, reçu par Aplum de Pirhum». Noter que la plupart des individus cités ll. 1-9 sont connus comme *tamkārūm*: Namram-šarur (n° 290: 7), Šēp-Sin (cf. Archives C), Ilī-amtaḥhar (texte à paraître dans RA 75/1, 1981).

E 5: *divers*.

- créances sur Simtī-Eštar (laine): n° 17 et 23.
- créance sur Ipqu-Lisi (huile): n° 305. Noter l. 1: 2 sila₃ i.eren sa₁₀ 3 sila₃ i.sag).
- loyer d'une maison: n° 114.
- n° 213: Šamaš-liwīr ugula nam.5 donne à Pirhum une quittance pour 32/3 journées de travail de moissonneurs.
- prêt (?) d'ustensiles divers: n° 342 (cf. StrKT n° 38, repris dans DCS n° 102 avec une enveloppe inédite).
- procès: n° 290. Lalūtum accuse son beau-père Pirhum de vol. Remarquer qui sont les gens qui envoient Pirhum au temple de Šamaš: les ugula dam.gār Šamaš-šulūli et Sin-mušallim, et les dam.gār Šēp-Sin, Ibni-Adad, Kalūmum et Namram-šarur. Il faut en effet considérer que ugula dam.gār l. 5 qualifie les deux NP précédents, et pas seulement le second; Šamaš-šulūli est en effet bien connu comme ugula dam.gār (vg sous Ha 35 et Si 3, cf. OBM 83-84). Il en va de même pour les quatre noms qui suivent, bien que dam.gār ne figure qu'après le quatrième: Šēp-Sin et Ibni-Adad sont en effet des *tamkārū* bien connus (OBM 87 et 92 respectivement). Noter enfin parmi les témoins Sin-uselli dam.gār, identique au *tamkārūm* du même nom, fils de Šēp-Sin, connu dans un texte de Si 3 à paraître (RA 75/1, 1981 [p. 25, l. 21]).

E 6: *textes proches*.

Sans qu'ils fassent partie des archives de Pirhum proprement dites, on doit signaler trois textes qui émanent du même cercle de gens d'affaires:

- n° 1: prêt de grain à intérêt par Šamaš et Nigiya. Ce dernier figure comme témoin dans les archives de Pirhum (n° 23, case: 13; n° 140, rev. 3) et apparaît

comme *tamkārūm* en 290: 37. Noter au n° 1 la présence comme témoins de Pirhum et de Alī-lūmur.

- n° 13: prêt de grain par Šilli-Šamaš, à rendre dans vingt jours. Noter parmi les témoins Nigiya, Pirhum et Alī-lūmur (dont le sceau est imprimé sur la tranche, de même qu'au n° 140 qui appartient aux archives de Pirhum).
- n° 162: Iddin-Eštar embauche Sin-liwīr. Pirhum est témoin l. 12 (le nom de son père est malheureusement illisible), de même que Alī-lūmur fils de Kurū (cf. N° 13: 14 + sceau et 140, sceau).

Conclusion:

Il n'est pas sûr que tous les textes ici réunis se rapportent au même individu, mais c'est très vraisemblable pour la plupart (formulaires identiques, témoins récurrents etc.). Bien que Pirhum ne soit jamais qualifié de *tamkārūm*, il y a de grandes chances pour que c'en ait été un (voir en particulier E 4 et en E 5 le n° 290). [Cf. SVJAD 35: 11 *igi pir-hu-um* dam.gār (Si 2)]

Archives F: Kunna (cf. Leemans, *JESHO* 2, 1959, 326-327).

Aux quatre textes d'YOS 12 relatifs à Kunna, il faut en ajouter cinq autres publiés par Szlechter dans TJDB (où ce NP a été érronément lu Kudanna, comme l'avait déjà signalé Kraus, *BiOr* 16, 1959, 123a n° 17), et un paru dans SVJAD. L'ensemble est ici présenté typologiquement:

- embauche: n° 421 (1/II/Si 23) [un *kullizum*] (noter le témoin Aḥu-waqar fils de Uqā-Šamaš (l. 11 et sceau), qu'on retrouve en Grant, *Haverford* n° 7: 15 [Archives B 9] et MAH 15944 [infra]); n° 466 (1/V/Si 25) [ana *kullizūtīm*].
- échange d'un bovidé avec un ugula mar.tu: TJDB p. 56 = MAH 16194 (22/III/Si 24). Noter le *rabiānum* Aḥu-ṭābum (l. 12 et sceau), qu'on retrouve au n° 390.
- location d'une maison: TJDB p. 59 = MAH 16420 (1/IX/Si 21); TJDB p. 64 = MAH 15958 (1/IV/Si 28).
- location d'un champ: n° 436 (1/XII/Si 23); propriétaire: Marduk-parini. SVJAD 41 (27/XII/Si 27): propriétaire: Qurdi-Eštar. Noter qu'en TJDB p. 77 = MAH 15934, Kunna lú x x est témoin l. 15 (dans ce texte, Gimillum loue un champ qui appartient à Qurdi-Eštar; l. 14 est témoin le *rabiānum* Nabium-mālik (= YOS 12, 496: 16).
- louage d'un champ: en 459 (-/VII/Si 24), E-tamšā-Šamaš loue un champ qui appartient à Kunna. On possède un duplicat de ce contrat: TJDB p. 86 = MAH 16257; noter en particulier la clause ll. 12-14, parallèle à 459: 12-14, malheureusement endommagée dans les deux cas. Au n° 462, Ḥabil-kēnum loue un champ qui appartient à Kunna (ce texte a été rangé dans les Archives B 9).
- prêt de grain: TJDB p. 54 = MAH 16534 (25/V/Si 25). On notera aussi TJDB p. 81 = MAH 15944, où Awil-Adad loue un champ qui appartient à Qurdi-Eštar *ana qabē* Kunna (ll. 11-12).

Le titre de Kunna est donné en MAH 16534: 3 (MA, lu par Szlechter p. 54 ŠITIM), et MAH 15934: 15 (lú x x). L'origine géographique du lot est identique à celle des Archives B: cf. la présence du *rabiānum* Nabium-mālik en MAH 15934, qu'on retrouve en YOS 12, 496, qui appartient aux Archives B 1; ou encore, le n° 462, qui appartient à B 9.

Archives G: Nabi-Damgalnunna.

- n° 28 (4/VIII/Si 1): un esclave nommé Asalluḥi-muballit appartenait en commun à Nabi-Damgalnunna et son frère Eridu-liwīr. N. prend possession de l'esclave, et verse une compensation de 10 sicles d'argent à son frère.
- n° 302 (10/VI/Si 8): N. achète une esclave *ilid bitim*.
- n° 312 (-/—/Si 8): N. achète une esclave; noter Eridu-liwīr témoin l. 19.
- n° 337 (15/II/Si 11): prêt de grain.
- SVJAD 36 (1/III/Si 11): embauche d'Apil-Amurru par N.; Eridu-liwīr témoin (+ sceau); Sin-MAŠ.MAŠ témoin (+ sceau = n° 337, sceau).
- n° 344 (17/V/Si 11): prêt d'argent à intérêt, à rembourser en grain selon le cours de Larsa; Eridu-liwīr T. l. 12.
- n° 347 (-/VI/Si 11): reçu de dattes par divers individus, dont N. l. 4 et Eridu-liwīr l. 5.
- n° 349 (10/VI/Si 11): décompte de dattes. Nabi-Damkina (sic) et Eridu-liwīr mentionnés ll. 7-8.
- n° 352 (x + 7/VIII/Si 11): comptes de la société formée par N. et Ilī-tūram; Eridu-liwīr T. l. 20 (+ sceau).
- n° 530 (date cassée, et non Si 30 comme l'indique le catalogue p. 21): louage d'un champ alimentaire détenu par Šamaš-abī.

Autre texte: Pinches, *PSBA* 39, 1917, pl. x = Relph n° 23: part d'héritage de Lipit-Ea. Noter ll. 16, 17, 18 les trois terrains qui jouxtent Eridu-liwīr. Or, parmi les témoins, deux individus se retrouvent dans les archives de N.: Māri-Amurru (sceau = YOS 12, 312); Saniq-pī-Šamaš T. l. 35 + sceau = YOS 12, 352. Lipit-Ea pourrait donc être le frère de Eridu-liwīr, voisin de sa part d'héritage. On obtiendrait alors le *stemma* suivant:

Iddin-Ea
├── Nabi-Damgalnunna
├── Eridu-liwīr
└── Lipit-Ea

L'onomastique de cette famille reflète un attachement exclusif aux dieux et à la ville d'Eridu; on notera également en ce sens le nom de l'esclave appartenant à N. et son frère au n° 28 (Asalluḥi-muballit). Cette famille serait-elle vouée au culte des dieux d'Eridu? Cela n'est pas impossible, car en YOS 12, 57 (10/X/Si 2) figure comme témoin Eridu-liwīr iṣib⁴en.ki, qui utilise le sceau d'un collègue (⁴utu-sag.kal iṣib⁴en.ki-eridu⁴ga). Rien ne prouve toutefois qu'il s'agisse du même Eridu-liwīr que le fils de Iddin-Ea, qui possède par ailleurs un sceau¹³).

La localisation de ce lot d'archives est incertaine. Si Eridu-liwīr est *išippum*, le titre de iṣib⁴en.ki-eridu⁴ga ne prouve nullement qu'il réside à Eridu: voir le titre de abrig²en.ki-eridu⁴ga porté par Enamtisud en UET V, 191, lequel réside à Ur. On pourrait ici également penser à Ur, à cause de la mention i₇ uri⁴ki en 352: 12, mais elle n'a rien de très probant. Noter en revanche l'allusion au «cours de Larsa» au n° 344. Milite également pour Larsa la présence en 28:18 du gudu⁴ Aplum, qu'on retrouve dans les archives de Šamaš-ḥāzir (TCL XI, 169: 16). [Cf. *Addenda* n° 1]

¹³ Voir à ce sujet M. Green, *Eridu in Sumerian Literature*, Ph.D., Chicago, 1975, p. 223 (où le sceau de Riffin 36 doit maintenant, grâce à YOS 12, 352, être lu: Eridu-liwīr/[ir⁴en]ki/[ū⁴dam-gal-nun-na]).

Archives H: Sin-išmeni (Ur).

- BIN 2, 75 (30/III/Si 7): adoption de Sin-išmeni par Aḥum fils de Waqar-abušu, et sa femme. Héritage: prébendes de Bawa, Nergal, Nin-eniga, maison, verger et biens. Contrepartie: allocations annuelles de grain, laine et huile.
- n° 282 (1/I/Si 8): louage par Sin-išmeni de la prébende de Bawa et Nergal (1 1/2 mois par an) qui appartient à Sin-uselli et Aḥum, fils de Waqar-abušu.
- YOS 12, 329 (30/XII/Si 10): reçu d'argent par Inbilišu de Sin-išmeni, résultant de la location des prébendes de Bawa et Nergal.

Il est bien possible qu'à la suite de l'adoption par Aḥum, fils de Waqar-abušu, de Sin-išmeni, une partie au moins des archives de la famille de Waqar-abušu ait abouti dans les archives de Sin-išmeni (pour un exemple analogue, cf. *Archives familiales* ... pp. 72-76). Tel est sans doute le cas de PBS 8/2 264 (20/XII/RS 36), procès entre Lu-dingirra et les fils de Waqar-abušu. Lu-dingirra conteste à ces derniers la possession de deux prébendes-gudu₄ (20 jours dans le temple de Bawa et 20 jours dans le temple de Nergal). Verdict: Lu-dingirra ne doit plus contester. Le milieu du texte est malheureusement endommagé: il y est question de documents scellés et d'une adoption qui n'a pas été invalidée. Il semble que Waqar-abušu ait possédé ces prébendes au titre d'héritier de Ur-Nin[...] qui l'avait adopté; Lu-dingirra pourrait être un descendant de ce Ur-Nin[...] contestant la validité de l'adoption. On voit bien pourquoi ce document a pu être conservé par Sin-išmeni: il lui servait à garantir la possession des prébendes qu'il avait reçues de son père adoptif Aḥum. A également dû faire partie de ses archives le n° 277 (14/XII/Si 7), un achat de champ par Aḥum; dans la mesure où il a hérité ce bien-fonds acquis par Aḥum, Sin-išmeni a conservé la tablette d'achat comme titre de propriété (cf. *Archives familiales* ... p. 155). [Cf. *Addenda* n° 2]

Archives I: Sin-šemi, Zabar.dab (Ur).

- n° 21 (26/VI/Si 1): S. doit se trouver le 1 du mois VII auprès de Bal-a à Babylone.
- n° 67 (20/III/Si 3): Bal-a a reçu de S. zabar.dab u[r]i₂⁴ l'argent de son arriéré pour l'an 2 de Si. (noter les ll. 6-8 // n° 35: 5-8).
- n° 77 (25/VII/Si 3): l. 15: kù.babbar⁴EN.ZU-še-mi zabar.[dab].
- n° 297 (16/IV/Si 8): achat par le zabar.dab S. de la prébende de deux mois de gudu₄ de Nin-eniga à Sin-uselli et Aḥum, fils de Waqar-abušu. On retrouve donc ici deux membres de cette famille rencontrée dans les Archives H. L. 20: Gimillum gudu₄ dub.lá.maḥ, cf. Grant, *Smith College* n° 274: 9 (Ha 42), réf. qui manque à Renger, *ZA* 59 p. 157; sceau de Lu-Dumuzida, dont l'empreinte complète se trouve en TSifr 25a (cf. *Archives familiales* p. 17). L. 19: Nam-ti, gudu₄ ⁴Nin.gal, cf. UET V 868:18 (Si 12).

N.B. En dehors des textes appartenant aux Archives H et I, la famille de Waqar-abušu est encore connue par HE 167 (Boyer CHJ p. 14 et pl. XVIII), qui date du 6/XI/Iluni¹⁴): vente par Sin-uselli, Aḥum, Tarībatum et Kalūmum de prébendes.

¹⁴ La date de ce texte est: mu i-lu-ni lugal (déjà citée par Scheil, *OLZ* 17, 1914, 245-246). Pour Stol (*Studies* p. 56), il s'agit du roi

Archives J : Bal-a, fils de Balmunamhe.

- n° 58 (30/XII/Si 2): reçu de grain par Bal-a de Damqilišu.
- n° 72 (20/VIbis/Si 3): verger appartenant aux fils de Balmunamhe, loué par Bal-a et ses frères.
- n° 163 (-/Si 6): reçu de grain par Bal-a ni šu Awiliya.
- n° 177 (26/IV/Si 6): Bal-a loue son champ alimentaire à deux individus qui doivent le planter de dattiers et de tamarisks.
- n° 258 (21/X/Si 7): cf. 177 (mêmes clauses très particulières).
- n° 543 (date perdue): Bal-a et Išū-ibbišu ainsi que Eštar-ili louent *ana tappūtim* le champ d'Eštar-ili.
- SVJAD 128 (23/II/Si 11): Bal-a et Išū-ibbišu associés dans un contexte agricole.

Noter aussi les n° 347 et 349, rangés dans les archives G, où Bal-a figure, ce qui indique une origine géographique commune à ces deux lots. [Cf. *Addenda* n° 1]

Archives K : Šamaš-gāmil.

- Prêts de grain à intérêt: n° 226, 260, 261 et 276.
- Prêt d'argent à rendre en grain: n° 343 (le sceau du témoin Iddin-Sîn se retrouve au n° 29).

Archives L : Awiliya, *rā'ibanum*.

- n° 221 (22/VII/Si 7): avoir portant sur les services de deux attelages.
- n° 223 (-/V/Si 7): créance de sésame.
- n° 240 (-/VIII/Si 7): prêt de grain.
- n° 245 (-/IX/Si 7): prêt de mouton à rendre en grain. Appā fils de Hābil-kēnum témoin l. 9 + sceau se retrouve en 286: 15.
- n° 246 (-/IX/Si 7): prêt d'huile à rendre en grain.
- n° 254 (11/X/Si 7): prêt d'huile à rendre en grain.
- n° 255 (17/X/Si 7): prêt de sésame *ana zērāni*.
- n° 259 (20/X/Si 7): double prêt de pois chiches *ana zērāni*.
- n° 265 (8/XI/Si 7): prêt de sésame. Clause *ēzub*.
- n° 268 (20/XI/Si 7): prêt de sésame à rendre en grain; clause *ēzub*.
- n° 269 (26/XI/Si 7): prêt d'huile à rendre en grain.
- n° 270 (27/XI/Si 7): prêt d'huile à rendre en grain; clause *ēzub*.
- n° 286 (20/II/Si 8): location d'un champ.

Ce lot d'archives est extrêmement concentré dans le temps, puisqu'il ne couvre que dix mois (V/Si 7 à II/Si 8). Il ne nous apprend malheureusement rien sur les activités *spécifiques* d'un *rā'ibanum* (cf. Kraus, *Edikt* 180 et Finkelstein, *RA* 63 p. 51). Awiliya apparaît en effet ici presque uniquement comme prêteur. Cette activité de prêt semble très intense, comme en témoigne la fréquence des clauses *ēzub*, qui supposent qu'en nouveau prêt est consenti alors que le précédent n'a pas encore été remboursé. On notera que le n° 270 (27/XI/Si 7) renvoie ainsi à un prêt antérieur que nous possédons, soit le n° 246 (-/IX/Si 7). On doit se demander pourquoi ces quelque douze créances nous sont parvenues, puisqu'au moment du remboursement elles auraient normalement dû être détruites. On doit alors

Iluni d'Ešnunna, «rebelle» connu par l'inscription bilingue C de Samsuiluna. Mais le texte est très clairement rédigé à Ur, où réside la famille de Waqar-abuš: faut-il donc conclure que le roi Iluni d'Ešnunna s'est emparé d'Ur? On pourrait aussi admettre qu'on a affaire à une graphie particulièrement défectueuse du nom de Samsuiluna (comparer avec UET V, 215: mu *sa-am-su-i-lu-ni* lugal).

considérer que leur date (les 12 textes sont de Si 7) n'a rien de fortuit, et doit être mise en relation avec la *mišarum* de l'an 8 de Samsuiluna: à cause de l'annulation des dettes, ces créances n'auraient jamais été recouvrées¹⁵).

Ce lot semble avoir la même origine géographique que les Archives A. En effet, on trouve au n° 265 comme témoin Ibbi-Sîn fils de Udbanum (l. 10 + sceau), qui figure également au n° 210 (l. 10 + sceau), lequel appartient aux Archives A 7; de même, Iabkirum témoin en 265: 12 est présent en 210: 12 (vu la date et la rareté de ce NP, ce doit être le même individu présent dans *JCS* 31 p. 141 n° 14: 11). Autre indice qui va dans la même direction: au n° 286, le dernier témoin est Zikir-ilišu dumu.é.dub.ba. Or celui-ci a également rédigé le bail à ferme n° 298, où le champ loué est dit situé sur la rive du canal Ubil-nuḫša (cf. Archives A 8).

Archives M : Apil-kittum fils de Šamši-Enlil (Larsa).

- n° 68 (-/V/Si 3): reçu de grain par Sîn-uselli de Apil-kittum *ana labirtišu*.
- n° 185 (10/VII/Si 6): partage de l'héritage de Šamši-Enlil entre Apil-kittum, Ūši-nūrum, Aḫum et Saniq-pi-Šamaš. Noter comme témoin Sîn-uselli fils de Šep-Sîn (l. 45), un *tamkārūm* que l'on retrouve en 283:2.
- n° 306 (24/VI/Si 8): reçu d'argent par Damqilišu, dette de Dān-Amurru, pour laquelle Apil-Kittum avait donné sa parole. Le sceau de Damqilišu se retrouve en 555.
- n° 555 (25/XII/Si ?): Apil-Kittum reçoit un gage de Damqilišu.

III^e PARTIE: LES INSTRUMENTS DE CONSULTATION

Il faut d'emblée souligner l'intelligence et le soin avec lesquels le catalogue et les différents index ont été établis.

1. *Le catalogue*

Le genre auquel appartient chaque texte est indiqué au moyen de «mots-clés» expliqués par Oppenheim (Introduction p. x); en outre, les expressions caractéristiques ou atypiques sont citées en akkadien.

Les compléments apportés ci-dessous au catalogue répondent à trois préoccupations:

- renvoyer aux lots d'archives définis plus haut: par ex., «Archives B 6». «Cf. Archives A 1» correspond au cas où un texte est proche d'un lot sans en faire réellement partie.
- pour les textes n'appartenant pas à ces lots, on a essayé dans la mesure du possible d'indiquer le *lieu de rédaction* ainsi que les *liens prosopographiques* avec des documents déjà publiés. «Appartient à» indique l'appartenance à un même lot d'archives; «cf.» est utilisé lorsqu'un texte est proche d'un document ou d'un

¹⁵ Noter cependant, appartenant au même lot d'archives, HE 211 = Boyer CHJ p. 56 et pl. XXI, qui est un prêt de sésame par Awiliya, et date du 3^e/V/Si 8, donc postérieur à la proclamation de la *mišarum* (III/Si 8). Les archives d'Awiliya comprennent en outre AO 9080 (inédit), où Awiliya loue un champ appartenant à Nabi-Šamaš; on note sur la tranche latérale la mention *warki šimdātim*, et de fait le texte date du VI/Si 8 (cette mention est en revanche absente de YOS 12, 286 qui date du II/Si 8): on sait que l'Édit de Samsuiluna date du [x]/III/Si 8 (Kraus, *AS* 16 p. 225).

groupe de documents sans faire partie du même lot d'archives.

- corriger éventuellement le catalogue d'YOS 12 (pour quelques dates essentiellement), ainsi que les citations incorrectes du *CAD*.
- 1: cf. Archives E. L. 4, le *CAD* (Z 88a) lit *sā-'ah'-li-⟨i⟩*: ne peut-on reconnaître ZA.ḪILI, phonétique pour ZA.ḪILI?
- 3, 4, 6: Archives E.
- 7: Archives B 6. Voir Finkelstein, *Mélanges Speiser* (AOS 53) = *JAOS* 88, 1968, p. 31.
- 9: Archives E.
- 10: Archives C.
- 11: les ll. 1 à 7 ont été transcrites par *CAD* K 438b (où on doit corriger *be-li-šu* en *be-li-šu* et *ú-še-ši* en *ú-še-ši*).
- 13: cf. Archives E.
- 14: Archives E.
- 16: Archives D; le jour semble ud.24.kam (Catalogue: «20 (?)»).
- 17, 18: Archives E.
- 19: appartient à Riftin, SVJAD 70-74 et 77-81.
- 20: Archives D. Dans *CAD* A/1 152a, corriger *ana šāpirišu* en *a-na na'-bi-^dEN.ZU*; dans *CAD* E 229b, *ūm še'am i-pu-uš-ma ittallak* est à corriger en UD.50.KAM *ipuš-ma ittallak* (cf. d'ailleurs A/1 152a).
- 21: Archives I; dans *CAD* Z 5b, supprimer *ina* devant ITI MN.
- 23: Archives E.
- 24: appartient à 33 et 346.
- 28: Archives G.
- 29: cf. Archives K.
- 32: les ll. 10-12 sont citées par *CAD* M/1 127b qui a omis [š]e-'a'-am devant *i-ma-ki-sū*.
- 33: appartient à 24 et 346.
- 35: cf. 67 et 77 (35: 5-8 // 67: 6-8).
- 36: Archives E.
- 37: le renvoi du *CAD* D 29b à 37: 5 est une erreur pour 73: 5.
- 39: la date est mu *sā-am-si-^dutu*, à moins de lire mu *sā-am-si-dingir-na'* (?).
- 40: Archives E.
- 41: corriger en *CAD* B 130a «*ina qabē PN*» en «*ina pī PN*».
- 42: Ur; Kraus, *WO* 2, 1954, 120 ss., type IV b¹.
- 44: Sippar.
- 46: Larsa (noter le sceau de Šep-Sîn).
- 48: Ur.
- 51: Archives B 6.
- 52: Archives A 5.
- 53, 54: Archives E; pour n° 54, cf. *CAD* I/J 20a, où corriger I.ḪUN.GÁ en IN.ḪUN.GÁ.
- 55: Archives A 6.
- 56: Archives A 1.
- 58: Archives J.
- 59: Archives A 4.
- 61, 62: Archives C.
- 65: Archives A 5.
- 66: Archives A 2.
- 67: Archives I.
- 68: Archives M.
- 70: Archives C.
- 72: Archives J.
- 73: procès (Larsa).
- 74: Ur vente d'esclave (formulaire, cf. Kraus type IV b¹).

Sîn-eribam DUB.SAR (case, R. 7) = YOS 12 74, 186, 228 et SVJAD 22: 28; Sîn-iddinam F. de Ilum-gāmil (l. 15) = SVJAD 22: 19.

- 75: Sippar.
- 76: Archives C (?).
- 77: Archives I.
- 81, 82: Archives A 5.
- 85, 86, 87, 89: Archives A 2.
- 90, 100: Archives A 5.
- 101: Archives A 1.
- 102: Archives d'Amurru-muballit (appartient à 194).
- 106: Archives C (?).
- 107: Archives E.
- 109: Archives A 3.
- 110: Archives A 9.
- 112: Archives A 1.
- 113: Archives de Sîn-muštāl, UGULA DAM.GĀR d'Ur (cf. Leemans, *OBM* 81-83); noter le sceau, qui confirme l'hypothèse de Stol, *Studies* p. 51. Appartient à 167.
- 114: Archives E.
- 115: appartient à 119.
- 118: Archives A 5.
- 120, 123, 124: Archives E; en 123: 1 figure seulement EŠIR, et non EŠIR.ĒA comme l'indique *CAD* K 554b.
- 125: Archives A 5.
- 126: Archives A 8; on ne peut lire l. 4: GIŠ.SAR ŠUB.BA, comme le propose *CAD* B 33a. Cf. *RA* 75 p. 28.
- 127: Archives C.
- 129: Archives A 9.
- 128, 131 à 134: Archives A 2.
- 135: cf. Archives A 8.
- 136, 140: Archives E.
- 142: appartient à 160. Larsa, Ebabbar. Pour les quatre individus cités ll. 15-18, cf. Arnaud, *Syria* LIII, 1976, p. 67 «L. 74.176» (Si 4).
- 144: Archives D.
- 145: Archives E; corriger *CAD* Z 88a qui a lu l. 6 *a-⟨na⟩ zi-ra-ni-šu* au lieu de *a-gi-ra-ni-šu*.
- 146: Archives E.
- 148: Archives D.
- 149: Archives A 2.
- 150: Archives A 9.
- 151: Archives A 5.
- 153: Damrum (cf. *BiOr* XXXVI, 1979, 191b): noter le serment par Sîn, Marduk et Samsuiluna, ainsi que l. 8 Abum-waqar fils de DUMU-ḪI.GAR^{ki}.
- 154: Archives A 2.
- 155: pour É.TAR.RA, le renvoi du catalogue à BIN II 83 est erroné (il faut lire dans ce dernier texte É.KAR.RA, cf. *Archives familiales* ... p. 59); sans doute à mettre en rapport avec É.TAR en 153: 2 et TLB I 237: 2. La confusion entre É.TAR.RA et É.KAR.RA existe aussi en *CAD* A/1 148.
- 161: Ur (Kraus type IVb¹); cf. 228 (le vendeur est dans les deux cas Sîn-uselli fils de Gimil-ili).
- 162: cf. Archives E.
- 163: Archives J.
- 167: appartient à 113.
- 170, 171, 172: Archives A 2.
- 173: Archives A 5.
- 174: cf. 298.
- 177: Archives J.

- 178 : Archives A 9.
 181 : Archives E.
 182 : Archives C.
 185 : Archives M.
 189 : Archives B 6.
 191 : Archives E.
 192 : procès, Larsa (cf. l. 7 et prosopographie).
 193 : Archives A 5.
 194 : appartient à 102; noter l. 14 la présence du frère de l'acheteur comme témoin (cf. 102, passim).
 195 : Larsa; Šamaš-māgir F. de Qulālum (ll. 9-10) = Anbar, *RA* 69, 1975, n° 8 : 29.
 206 : adoption. Lire peut-être ll. 6-7 NAM-IBILA.NI-ŠÈ IB.TA.AN.KU⁴; autre interprétation dans *CAD* A/2 177b. L. 11 : pour UMBIN KU₅, cf. *Nabnitu* S 255ff. cité par *CAD* S 251a.
 208 : Archives E.
 210 : Archives A 7.
 213 : Archives E.
 214 : noter la clause ll. 21-24, placée après le serment.
 215 : cf. B 5.
 217 : cf. Archives A 8.
 218 : noter le serment par *Enki*, Nanna, Marduk et Samsuiluna.
 221, 223 : Archives L.
 222 : le catalogue note «fragment»; mais d'après les indications O., Lo E. et R., ainsi que la numérotation des lignes, la tablette est complète; le formulaire est donc atypique (témoins à partir de la l. 6). L'acheteur est sans doute le même Ipqu-Lisi que l'acheteur d'esclaves en 156 et 552.
 225 : vente d'esclave, Larsa (noter le sceau d'Enlil-issu fils de Mannum-kīma-Sîn qu'on retrouve en 185).
 226 : Archives K.
 227 : Larsa : Aplum Á.GÁL (l. 33) = TCL XI, 148 : 7 et 162A : 21, qui datent d'Ha 34 et 38 respectivement, et appartiennent aux archives de Šamaš-ḥāzir. Noter la présence comme témoin d'un *kakikkum* (Nidnat-Sîn), et modifier en conséquence *CAD* K 44b.
 228 : Ur (Kraus type IV b¹) cf. 161; Sîn-tukultī F. de Dadā (l. 21) = SVJAD 21 : 18.
 234, 235 : Archives D.
 236 : noter la présence de cinq UGULA NAM.5 comme témoins. Sîn-imguranni F. de Bēli (l. 6) = TIM V, 9 : 6.
 237 : Archives A 7.
 240 : Archives L.
 244 : Archives E.
 245, 246 : Archives L.
 250 : Archives C.
 253 : Archives E; je lirais l. 7 KA.[KÉŠ] KASKAL x ŠE, plutôt que ITI¹.1.KAM comme le propose *CAD* I/J 74a.
 254, 255 : Archives L.
 256, 257 : Archives A 7.
 258 : Archives J.
 259 : Archives L.
 260, 261 : Archives K.
 264 : pour des chaînes du même genre (*maškanum*) cf. Anbar, *RA* 72, 1978 p. 114 ss. Ne faut-il pas lire l. 5 ša 2^u SIMUG (plutôt que 2 LÚ.SU.BIR₄ comme *CAD* M/1 372b)?
 265, 268, 269, 270 : Archives L.

- 271 : Archives A 9.
 273 : Archives A 4.
 275 : Archives C (?).
 276 : Archives K.
 277 : Archives H.
 279 : même sceau d'Apil-ilišu F. de Zikir-ilišu en BIN II 76.
 282 : Archives H.
 283 : Sîn-uselli F. de Šēp-Sîn (l. 2) est un *tamkārūm* (cf. commentaire à 185); on peut lire l. 3 UGULA. NAM.5 (*CAD* E 349b supplée <UGULA>.).
 286 : Archives L.
 290 : Archives E.
 297 : Archives I. Corriger la date p. 12 (le jour est le 16, pas le 18, et l'année Si 8 et non Si 9). Kraus type IV b¹.
 301 : Archives B 6; cf. B 2.
 302 : Archives G.
 303 : Archives A 9.
 305 : Archives E (noter l. 9 IB.RA pour IB.RA).
 306 : Archives M.
 308 : Archives A 9.
 312 : Archives G.
 317 : Archives D.
 320 : procès, Larsa.
 322 : le prix de l'esclave est payé partie en nature (2 vaches valant 8 sicles d'argent), partie en argent (2 sicles 1/6), soit un total de 10 1/6 sicles (ll. 8-10); ll. 17-18, clause placée après le serment.
 325 : procès, Larsa. Ll. 12-13, la traduction de *CAD* E 272a («they brought your barley, oil and your tablets into my house»), faite hors contexte, est à changer en : «(je jure) que je n'ai pas fait entrer dans ma maison ton grain, l'huile et tes tablettes!». Sanqum GALA (l. 25) est qualifié de GALA^a *Sugallitum* en Anbar, *RA* 69, 1975 n° 8 : 27.
 329 : Archives H.
 334 : corriger l. 5 la transcription de *CAD* E 229b : *e-pe-ši-i-ma* en *e-pé-ši-im*.
 337 : Archives G.
 338 : appartient à SVJAD 129.
 340 : l. 7, *CAD* S 60b lit *i-na* ŠE.GIŠ.I *zakūtīm*, mais la lecture des trois derniers signes est sujette à caution.
 342 : Archives E. Corriger l. 1 1 DUG.GAKKUL ŠE.GIŠ.I (*CAD* K 59a) en 1 DUG.UTUN ŠE.GIŠ.I (cf. d'ailleurs le catalogue p. 14). Les ll. 3 et 4 sont correctement citées en *CAD* B 308a (1 NA₄.HAR.ZI.BI 1 GIŠ.GAN.NA), mais il faut corriger les citations de E 324b (1 NA₄.HAR *zi-bi* ŠE.GIŠ.I) et Z 107a (qui comme le précédent ajoute ŠE.GIŠ.I indûment).
 343 : Archives K.
 344 : Archives G.
 346 : appartient à 24 et 33.
 347, 349 : Archives G.
 350, 351 : Archives B 7 bis.
 352 : Archives G.
 354 : appartient à 356. [Cf. *Addenda* n° 2]
 355 : achat de é.dù.a; Larsa (Sîn-imguranni F. de Bēli (l. 22) = 236 : 3 et 250 : 15).
 357 : Archives C (?).
 367 : Archives B 7 bis.
 370 : Archives B 6 (?).
 371 : Archives B 6.
 374, 378 : Archives B 5.

- 375 : Archives B 6.
 380 : Archives B 6 (?).
 384, 389 : Archives B 5.
 385 : Archives B 9.
 390 : cf. Archives F.
 391 : appartient à SVJAD 87 (Si 19 également), qui est un reçu d'outils pesant 3 mines de cuivre, par Ea-tukultī (= 391 : 12).
 393, 398 : Archives B 9.
 399 : Archives B 8. Corriger *CAD* E 349a (34 NU.GIŠ.S[AR] SIG₄ ū ŠE.KIN.KUD «34 gardeners, brick-(makers) and reapers») en 34 NU.GIŠ.S[AR] SIG₄^{ki} ŠE.KIN.KUD «34 gardeners from Malgium, reapers».)
 400 : Sippar.
 401 : Archives B 9.
 402 : Archives B 4.
 404 : Archives B 2.
 405 : Archives B 5.
 408 : cf. Archives B 7.
 411 à 416 : Archives B 8. (414 : en *CAD* Z 8a, corriger *ina* ŠĀ en ŠĀ).
 417, 418, 419 : Archives C; corriger la date en Ha 39.
 420 : Archives B 8.
 421 : Archives F.
 422 : Archives B 8.
 427 : le catalogue ne signale pas la l. 12, pourtant remarquable (*ūm kimīt* ^aDumuzi, mais cf. p. 63 sub Dumuzi et *CAD* K 373a).
 428 : Archives B 7.
 431 : Archives B 4.
 434 : Archives A 8.
 436 : Archives F.
 437 : Archives B 7.
 438, 439 : Archives B 3.
 441 : Archives B 8.
 446, 449 : Archives B 3.
 450 : appartient à 451.
 453, 454 : Archives B 3.
 459 : Archives F.
 460 : cf. Archives B 8.
 462 : Archives B 9; ll. 13-18 citées par *CAD* K 62b (par erreur sous la rubrique «in letters»), I/J 68a, A/2 448b et auparavant par Goetze, *JCS* 2 p. 36 (YBC 4308).
 463 : Archives B 8.
 466 : Archives F. Ll. 9-11 : «il sera responsable de l'œil, de la corne et du sabot (des bœufs loués)».
 469 : Sippar.
 470 : Archives B 9.
 473, 476 : cf. B 1.
 479, 481 : Archives B 7.
 486 : Archives B 8.
 488, 489 : cf. Archives B 8.
 490 : cf. Archives B 1.
 496 : Archives B 1; noter ll. 15-16 la présence de deux *rabiānū* (cf. Stol, *Studies* 79). Nabium-mālik est ici témoin avec Ibbi-ilum, ailleurs avec Ili-awilim.
 501, 503 à 511 : Archives B 8.
 512 : cf. Archives B 8.
 513 : Archives B 8.
 521 : le sceau est celui du père de l'emprunteur.
 528, 529 : Archives B 8.
 529, 531, 533, 534, 535 et 538 : Si 29 et non Si 30.

- 530 : Archives G (la date du catalogue [Si 30] est impossible).
 536 : échange de maisons, Kār-Samaš; appartient à 537 et 556. Ilšu-ibnišu *rabiān* KAR-^aUTU^{ki} (l. 33) = VS 18, 17 : 9 (Si 27); Ibbi-Samaš F. de ^aNanna-ŠU.MU (l. 36) = 537 : 21; Pirḥum F. de Mār-Eštar (l. 39 et sceau) = 556, case : 36.
 537 : vente de maison, Kār-Samaš; appartient à 536 et 556. Annum-pī-Ilabrat DUB.SAR (l. 25) = TCL I, 145 : 30 (même année).
 543 : Archives J.
 544 : Archives B 9.
 549 : prêt d'argent pour acheter des bottes de roseau, Kār-Samaš. Mār-iršitim F. de Šamaš-rabi (l. 3) = JCS 31 p. 142 n° 15 : 4-5 (Si 29), où figure ll. 11-12 Ilšu-abušu F. de Waqar-awilum qu'on retrouve en 556 : 21.
 552 : les cinq premiers témoins sont originaires d'Iškun-Nergal (l. 25), comme les vendeurs (l. 6).
 553 : Archives B 9.
 554 : cf. Archives B 1.
 555 : Archives M.
 556 : vente de maison, Kār-Samaš; appartient à 536 et 537. Ilšu-abušu F. de Waqar-awilum = JCS 31 p. 142 n° 15 : 11 et VS 18, 17 : 28; Qaqqadum F. de Aḥu-waqar (l. 22) = VS 18, 17 : 10; les deux fils de Ibni-Adad (ll. 23-24) = VS 18, 17 : 12-13; KUR-tum F. d'Ipquatum (l. 30) = acheteur en VS 18, 17 et héritier en TCL I, 145; Mār-iršitim F. de Šamaš-massu (case : 35) = VS 18, 17 : 16.
 557 : procès, Larsa. Iddin-Sîn F. de Sāsum (l. 32) = 227 : 23.
 558 : je ne vois pas ce qui permet d'attribuer ce texte au règne de Samsu-iluna.
 559 : même remarque. Noter le serment par *Inanna*, Marduk et [...].

2. Index des anthroponymes

C'est un modèle du genre, du double point de vue de la prosopographie (les titres et noms de métier y sont intégrés, à la différence des deux précédents volumes de la collection [YOS 13 et 14]), et de l'onomastique (les noms akkadiens étant transcrits en continu et non translittérés). On regrettera seulement que les variantes graphiques ne soient qu'exceptionnellement signalées (ainsi *i-li-i-qi-šam* en 581 : 19 aurait-il mérité de l'être, ou encore *is-su-ka-bi-it* en 242 : 3, etc.). Voici quelques corrections et compléments :
Ana-Sin-ēmid KA.KI, 42 : 25
Awil-Ištar : «see also LÚ.DINGIR.RA» est évidemment à placer en fait à côté de *Awil-ili*
 DUMU.KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki}, l. ŠANDAN UNU^{ki} (et non URÍ^{ki})
Ea-zānin : corriger en ^aÉ.AN.NA-zānin
E-tamši-^aSamas : corriger en *E-tamši-^aŠamaš*
 GAZ-^aEN.[...], 56 : 49. Lire GAZ-^aEN.Z[U]. M. Stol a attiré mon attention sur le parallèle entre YOS 12 56 : 49 (dingir-šu-ib-ni-šu¹ GAZ-^aEN.Z[U]), Holma ZATH 5 : 16 (dingir-šu-ib-ni ū kù.babbar-30) et YOS 12 59 : 6-7 (dingir-šu-ib-ni-šu ū šám(?)-^aEN.ZU); les trois textes appartiennent aux Archives A, il s'agit donc manifestement des mêmes personnes. Cela semble confirmer l'hypothèse de M. Stol, formulée dans *JCS* 31 p. 181 n. 26 (GAZ/KUM-ND = *kasap*-ND).
 GEMÉ-^ax-x : en 259 : 9, lire GEMÉ-^aASAR.LÚ.ḪI

Habiya: lire *Habbiya* (cf. Frank, *StrKT* n° 35: 9 *ha-ab-bi-ia* [coll.])

Ibbi-^dIlabrat, 1 = 7

Ili-ippalsa(m), 2. s. of *Imgurum*, KUŠ_x ša ^dInanna, 73 case 33

Ilima-ahī, 3. s. of *Itūrum*

Išū-našir, 2. s. of *Itūr-ašdum*: je lirais plutôt en 557: 2 DUMU *i-bi-^dDUMU*. [ZI].

Ipqu-Lisi, 222: 3 (plutôt que *Ibni-Lisi*; cf. supra 1. *Catalogue* n° 222).

Issu-kabit, 56: 44, 90: 9 (*is-su-ka-bi-it*); 118: 16 (*id-su-ka-bi-it*).

Ištar-ēpiri: lire ^dTišpak-ēpiri (le signe MÜŠ est clair en 81: 8, 82: 1, 112: 21; or toutes les références concernent le même personnage); voir à ce sujet les remarques de Leemans, *Foreign Trade* p. 89 n. 2.

^dMarduk-mušallim, 7. ajouter 529: 6

Namra(m)-šarūr, 2. DAM.GAR, ajouter 290: 7

Pi-ir-^dha-il-lu-ša: lire *pé-er-^dha-šum* (cf. Holma, ZATH n° 5: 3). Pour ce NP, cf. *AHW sub pers/sa'u(m)*.

Ri-me-ia, 56: 18 (cf. Holma ZATH n° 5: 7).

Sak-ku-pu, ša panī, 401: 20. Lire en fait *ka-ās-pu-ša ŠANDAN*. *Sāniq*: lire *Sarriqum*.

Sililum, ajouter 173: 4.

^dSin-iddinam, 5 = 19.

^dSin-li-ta-x, lire ^dSin-litallal (^dEN.ZU-li-ta-lāl)

Šaprum, 1 = 2 (cf. 160: 5).

Šilli-^dDamkina, 2. ŠANDAN: ajouter 437: 9 (à ôter de la rubrique «3.»).

^dŠahan-šemi, f. of *Ilima-abī*, 419: seal.

^dŠamaš-tukultī, 1. ajouter «, seal».

Šamayatum 2. = ^dŠamaš-muballiḫ 1. (260: 9, seal).

Šar-ru-na-^dSin, lire *šar-ru-ut-^dSin*.

Šēp-^dSin: ôter la référence à «10: 7, seal» du 2. et la placer sous 1.

Še-ri-it-^dTišpak, 56: 19 (!) (cf. Holma, ZATH n° 5: 7-8).

Note sur le nom de Samsu-iluna.

L'index des anthroponymes renvoie en bloc aux noms d'année (auxquels il y aurait lieu d'ajouter les mentions du nom du roi dans les serments). Il aurait toutefois été intéressant de signaler les nombreuses variantes affectant «l'orthographe» de ce nom. Voici celles que j'ai relevées, me limitant au seul YOS 12:

1- *Sa-am-su-DINGIR-na*: n° 1, 15, 31.

2- *[*Sa-am-su*]-*i-lu*, *[*Sa*]-*am-su-i-lu*, *Sa-am-su-i-lu*: *183, *275, 328, 365, 464.

3- *Sa-am-su-lu-na*: 4, 18, 40, 107, 204, 307 (serment; mais date: [*Sa-a*]-*m-su-i-lu-na*), 400, 545 (?).

4- *Sa-am-su-i-na*: 94, 424.

5- *Sa-am-su-na*: 70.

6- *Sa-am-si-i-lu-na*: 3 (?), 6, 36, 226.

7- *Sa-am-si-DINGIR-na*: 13.

8- *Sa-am-si-lu-na*: 9, 17 (case & tablet), 136.

9- *Sa-am-si-i-na*: 371.

Il faut distinguer trois types de variantes. Viennent en premier lieu celles qui semblent dues à une pure et simple distraction du scribe, qui a oublié un ou plusieurs signes:

sa-am-su-i-^dlu-na: 4.

sa-am-su-^di-lu-na: 5.

sa-am-su-i-lu-^dna: 2.

Certaines variantes sont purement graphiques, comme le

remplacement de la séquence *-i-lu-* par le signe -AN- (*-ilu-*): 1 et 7.

Reste le troisième groupe, que l'on peut interpréter de deux façons: *Sa-am-si-i-lu-na*, *Sa-am-si-lu-na*, *Sa-am-si-DINGIR-na*. Il peut s'agir d'une variante phonétique, due à la contraction de *u'i* en *i*: *Samsu'iluna* > *Samsiluna*. Ou bien doit-on admettre qu'on a affaire à une variante dans le nom même du roi (*Samsi-iluna* pour *Samsu-iluna*)?

Le cas de *Sa-am-su-lu-na* (3) ne peut être classé aisément. Il peut s'agir d'une omission du scribe (*sa-am-su-^di-lu-na*); mais on pourrait aussi considérer que la contraction *u'i* pouvait parfois se faire en *û* (*Samsûluna*). Contre cette deuxième interprétation, on remarquera l'absence de la graphie *sa-am-su-û-lu-na* (alors qu'on trouve *sa-am-si-i-lu-na*). Qu'il s'agisse plutôt d'une distraction du scribe me semble confirmé par le n° 307, où le serment offre *sa-am-su-lu-na*, mais la date [*sa-a*]-*m-su-i-lu-na*. Le n° 484 (<*sa*-*am-su-i-lu-na*) semble en revanche une erreur due au copiste moderne.

On remarquera enfin que le nom du roi n'est précédé du déterminatif divin qu'au n° 46: 13 (serment) et 93, ainsi que dans les sceaux du n° 116 et 380 = 401.

3. Noms divins:

Comme pour les toponymes, les noms divins contenus dans les noms d'année n'ont pas été indexés, ce qui est un progrès sur les autres volumes de la collection.

^dAdad, 4. KASKAL, 354: 1.

^dNinazu, ajouter: 2. KĀ, 354: 1.

4. Titres et métiers

DAM.GAR, ajouter 274: 23.

ENSI, 212: 2.

KA.KI, ajouter 42: 25.

MĀ.LAH₄: en 1. et 2. il s'agit d'un toponyme (cf. d'ailleurs p. 69).

NU.BANDA₃ PA: ce titre se retrouve en TSifr 43 et 45: 28. NU.ĒŠ: rien de tel en 390: 5.

rabiānum, ajouter 71: 8.

ŠANDAN, ajouter 437: 9 et 401: 20 (*ka-ās-pu-ša ŠANDAN*). UGULA.UN(?).IL: lire en 557: 34 UGULA.DAG.GI₄.A

5. Noms géographiques

ĪD ka-x[...]: en 360: 1, lire ĪD ka-s[i-i], cf. TLB I, 207: 2.

ĪD ūbil-nuhša: signaler la variante en 298: 2 ĪD ū-bi-in-nu-uh-š[a].

6. Inscriptions des sceaux

Les empreintes de sceau ont été copiées à la suite de chaque tablette, et sont transcrites pp. 72-77 par ordre alphabétique. Le corpus ne compte pas moins de 200 sceaux différents! On regrettera seulement que les sceaux supplémentaires rassemblés pl. C (vraisemblablement gagnés par collation; leur copie ne semble pas de la main de Feigin) n'aient pas été signalés par un renvoi sous la copie du texte correspondant (leur contenu est cependant intégré aux index comme celui des autres empreintes).

Un certain nombre de ces sceaux était déjà connu par ailleurs, ce qui permet de corriger ou de compléter dans

quelques cas la transcription de l'empreinte figurant dans YOS 12:

— *A-b[lu-tā]-bu-um* / [DUMU ŠEŠ-a]r-ši / ĪR[...]: sceau du *rabiānum* en 390: 18, qu'on retrouve en TJDB p. 56-57 MAH 16194 (je corrige LÜ-arši, qui m'est inconnu, en ŠEŠ-arši, mais une collation serait nécessaire).

— *A-^dhu-wa-qar* / DUMU ū-qā-a-^d[UTU] / ĪR ^dMAR.TU YOS 12, 421; même sceau en TJDB p. 81 MAH 15944. Corriger également l'index des anthroponymes, où Aḫum-waqar est dit fils de Uqā-ilam. Aḫum-waqar fils de Uqā-Šamaš se retrouve aussi en Grant, *Haverford Symposium* n° 7: 15.

— *E-ri-ib-^dSUEN*: lire 1. 3 ĪR ša ^dEN.[x] d'après la copie pl. C n° 220.

— *I-bi-^dNIN.ŠUBUR*: il existe en fait deux sceaux différents de cet individu, cf. M. Stol, *RA* 74, 1980, p. 187 n. 8. Dans le premier, employé de Si 19 à Si 24, Ibbi-Ilabrat est serviteur de ^dNin.šubur et de ^dUsmû. Il s'agit de deux divinités particulièrement en honneur dans le royaume de Malgium. Ninšubur, en tant que sukkal-maḫ de An, est cité dans une brique de Takil-iliššu (Kutscher & Wilcke, *ZA* 68, 1978, p. 114 l. 19 et commentaire pp. 118-119); Usmû, sukkal-maḫ de Ea, apparaît dans une autre inscription du même roi (*Id.*, *ibid.* p. 119 et n. 46). Sur le second sceau d'Ibbi-Ilabrat, employé plus tard, se trouve une dévotion à Sin et Ninsinna, banale en Babylonie. A la lumière de cet exemple, il apparaît donc que le choix de la ou des divinité(s) personnelle(s) sur un sceau n'est pas seulement affaire de tradition familiale; le changement ici constaté témoigne de l'intégration d'un individu originaire de Malgium aux cadres religieux du royaume de Babylone (cf. supra Archives B 4).

— ĪR-^dINANNA: au n° 298, le signe est clairement MÜŠ, et non MÜŠ: il faut donc lire Warad-Tišpak.

— LÜ-^dDUMU.ZIDA / [AB.A.AB.DU] / [DUMU *im-gur-^d* ^dEN.ZU] / [ĪR ...]: cf. 297: 18 et TSifr 25a (*Archives familiales* ... p. 17).

— *Ma-ri-^dMAR.TU*: restaurer 1. 3 [ĪR ^dMAR.TU] d'après l'empreinte du même sceau publiée par Pinches, *PSBA* 1917, pl. X (Relph n° 23, sceau n° 3).

— [*Na*]-*am-ra-ša-[ru-ur]*: en 314, mention «indistinct seal impression»; la copie de cette légende ne figure pas non plus pl. C. En BIN II, 80, on possède apparemment l'empreinte du même sceau, mais le nom du possesseur est écrit *nam-ra-am-ša-ru-ur*; il faudrait donc collationner YOS 12, 314.

— NĪ.GI.NA.NI-HE.GUB (NI omis p. 75): ce sceau ne correspond au nom d'aucun des contractants ou témoins; noter 1. 10 la formule kišib.lú.inim.ma.bi.meš ib.sar (au lieu du plus courant ib.ra).

— NUN^{ki}-li-wi-ir: même sceau en Riftin SVJAD 36, où il faut lire:

Eridu^{ki}-li-wi-ir

[ĪR ^dEN].KI

[ū] ^dDAM.GAL.NUN.NA

— *Sā-ni-iq-pi-^dUTU*, fils de *Im-ta-ga-ar-^dUTU*: restaurer 1. 3 [ĪR ^d... / ū ^dAN.MAR.TU] d'après l'empreinte du même sceau dans Pinches, *PSBA* 1917, Relph n° 23 sceau n° 5.

— *Sa-ni-iq-[qā-bu-ša]* est fils de *Za-mu-ku*.

— *Ta-ri-ba-tum*: au n° 367, les ll. 2 et 3 ont été interverties sur la copie.

— Ubayatum: le même sceau se trouve sur HE 136

(= Boyer, CHJ p. 52 et pl. XIII), où on peut lire (après collation):

ū-ba-a-a-tum

DUMU li-pi-it-eš₄-tār

ĪR ^dnē[-iri₁₁-g]al

— p. 76: ajouter le sceau du n° 57:

^dUTU-SAG.KAL

ISIB ^dEN.KI-

ERIDU^{ki}.GA.KE₄

[DU]MU¹ ^dEN.ZU-tu-kul-t[i]

— p. 77: ajouter le sceau du n° 124:

^dnē-iri₁₁-gal

UR.SAG KAL.GA

DUMU ^dEN.LİL

— p. 77, le sceau du n° 184 peut être restauré par de nombreux parallèles:

[^dNIN.ŠUBUR]

DUMU AN.NA

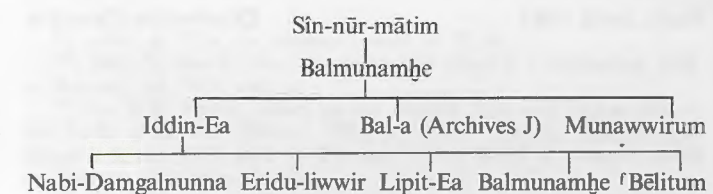
^{gis}GIDRI¹ KÜ ŠU.DU₈

— p. 77: les empreintes des textes 174 et 197 doivent être celles d'un même sceau. Celui-ci pourrait appartenir au scribe Zikir-iliššu, témoin en 197: 7-8, et qui pourrait bien avoir rédigé le n° 174 (louage du champ voisin du n° 298, où il figure comme scribe; même formulaire qu'en 298).

ADDENDA

1) Archives G et J.

J'avais noté à propos des n° 347 et 349 la commune origine géographique de ces deux lots. Il faut en réalité aller plus loin, puisqu'il s'agit d'une seule famille, plus précisément des descendants de l'illustre Balmunamḫe. L'arbre généalogique de cette famille peut être ainsi reconstitué:



Pour les trois fils de Balmunamḫe, cf. Leemans OBM p. 67 (noter que YBC 6319 = YOS 12 72 [Archives JJ]). On peut prouver que Iddin-Ea fils de Balmunamḫe et Iddin-Ea père de Nabi-Damgalnunna etc. sont identiques grâce à Relph n° 23 (cf. supra Archives G). Dans la part d'héritage de Lipit-Ea décrite par ce document, on note une parcelle de verger, à côté d'Eridu-liwwir, à Bad-tibira (l. 16) et une autre parcelle de verger dans la ville de Idi-Uraš, également voisine de Eridu-liwwir. Or on sait que Balmunamḫe possédait un verger à Bad-tibira (YOS 8 59) et dans la ville de Idi-Uraš (YOS 8 42): il ne saurait s'agir d'une coïncidence. Le texte publié par Pinches montre donc que la fortune foncière considérable de Balmunamḫe a été divisée entre ses enfants, puis petits-enfants. Il faut dès lors renoncer à l'image du déclin de la famille après le milieu de règne de Rim-Sin, telle que Leemans l'a présentée («it is remarkable that, after the disappearance of the prominent Balmunamḫe, there should be no more

evidence of the wealth of the family and its landed property» OBM p. 67). Il s'agissait d'une illusion documentaire, qui se dissipe maintenant qu'il est possible de suivre cette famille sur quatre générations, pendant le siècle qui sépare le règne de Warad-Sîn à l'an 11 de Samsuiluna.

On notera un nouvel exemple de paponymie avec Balmunamhe fils d'Iddin-Ea; remarquer sa présence comme témoin en YOS 12 302: 15 et 312: 13 (achats d'esclaves par son frère Nabi-Damgalnunna). Il n'est pas possible de savoir si c'est le même individu que l'on trouve en YOS 12 152, YOS 5 227: 15 et SVJAD 84: 5.

2) **Archives H:** Sîn-išmeni (Ur). Ajouter les trois textes suivants:

- n° 248 (Si 7): prêt de grain à Uri-lišer.
- n° 354 (11/XII/Si 11): location d'un «voyage» de Adad (cf. Harris, *AS* 16 p. 224a) par Ba-a-a-mu à Sîn-išmeni (comparer avec le n° 48). Corriger au Catalogue p. 14 «LAMA-^aNIN.A.ZU» en KĀ-^aNIN.A.ZU.
- n° 356 (30/XII/Si 11): même type de texte que 354, et l'on y retrouve Ba-a-a-mu (l. 4) et Sîn-išmeni (l. 6). Noter aussi le n° 50, proche des Archives H (prêt d'argent par Ba-a-a-mu à Sîn-uselli).

3) **YOS 12 212 et 333.**

Ces deux textes, datés respectivement de Si 7 et Si 11, ont en commun Nēpešet-Sîn (212: 7 et 333: 12), Uri-lišer (212: 17 et 333: 4) et Lipit-Eštar (212: 18 et 333: 13). Ils doivent provenir d'Ur, si l'on en croit la mention du «cours d'Ur» (kar. ra uri₂^{ki}.ma) en 333: 8. Noter en 212, texte où est cité un ensi (l. 2), la présence de Nēpešet-Sîn (l. 7): ce nom est en effet très rare, et l'on retrouve en UET V 485: 8-9 *né-pé-še-et*-^aEN.ZU šeš ensi (texte qui date de Si 11), ce qui confirme la localisation à Ur de YOS 12 212 et 333.

Paris, avril 1981

DOMINIQUE CHARPIN

Babylonian Notes*

1. The Neo/Late-Babylonian Pronunciation of Two Divine Names

The initial consonant of the divine name “Zababa”¹⁾ was probably /s/ at least during the Late-Babylonian period, in view of the fact that Aram. *šbbšw* [ʾdn²⁾] renders Akk. ^aša-ba₄-ba₄-šuma(MU)-iddina(MU)³⁾ which refers to

* Abbreviations as in CAD and AHW., except for the following: BDB = E. Robinson, F. Brown, S.R. Driver and Ch.A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford 1972); GVG 1 = C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* 1 (Berlin 1908); WSB = R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods* (Jerusalem 1977).

¹⁾ See A. Deimel, *Panth.*¹, p. 130f., No. 1310; *Panth.*², p. 123, No. 957, 18; D.O. Edzard in H.W. Haussig (ed.), *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* 1 (Stuttgart 1965), p. 138, s.v. with lit.

²⁾ MPLAB 2, p. 374, CBS 12873, Le.E.

³⁾ *Ibid.*, 4.

one and same person (Nippur, 436/5 B.C.). The personal name *Zbbw*, which appears in an Aramaic letter from Hermopolis⁴⁾, has no relevance to the DN *Sababa*, but is West Semitic⁵⁾. *Zbbw* can be related to the name of the Arabian queen *Za-bi-bi-e* which appears in NA sources⁶⁾ and may derive from Arab. *zabib* ‘raisin’, as K.L. Tallqvist⁷⁾ has compared *Za-bi-bi-e* with Arab. *Zubayba* (fem.)⁸⁾ on the one hand, and with OB *Za-bi-bu-um*⁹⁾ (probably Amorite) on the other. Other related names may be Thamudic *Zbbt*¹⁰⁾ and the Arabian tribal name *Zubayb*¹¹⁾. The suffix -w of *Zbbw* is typical (though not exclusive) of ancient north Arabian names¹²⁾.

The divine name *Ninurta* always appears as *’nwšt* (with *rt > št*, a shift which is common in Neo/Late-Babylonian)¹³⁾ in Aramaic dockets of Neo/Late-Babylonian documents, as well as in other Aramaic texts from first-millennium Babylonia¹⁴⁾. However, the form (’)*nrt* for the same divine name (which does not show the above-mentioned shift) is found not only in *Mng’nrt*¹⁵⁾, which in all probability renders a Neo-Assyrian name¹⁶⁾, but also in the Neo-Babylonian name ^a*Nu-ur-ti-mu-il-’u’-a*¹⁷⁾ (<-mu-> probably renders a glide /w/) ¹⁸⁾. The latter (son of Šamas-eriba, Ālu ša Jaqī-il near Uruk¹⁹⁾, 545/4 B.C.) was one and the same person as ^a*Ur-ti-il-ū-a*²⁰⁾ (same place²¹⁾ and year). The same theophoric element is contained in the Late-Babylonian name *Arad*(īR)-^a*Ur-tu*₄ (son of *Marduk-ējir*, descendant of ^u*naggāru*), the scribe of the document Pinches, *Berens Coll.*, 104 from Hamar near Borsippa (518/7 B.C.; he is mentioned in r. 4).

⁴⁾ E. Bresciani and M. Kamil, *Le lettere aramaiche di Hermopoli*. Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei 1966, classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, memorie, serie 8, vol. 12, fasc. 5 (Rome 1966), p. 412, No. VIII, 2.5.

⁵⁾ It is compared with “Zababa” *ibid.*, p. 414 ad l. P. Grelot (*Documents araméens d’Égypte*, Paris 1972, p. 499) interprets *Zbbw* as ‘celui de Zababa’. See now E. Lipiński, *BiOr* 37 (1980), p. 10a.

⁶⁾ Tallqvist, *APN*, p. 246a.

⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

⁸⁾ See E. Gratzl, *Die altarabischen Frauennamen* (Leipzig 1906), p. 30.

⁹⁾ Alternatively, it could be read *ša-bi-bu-um* in which case it does not belong here.

¹⁰⁾ A. van den Branden, *Les inscriptions thamoudéennes* (Louvain 1950), p. 161; cf. I. Eph’al, *The Nomads on the Border of Palestine in the Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian Periods* (doctoral diss., Jerusalem 1971, in Hebrew), p. 62, n. 24.

¹¹⁾ W. Caskel, *Gamharat an-Nasab, das genealogische Werk des Hišām ibn Muhammad al-Kalbi*, 2 (Leiden 1966), p. 608b. See *WSB*, p. 317, n. 3.

¹²⁾ See Ch. Rabin, *Ancient West Arabian* (London 1951), pp. 56f. 63, nn. 2.3; W. Diem, *ZDMG* 123 (1973), p. 227f.; *WSB*, p. 193f.

¹³⁾ See W. von Soden, *GAG*, p. 35, § 35c.

¹⁴⁾ For names containing *’nwšt* see I.N. Vinnikov, *Palestinskij Sbornik* 76 (1958), p. 205; and for Ninurta cf. Deimel, *Panth.*¹, p. 209f., No. 2583, s.v. *Nin-ib*; *Panth.*², p. 921, No. 578; F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 15 (1918), p. 47, n. 1; E.F. Weidner, *Afk* 2 (1924/5), p. 12, n. 8.

¹⁵⁾ N. Avigad, *IEJ* 15 (1965), p. 224f.

¹⁶⁾ See H. Tadmor, *ibid.*, p. 233f. with lit. and cf. K. Deller, *Or.* 34 (1965), p. 383 who draws attention to the NA hypocoristic *Nu-ur-ti-i* = ^aMAŠ-ti-i in *ND* 2309.

¹⁷⁾ *YOS* 6, 240, 16.

¹⁸⁾ N/LB <VmV> stands also for foreign /w/ (see *WSB*, p. 249f. with lit. Note LB *Ni-ig-qu-u-la-mu-ū-su* = Νικόλαος (see W. Röhl, *OrNS* 29, 1961, p. 383, § 9d).

¹⁹⁾ The property of the deity *Bēlet-Uruk* is mentioned in *YOS* 6, 240.

²⁰⁾ *YOS* 6, 184, 2.5.

²¹⁾ Spelled *Ālu ša ’mI-qi’-il* (with the common shift *ya->i-* for which see *WSB*, p. 255f. with lit.).

2. On the Genealogy of the ^uGŪ.EN.NA

2NT29, a promissory note from 522/1 B.C.²²⁾, mentions (line 2) *Ši-rik-ti-^aNinurta*(MAŠ) ^uGŪ.[EN.NA] son of (A-šū šā) ^u*Gu-la-šuma*(MU)-*lišir*(GIŠ) descendant (A) of ^m*Ḥ[a!-an-bu]*. Širikti-Ninurta was a descendant of *Ḥa-an-bu* according to BE 8, 69 (line 4) from 532/1 B.C. (otherwise without genealogy). *Gula-šuma-lišir* was ^u*GŪ.EN.NA* according to BE 8, 42 (line 6); 48 (line 11) from 554/3 and 551/0 B.C. respectively (without genealogy). *Ḥa-an-bu* appears as patronym in *UET* 4, 87 (lines 7.11: A ~; 617/6 B.C.) and in *BE* 9, 17 (line 18: A-šū šā ~; 436/5 B.C. = *Ḥa-nab*, BE 9, 9, 17 from 438/7 B.C.)²³⁾.

3. numitu

The N/LB document *TCL* 13, 218 is described by E.W. Moore²⁴⁾ as “location of residences of certain individuals”. It can be dated on prosopographical grounds to the end of the Chaldean period or the beginning of the Achaemenian period²⁵⁾. In line 21 it describes the location of *’B/Pu-sa-sa*’s house as “beside (*ita* [DA]) the *nu-mi-tu*₄ in Kiš”. The unexplained word *nu-mi-tu*₄ (henceforth *n.*) is not listed in *AHW*. I propose that it is the forerunner of Syr. *nwyt* ‘*pascuum, tugurium*’ (see presently; N/LB <VmV> renders foreign /w/²⁶⁾). We can infer from the above-mentioned document, which locates B/Pusasa’s house in the city of Kiš beside (lit. ‘on the border of’) the *n.*, that the *n.* was located just outside the city or at least not in its built-up area. It is clear from N/LB documents that not the whole area of Babylonian cities was built-up²⁷⁾. Moreover, *nawū* (> *namū*), the Akkadian cognate of Syr. *nwyt*²⁸⁾, denoted, *inter alia*, ‘pasture land

²²⁾ I wish to thank Professors M. Civil and J.A. Brinkman of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, who most generously let me utilize the information contained in this unpublished document.

²³⁾ See Brinkman, *PKB*, p. 252, n. 1604; 311, n. 2088.

²⁴⁾ *Neo-Babylonian Business and Administrative documents* (Ann Arbor 1935), p. 220, No. 218.

²⁵⁾ Šelebu son of Sūqāja, descendant of Šangū-Gula (line 11) is also mentioned in Peiser, *Babylonische Verträge* 107, 23 from Babylon, 496/5 B.C.; Bēl-iddina son of Nabū-šuma-iškun, descendant of Sin-tabni (line 3) appears also in *Nbn.* 1132, 11 (place and date are not preserved, but it is from Nabonidus’ reign) and in *Camb.* 142, 5 (his ancestor’s name is broken) from Babylon, 528/7 B.C. At first sight a dating at the end of the Chaldean period seems to be excluded since the term ^u*a-ra-za-pa-na-ta-šū* (*TCL* 13, 218, 4; line 22: *a-ra-za-pa-na-ta-šū*) looks Iranian (**raza-pāna* ‘vineyard-keeper’, see M. Mayrhofer, *Die Sprache* 8, 1962, p. 121, n. 1 and cf. von Soden, *AHW.*, p. 66a; *CAD* A/2, p. 239a). Mayrhofer was very careful not to present this etymology as certain. He was perfectly right in doing so, since the etymology leaves the initial *a-* and the final *-ta-šū* of the N/LB form unaccounted for (*a-* precedes foreign names and words in NA, not in N/LB; cf. R. Zadok in Y. Avishur and J. Blau [eds.], *Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East Presented to S. E. Loewenstamm*, Jerusalem 1978, p. 164f. with n. 3). E.W. Moore’s interpretation, viz. *a-ra-za-pa-na-ta-šū* < **arad ša panatašu* ‘his personal servant’ (*op. cit.* [cf. n. 24 above], p. 314 ad l.) cannot be followed. It is difficult to understand the N/LB form as Akkad. pl., viz. ‘his vineyard-keepers’ as each time the term in question refers to one individual only.

²⁶⁾ See n. 18 above.

²⁷⁾ Fields which are not built upon and are situated within towns are mentioned in N/LB documents, e.g. *BE* 8, 7; Strassmaier, *Actes du 8^e congrès international* 5.8 (in Babylon); *BE* 8, 1; TuM 2/3, 8.9 (in Nippur). *BIN* 2, 131 and *UET* 4, 15 mention palm groves in Uruk. For a palm grove in Nippur see *BE* 8, 65 (cf. *Israel Oriental Studies* 8, 1978, p. 285).

²⁸⁾ See C. Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*², p. 420a.

near the town’ (OB)²⁹⁾ or ‘steppe’ (SB, also near the town)³⁰⁾. The Hebrew counterparts of *nwyt* are *nāweh* ‘shepherds’ (or flocks’) abode; meadow; habitation’, *nāwāh* ‘pasturage, meadow’ and probably the GN *Nwyt* (*katīb*). The latter is defined as situated in the settlement of *Rāmāh* (*bāRāmāh*). From the context it seems clear that *Nwyt* was located in the outskirts of *Rāmāh*³¹⁾. LXX (Luc.) has (εἰ) *Αναθ* which goes back to **Navāθ* (*N-* was omitted because of the preceding -v)³²⁾. The LXX form reflects **Nawat* (> **Nawa* > **Nawāh*) which goes back to **Nawiyat*, the assumed ancient vocalization of *Nwyt*. **Nawīt*, which is probably reflected by *n.*, also originates from **Nawiyat*³³⁾. Therefore, *Nwyt* corresponds to the assumed forerunner of Syr. *nwyt*. C. Brockelmann vocalized *nwyt* as *nāwītā*³⁴⁾, whereas *nu-mi-tu*₄ reflects a form with a short vowel after *n*. Yet, Th. Nöldeke pointed out³⁵⁾ that the vocalization of *nwyt* is not certain. We may assume that the vowel after the *n-* was short (*ā > ə*) in view of the transcription of the cognate toponym Mid. Heb. & J.Aram. *Nwh/y*, *Nw’y* as *Non*, *Neß/ון*, *Neve* (Arab. *Nawā*³⁶⁾ [*Nawa*] in the Bashan, a region inhabited by Arameans from the very beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. at the latest³⁷⁾, as well as the Arabic and possibly the Akkadian cognates³⁸⁾. The lengthening of -a- of Heb. *nāweh*, *nāwāh* is secondary in view of the above-mentioned identical place name in the Bashan³⁹⁾. N/LB *nu-mi-tu*₄ has probably nothing to do with the unexplained word OB *na-wi-tam* or *na-wi-tū-um*⁴⁰⁾.

4. pušādu

The N/LB letter *TCL* 9, 117⁴¹⁾ lists mostly foodstuffs and textile fabrics. It mentions (line 16f.), *inter alia*, four containers (*nu-uḥ-se*). One of them, which was open (*pe-tu-ū*), contained *pu-ša-di-e* of a sheep, meat (pieces) (*šire*) of [a sheep?] and two (pieces) of loin meat. Another container had *pu-ša-di-e* of an ox and whips (*eš-tu-ḥe-tu*₄⁴²⁾,

²⁹⁾ *AHW.*, p. 771a, s.v. *nawūm* I, *namū*(m) II, 1b.

³⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, 2a. See P. Artzi, *’Enšiqlopedyāh Miqrā’it* 5 (Jerusalem 1968, in Hebrew), col. 791f. with lit.

³¹⁾ See S.R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and Topography of the Books of Samuel*² (Oxford 1913), p. 159; Z. Kallay, *’Enšiqlopedyāh Miqrā’it* 5, col. 830f. with lit. The *qarē Nāyōt* (LXX A Ναυιωθ) could merely be a metathesis of *Nwyt*.

³²⁾ See *BDB*, s.v.

³³⁾ For the interchange -it: -at in toponyms see H. Tadmor in H.Z. Hirschberg (ed.), *All the Land of Naphtali* (Jerusalem 1967), p. 65 with n. 29, and cf. *WSB*, p. 270, n. 31.

³⁴⁾ *L.c.* (see n. 28 above).

³⁵⁾ *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg 1910), p. 190.

³⁶⁾ See Nöldeke, *l.c.*; Jastrow, *Dict.*, p. 883f.; F.-M. Abel, *RB* 32 (1923), p. 412f.

³⁷⁾ The homonym *Nawa* refers to a settlement near Hamath, i.e. in a region which was Aramaic-speaking from the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C.

³⁸⁾ *BDB*, s.v. *nāweh*, *nāwāh* and *AHW.*, *l.c.* (see n. 29 above).

³⁹⁾ In addition, if it had Proto-Sem. -a-, then it would appear in Hebrew as -ō-. -o- of *Non* which appears in a papyrus from the Zenon Archive dated to the middle of the 3rd century B.C. (*Neß/ון*, *Neve* is Byzantine) cannot reflect -a->-o-, but renders -a- + -w-. The modern Lebanese toponym *Banwīt* could go back to Aram. **Bē-nwītā*. The latter with an Arabic diminutive could be represented by another such toponym, viz. *in-Nwēti*. For an alternative interpretation see S. Wild, *Libanische Ortsnamen* (Beirut 1973), pp. 36.183.187.

⁴⁰⁾ *AHW.*, p. 770b.

⁴¹⁾ Ebeling, *Neubab. Briefe aus Uruk*, p. 271f.

⁴²⁾ See von Soden, *AHW.*, p. 402b.

of an ox. The form *pu-ša-di-e* is masc. Pl. (N/LB -*Ci-e* stands for -ē); the sg. thereof is in all probability *pušādū* (see presently; it is listed in *AHW.*, 883a, s.v. *p/buṣ/zadū*). The word has not been explained; E. Ebeling (*l.c.*) remarked: „*unbekannt, wohl Fleisch*“. The context would favour an interpretation of *pušādē* as 'cuts, small pieces (of meat)' whereas *širē* should signify regular and larger pieces of meat. *Pušādū* is of the *qutāl* formation which has especially a diminutive and deteriorative denotation⁴³, and derives from *P-Ṣ-D*. The latter has a basic denotation 'cut' and is documented in Aramaic and Arabic (the letter contains several West Semitic, mostly Aramaic, words). Jewish Aramaic has *paššid(ā)*, *pāšidā* 'cut, trench, rivulet' which translates Bibl. Heb. 'spring, rivulet'⁴⁴. The same Biblical Hebrew word is rendered as *pāšidā* in Syriac. Jewish Aram. *paššid(ā)* signifies also 'lump of ore' (< 'that which is cut out')⁴⁵. The same Jewish Aramaic word also appears as *paršidā* (i.e. *paššidā* with a dissimilatory -r-)⁴⁶ with the same denotation. It also signifies 'kernels' (e.g., of pomegranates)⁴⁷.

5. Šangū-Ninurta

A document dated to 562/1 B.C.⁴⁸ (found at Nippur) has (line 11f.) Bēl-aḥḥē-iddina son of Nabū-ušallim descendant of ¹⁰Šangū(SANGA)-^dNinurta(MAŠ), ^{Bit}(E)-^dSin(XXX), ^{Alu}(URU) šā ^mAbi(AD)-il-ia⁴⁹). There is no need to regard (as R. H. Sack does)⁵⁰. ¹⁰SANGA-^dMAŠ É-XXX as a scribal error for ¹⁰É.MAŠ-^dXXX, since ¹⁰SANGA-^dMAŠ is attested as a surname at Nippur⁵¹.

Haifa, March 1981

RAN ZADOK

Das Problem der „islamischen Gnosis“*)

Das Thema der sog. „islamischen Gnosis“ ist ein recht umstrittenes und daher häufig traktiertes. E. Blochet hat es 1908 im Zusammenhang mit seinen Studien zur hermetischen Überlieferung im Islam eingeführt und seitdem ist der Begriff „Gnosis“ auf andere Bereiche ausgedehnt worden (wie der Mystik, vgl. R. A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, 1914, 1963, Ch. 3), vor allem auf die radikalen schiitischen Bewegungen, insbesondere die Ismā'īliya.

L. Massignon, H. Corbin und R. Strothmann haben den Begriff „ismailische Gnosis“ in der Islamwissenschaft heimisch gemacht. Daß der Ausdruck dabei nicht nur der soteriologischen Rolle von 'ilm in der Ismā'īliya gerecht werden wollte, sondern von der spätantiken Gnosis, dem Gnostizismus, als Vorbild und Anknüpfungspunkt ausging, machte die Verwendung nicht einfacher, ja schwieriger, da sich das leidige Problem der Filiation der beiden Größen einstellte, das mit den vorhandenen Mitteln nicht zur vollen Zufriedenheit zu lösen war. Das lag vor allem an der Schwierigkeit und Undurchsichtigkeit der Quellen, ein Zustand der vielen häretischen Überlieferungen eigen ist. Entscheidend für die Gewinnung einer besseren Ausgangslage waren die Arbeiten von W. Ivanow, R. Strothmann und S. M. Stern, in letzter Zeit die von B. Lewis und vor allem W. Madelung. Das Quellenmaterial zur Ismā'īliya hatte sich erheblich vergrößert, damit auch die quellenkritischen Untersuchungen angeregt, so daß in den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten eine solide historische Basis geschaffen wurde. Die vorliegende Arbeit von H. Halm versteht sich als Teil dieser Bemühungen und ist durch die umfangreiche Tübinger Sammlung an ismailitischen Handschriften angeregt worden.

Der Verfasser ist nicht nur bestens mit der schiitischen Quellenliteratur vertraut, sondern hat sich auch einen ausreichenden Einblick in die spätantike Gnosisüberlieferung, einschließlich der mandäischen, verschafft, so daß seine Arbeit quellenmäßig auf festen Füßen steht. Das gleiche gilt auch für die angewandte Methode, indem H. mit großer Umsicht von den jeweils erreichbaren ältesten Quellen (es handelt sich dabei z.T. um bisher unedierte) ausgeht, ihre dominanten Züge herausarbeitet, um dann Schritt für Schritt die dazu parallelen Aussagen aus späten Texten heranzuziehen. Auf diese Weise entsteht ein ausgewogenes Bild von dem gegenwärtigen Stand des bearbeiteten Themas.

H. gibt in der Einleitung (1-17) einen Überblick über die Forschungslage, die historischen Ursprünge der ismailitisch-qarmatistischen Bewegung in der Mitte des 3./9. Jh.s in Hūzistān, Irāq und Syrien (als relativ zuverlässig wird die Tradition von Abū Muḥsin bzw. dessen Quelle Ibn Rizām gehalten; 2ff, 167f), ihre frühere Ausbreitung bis zum Fātimidenkalifat (unter Anlehnung an die bahnbrechenden Studien von Madelung) und das Problem der Lehrentwicklung. Seine Aufgabe sah er darin, sich der älteren mythologischen Vorstellungen anzunehmen, die sich aus dem späteren neuplatonisch übermalten Material als fremd herauschälen lassen, d.h. die vorneuplatonische Stufe als älteste Schicht der Ismā'īliya mit Hilfe der vor allem von Stern entdeckten neuen Texte zu erfassen. Ausdrücklich setzt sich H. damit von den auf diesem Gebiet praktizierten unhistorischen Arbeitsweisen (z.B. H. Corbins) ab (16). Methodisch gewissenhaft wird der „idealtypische Charakter“ der Beschreibung aus der fragmentarischen Überlieferung hervorgehoben (17). Der Hauptteil der Arbeit ist in seiner Abfolge und Gliederung eben durch diesen Überlieferungszustand bestimmt: er folgt den dominanten Motiv- oder Lehrkomplexen, die sich in den relevanten alten Traditionen feststellen lassen.

Im wesentlichen geht es dabei um eine Reihe von kosmologischen und -gonischen Themen, aus denen sich wie aus Bruchstücken ein Bild der alten ismailitischen Lehre zusammensetzen läßt: Der Zyklus der sieben

Propheten (18-37), der Thron und die Buchstaben (38-52), *Kūnī* und *Qadar* (53-66), die Oberen Fünf (67-74), die Verblendung des Demiurgen (75-90), die Sieben und Zwölf (91-100), Adamlegende und Anthroposmythos (101-109), Sturz und Aufstieg der Seele (110-115). Für die Rekonstruktion werden vor allem das *Kitāb Kašf*, die (von Stern neuentdeckte) *Risāla* des Abū 'Isā al Mursid, das *Kal fatarāt wa'l-qirānāt*, das *K.ḥazā'in al-adilla*, die Werke der ismailitischen Neuplatoniker der sog. „Persischen Schule“ (vgl. 173-175) an-Nasafi (sein *Kal Maḥṣūl* ist nur in Zitaten anderer Gelehrter erhalten), Abu Ḥatīm ar-Rāzī (*K.az-zina* und *K.al-iṣlāh*), Abū Ya'qūb as-Sigistānī (bes. sein *K.al iftiḥār*) und die der yemenitisch-ṭaiyibitischen Richtung al-Ḥaṭṭāb b.al-Ḥasan al Hamdānī, Ibrāhīm b.al-Husain al-Hāmidī (*Kanz al-walad*) und die Gedichte des Ṭamīmī (erhalten bei dem Historiker 'Abdallāh b.'Umar al-Hamdānī, s. S. 58f.). Ein Teil dieser Quellen ist aus der Tübinger Handschriftensammlung im Anhang abgedruckt (206-227 s.u.). Mit Hilfe spätantiker gnostischer Texte, vor allem aus der syrisch-jüdischen (ägyptischen) Richtung (Barbelognostiker, Ophiten), die der Verf. ausgiebig heranzieht, läßt sich ein Großteil der genannten Themata als „Bruchstück eines gnostischen Kunstmythos“ einer „Mythologie von Begriffen“ (120) erweisen, die uns die älteste ismailitische Lehre und Botschaft als Form einer Kosmologie mit soteriologischer Funktion verstehen läßt. Der Weltaufbau mit seinen differenzierten Gliederungen und Abhängigkeiten gleicht dem gnostischen (vgl. 116):

Agnostos theos (negative Theologie, *tauḥid*)

Pleroma, in Form einer Pentade oder Heptade, deren dominante erste Glieder sind:

Kūnī (*Kūn*) ~ Sophia/Ennoia

Qadar ~ {Jaldabaoth (Demiurg), Heimarmenē
{Himmlicher Adam, Anthropos

Kosmos: die „Sieben“ und „Zwölf“

Erde: die Propheten-, Deuter- usw. Kette (in Pentadenform).

Dieses abstrakte Modell ist nur die Essenz einer nicht immer einheitlichen und durchsichtigen Überlieferung, in die aber jetzt dank der scharfsinnigen Analysen von H. deutliches Licht gefallen ist. Die kosmogonische Spekulation ist früh mit einer „Buchstabenmystik“ verbunden, für die sich weniger die bekannten jüdischen Ideen des Buches Ješirah als Parallele eignen als die des valentinischen Gnostikers Markos (48ff.). Erinnert sei hierzu auch an die Buchstabenspielerien des *Tafsir pagra* im mandäischen *Alf Trisār Šuialē* (ed. Drower, Part II). Das zentrale Paar *Kūnī* — *Qadar* gehört zu den ältesten Charakteristika der Ismā'īliya (58), die in der späteren „Persischen Schule“ neuplatonisch als (1.) Intellekt und Weltseele uminterpretiert wird, dabei infolge der geschlechtlichen Umpolung einer Umkehrung in *Qadar-Kūnī* unterlagen (58ff., 108f., 114, 128ff, 134f.), doch schimmern auch hier die alten Züge in Gestalt der Devolution (dem Fall der Seele) durch. Dies läßt sich vor allem an Hand der Anthropologie und der Seelenlehre nachweisen (101ff., 110ff.). Die Idee eines himmlischen oder geistigen Adam (oder *Anthropos*) wird mit der göttlichen Hypostase *Qadar* verknüpft; sein Fall als Verlust des Paradieses ist Urbild für den irdischen Adam, der das (äußerliche) Gesetz vertritt und daher auch vom Teufel nicht verehrt wird (zur ambivalenten Rolle des Teufels: *Iblis* und *Azāzil*

s. 105ff.). Ursache für den Fall ist die Unkenntnis des „inneren (verborgenen) Sinnes“ der Religion. Die Rückkehr ins Paradies erfolgt durch Aufklärung darüber (108f.). Auch für den Fall der Seele ist „Vergessenheit“, Schlaf und Unwissen Ursache, die Heimkehr wird durch esoterisches „Wissen“ geschenkt; sein Objekt ist vordergründig der Imām (der Zeit) und Mahdī (Qā'im), hintergründig die Herkunft der Seele und ihr Fremdsein in der Körperwelt (112f.). So finden sich immer wieder antinomistische (gegen das äußere islamische Gesetz gerichtete) und antikosmische Züge in der alten ismailitischen Tradition, die in der späten (neuplatonischen) Literatur ausgelöscht oder uminterpretiert werden (119f., 137f.). Sehr deutlich zeigt sich das auch in der Bewertung der Kosmogonie: das Schuldmotiv, das die Devolution auslöst, wird in neuplatonische Auslegung (mit den 10. „Intellekten“ des Pleromas) völlig spiritualisiert, aber in den (bei den Ṭaiyibiten) erhaltenen Versionen immerhin als eine Ursünde des 3. Intellekts, als dessen Hybris gegenüber dem existierenden 1. Intellekt (dem Urgeschöpf) festgehalten bzw. aufbewahrt (86ff.). Einer Abwertung unterliegen auch die „Sieben“ (Planeten) als Repräsentanten des äußeren Gesetzes (100).

Ist so der „gnostische“ Charakter der frühismailitischen (qarmatistischen) Lehre trotz der notwendig „idealtypischen“ Gesamtschau (116) unbestreitbar, so stellt sich die Frage ihrer Herkunft um so dringlicher (120ff.). Das Material bis in die Terminologie hinein ist überwiegend islamischer Herkunft; der schiitische Rahmen steht von Anfang an fest (123), auch der kultische Bereich ist islamisch (126). Aber das „Grundmuster“ hat starke Affinität zur barbelognostischen/ophitischen Gnosis (123f.). Terminologisch läßt sich in diese Richtung nur der Messiasstitel *Qā'im* anführen, den H. mit dem simonianischen Ehrentitel ὁ ἐστως, samaritanisch *qā'jīm* (aram. *qaijām*, *qā'em qā'im*) verbindet (124f.). Mag sein, daß in den ismailit. Engelnamen (vgl. 93f.) noch weiteres altes Material steckt. *Hābil* (Abel), *Šīt* (Seth) und *Anūš* (Enosch) stehen auch bei den Mandäern an der Spitze der göttlichen Gesandten (zu 32f.). Doch ist dies alles recht dürftig, was auf direkte traditionshistorische und literarische Abhängigkeit schließen läßt. H. kommt daher zu dem Ergebnis, daß wir es eher mit einer eigenständigen, islamischen Gnosisstiftung zu tun haben, also nicht mit einer islamisierten älteren gnostischen Gruppe oder Überlieferung (126). Es handelt sich um eine bewußte Stiftung oder Erfindung, vielleicht durch den ersten greifbaren Propagandisten und Adepten 'Abdallāh aus Hūzistān (ebd., 168). Ein Fortleben gnostischer Sekten in dieser Zeit des 9. Jh.s ist in Gestalt der Mandäer und der Paulikianer belegt. Erinnert sei auch daran, daß der syrische Häresiologe Theodor bar Kōnai (8. Jh.) wertvolles Material gnostischer und manichäischer Herkunft in seinem „Scholienbuch“ tradiert; für den Manichäismus hat dann Ibn an-Nadīm (10. Jh.) reichlich gesammelt. So läßt sich die Quelle der „ismailitischen Gnosis“ zwar nicht sicher eruieren, aber in dem alten Mutterboden vorislamischer, orientalischer Häresien, Mesopotamien und Syrien (Salamija!) gab es dafür offenbar noch allerhand Voraussetzungen. An einen „genetischen“ Zusammenhang spätantiker und islamischer Gnosis denkt H. offenbar auf jeden Fall (17 Anm. 75). Anders lassen sich seine Ergebnisse auch schwer unterbringen. Die Einbruchsstelle für diese unislamische Erlösungslehre war die Schi'a mit ihrer

⁴³ See C. Brockelmann, *GVG* 1, p. 351f., § 135.

⁴⁴ See Jastrow, *Dict.*, p. 1204f.

⁴⁵ *L.c.*

⁴⁶ Jastrow, *Dict.*, p. 1238f.

⁴⁷ *L.c.*; cf. Arab. *firšād* 'mulberry' (see Fraenkel, *Fremdw.*, p. 140).

⁴⁸ *BE* 8, 33.

⁴⁹ For the reading see G. J. P. McEwan, *WZKM* 71 (1979), p. 209.

⁵⁰ *AOATS* 4, p. 95 ad l.

⁵¹ *TuM* 2/3, 7, 24f. The same surname appears also in Borsippa (*BE* 8, 104, 19; probably referring to another family).

*) Heinz Halm, *Kosmologie und Heilslehre der frühen Ismā'īliya*. Eine Studie zur islamischen Gnosis. Wiesbaden, Fr. Steiner i.Komm., 1978 (22 cm., vii, 240 S.) = Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Hrg. von der DMG Bd. XLIV, 1. ISBN 3-515-02675-4. Preis: DM 68.-.

seconde partie de son livre (p. 255-268) il cherche à trouver des données qui pourraient être authentiques dans la tradition médiévale (Jean Malalas, Stéphane de Byzance, Isidore de Séville, Eustathe, scholies de Pindare, etc.). Mais les 'vraies' «nouveau-tés ne concernent qu'essentiellement Carthage» (p. 268). D'ailleurs, il me semble peu probable que la petite ville de Chartima, qui est citée par Malalas comme place d'origine de Didon, peut sans doute être identifiée avec une ville que nous connaissons par les inscriptions d'Assarhaddon (p. 257).

M. Bunnens traite les auteurs classiques dans leur ordre chronologique et choisit les textes d'intérêt afin de les commenter. Cette méthode emporte le risque de chaque eclecticisme: le danger de considérer des passages isolés et hors du contexte. D'autre part, quand on ne veut pas se limiter aux auteurs d'une période restreinte ou d'une catégorie spéciale, littéraire, dans la plupart des cas cette méthode est la seule possible en pratique. D'ailleurs, les textes auxquelles M. Bunnens doit se référer, ont un caractère si bien défini, que cette problème ne se pose guère dans son étude. Pourtant la répétition des mêmes motifs historiographiques et littéraires donne à la section sur les traditions classiques un caractère monotone. Mais cela ne pouvait pas être évité et, de l'autre part, nous a livré un bon livre de référence, qui est facile à consulter et présente les sources importantes pour son sujet d'une manière claire et simple.

La dépendance des textes, qui résulte de cette méthode, a mené l'auteur à discuter avec une largesse qui ne me semble pas nécessaire, quelques questions qui ne sont que marginalement relatées au thème principal de son livre. Je note les traditions sur la fondation de Carthage, qui sont devenues des thèmes purement littéraires sans valeur historique et sans beaucoup d'importance du point de vue historiographique. D'autre part, la discussion sur la date de cette fondation invoque à plusieurs fois (p. 132-4, 149-151, 184-5, 199-205, 239-243, 252-3) la question des systèmes chronologiques usées et élaborées par les historiens antiques, y compris le problème de leurs sources. Ce sont des pages utiles, qui, d'ailleurs, ne masquent pas le silence de la plupart des auteurs antiques sur la nature de l'expansion phénicienne.

Toutefois ces analyses de M. Bunnens révèlent la grande importance de Timée de Tauroménion comme la source presque unique de l'historiographie antique pour le monde de l'ouest. Polybe a essayé de lui dérober cette autorité, mais il n'y a pas réussi (voir F. W. Walbank, *Polybius*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1972). Hélas, il nous reste que très peu de l'œuvre de Timée, qui devait contenir nombre de données authentiques relatives à l'expansion phénicienne dans la Méditerranée occidentale, et nos connaissances en sont par conséquent fragmentaires. En outre, au temps de Timée (env. 356-260 av. n. è.) les Grecs ne savaient plus discerner la colonisation carthaginoise de la colonisation phénicienne originale. Ils nommaient «phénicien» ce qui était en vérité «carthaginois» et M. Bunnens a essayé d'accomplir la tâche difficile de retrouver les différences, en nature aussi bien qu'en extension géographique, entre ces deux périodes de colonisation. Pour lui, l'expansion phénicienne était au fond un mouvement commercial à la recherche de points d'appui sur la côte pour l'établissement de comptoirs marchands. Par contre, l'expansion carthaginoise avait un caractère impé-

rialiste et visait à la domination du monde littoral et de la mer dans sa sphère d'influence. Cela est suggéré par le mot d'*épikrateia*, par lequel les auteurs grecs et nommé Diodore de Sicile, désignent l'empire de Carthage. Je ne suis pas convaincu que cette différence, à formuler (par manque de sources) plutôt comme un *à priori* que comme un résultat de recherches, est si nette que M. Bunnens le suppose. C. R. Whittaker («Carthaginian imperialism in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries», dans: *Imperialism in the Ancient World*, ed. by P. D. A. Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker, Cambridge, 1978, p. 59-90) constate un changement marqué dans la politique dite impériale de Carthage au troisième siècle av. n. è. et considère sa politique de «commerce» et de «domination» dans les siècles précédents comme dépendante de considérations de prestige plutôt que de gain et de pouvoir. Cette interprétation, qui trouve une confirmation dans les directions de recherches dans l'anthropologie moderne, fait la distinction entre les mouvements phénicien et carthaginois moins nette.

Un passage de Strabon donne un bel exemple des problèmes compliqués relatés à cette question. Selon le géographe, non moins que trois cent villes des «Phéniciens» ou des «Tyriens» avaient une fois existé à la côte atlantique de l'Afrique (p. 197: Strabon XVII, 3, 2, C. 825-6 et 3, C. 826). Ces détails étaient mentionnés par Eratosthène, qui en fut critiqué par Artémidore (p. 198: Strabon XVII, 3, 8, C. 829). Sa méthode défend M. Bunnens de traiter les auteurs qu'il ne peut pas citer sans intermédiaire. En général, c'est prudent. Mais en ce cas-ci, cela l'a prohibé de voir l'influence que les écrits géographiques de Polybe, qui sont presque totalement perdus, ont eu sur Strabon et ses sources, en particulier Artémidore. Après la chute de Carthage, le savant grec avait exploré le monde jusque là pratiquement inconnu de la côte marocaine de l'Afrique (voir l'article fondamental de P. Pédech, «La géographie de Polybe: structure et contenu du livre XXXIV des *Histoires*», *Les Études Classiques* 24, 1956, p. 3-24). Ni Polybe, ni Artémidore, qui est la source principale de Strabon pour les côtes de la Méditerranée et sans doute aussi pour ses passages sur la Phénicie, figurent à propre titre dans le livre de M. Bunnens. Toutefois, il faut résoudre la question compliquée des sources de Strabon XVI, 2, C. 749-765 avant que l'on puisse estimer la valeur du passage important suivant:

«Après Sidon se trouve Tyr, très grande et très ancienne ville des Phéniciens, sa rivale par la grandeur aussi bien que par l'éclat et une ancienneté que révèlent de nombreuses traditions. Si les poètes, en effet, ont essentiellement parlé de Sidon (Homère ne mentionne même pas Tyr), les colonies envoyées en Libye, en Ibérie et jusqu'au-delà des Colonnes glorifient surtout Tyr». (XVI, 2, 22, C. 756, cité au p. 191).

Pour ma part, je crois que Strabon se réfère ici en ce qui concerne la colonisation phénicienne, ou bien aux commentaires sur Homère, ou bien à l'information qui provient de Polybe, directement ou par l'intermédiaire d'Artémidore, ou, au cas de l'Ibérie, de Poseidonios.

Deux thèmes se retrouvent à plusieurs reprises dans la tradition classique. Le premier retrace l'origine de la ville de Gadez, au dehors des Colonnes d'Héraklès, aux activités des Phéniciens qui y auraient apporté leur culte du Héraklès Tyrien dans un passé très lointain (11^e, fin du

12^e siècle av. n. è.). L'idée, que la dispersion du culte du Héraklès Tyrien dans les régions différentes de la Méditerranée est causée par sa propagation et par l'expansion de ses adhérents phéniciens, peut déjà être trouvée dans les théories d'Hérodote sur les origines et la dispersion de traits culturels, en particulier ceux de caractère religieux. Au cas de Gadez, cette tradition n'a aucune valeur historique et M. Bunnens a raison de fonder sa théorie sur le rôle important des temples dans l'expansion phénicienne, seulement aux données orientales.

Le second thème qui a occupé nombre d'auteurs antiques, est la tradition de la présence de Cadméens et par conséquence de Phéniciens en Grèce. Cadmos lui-même est connu comme le fondateur de Thèbes, mais son expédition aurait aussi laissé des traces et des descendants à Théra, à Thasos, et à Rhodes. Même le *genos* athénien des Gephyraïoi réclamait une origine phénicienne. L'historicité de cette tradition sur la présence de Phéniciens en Grèce est difficile à prouver, comme elle est difficile à réfuter. Ici, je ne considère pas les trouvailles d'objets d'origine et d'inspiration orientales à l'acropole mycénien de Thèbes et leurs implications, parce que ça mènerait trop loin. Le premier qui fait mention du mythe de Cadmos et des Cadméens, est Hérodote. Mais il faut noter, que l'origine phénicienne de Cadmos n'est pas assurée dans les versions originales du mythe (voir Ruth B. Edwards, *Kadmos the Phoenician. A Study in Greek Legends and the Mycenaean Age*, Amsterdam, 1979). Reste, que nous ne pouvons pas exclure la possibilité d'une présence de Phéniciens en Grèce aux 10^e et 9^e siècles av. n. è. Il n'est même pas sûr que des recherches archéologiques pourront prouver une telle présence. Les recherches de M. Bundgård en Anatolie ont démontré que «seule la présence d'archives a permis de reconnaître l'existence de communautés assyriennes en Anatolie», parce que «l'archéologie n'avait révélé aucun trait caractéristique permettant de distinguer les *kārū* assyriens d'Anatolie des établissements indigènes». (p. 328) Au cas des comptoirs marchands des Phéniciens, la situation doit être analogue, d'autre part, des vestiges d'établissements phéniciens en Espagne font maintenant l'objet d'explorations archéologiques.

Du point de vue qualitatif la partie la plus importante du livre de M. Bunnens est la première, dans laquelle les textes non-classiques, orientaux, sont analysés (p. 28-101). D'ailleurs, ce sont toujours des textes non-phéniciens, à l'exception de quelques fragments provenant de Chypre et la stèle de Nora, en Sardaigne. L'interprétation de cette dernière inscription (discutée aux p. 30-40) reste difficile et contestée. Tant que nous ne disposons pas de nouvelles inscriptions phéniciennes, il faut que nous nous référons aux textes égyptiens, assyriens et bibliques. La seule source égyptienne qui est discutée par M. Bunnens, est l'histoire d'Ounamon. On peut se demander si nous ne pourrions pas trouver en Égypte plus d'indications des activités des Phéniciens que cette seule histoire, qui, pourtant, a un caractère romanesque. Le pharaon Sheshonq I (env. 950-925 av. n. è.) a résumé les contacts avec les rois de Byblos (K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt 1100-650 BC*, Warminster, 1973, p. 292). Une autre indication des contacts commerciaux de l'Égypte avec les Phéniciens au temps de Ramsès IV (env. 1165 av. n. è.) est sans doute fournie par la stèle du Sinaï, Gardiner-

Peet-Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinaï*, no. 275 (= K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, T. VI, no. 17).

Les textes orientaux nous présentent les Phéniciens comme des navigateurs et des commerçants qui sont actifs dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée. L'horizon géographique de ces sources est constitué par l'île de Chypre et la côte occidentale d'Asie Mineure. Sans aucun doute, les Phéniciens ont étendu leurs expéditions maritimes plus loin que ces pays. Mais il faut se réaliser que les textes n'y disent rien, faite exception de quelques textes bibliques prophétiques, qui sont d'une date beaucoup plus récente, et des allusions dans les livres des Rois et des Chroniques, qui nomment des «vaisseaux de Tarshish», mais qui aussi n'ont qu'une notion géographique trop vague. M. Bunnens suppose — une supposition qui est tout à fait vraisemblable —, que les Phéniciens ont organisé leur commerce d'une manière qui était habituelle dans la Proche Orient, c'est à dire par l'établissement de quartiers de marchands dans l'étranger (les *kārū*). Cette conclusion, combinée aux remarques des auteurs grecs (Homère, Hérodote, Pindare, Thucydide) sur les marins phéniciens, semble être confirmée par la vision que les historiens plus récents (Diodore de Sicile notamment) ont du total des activités phéniciennes, considérées en premier lieu comme ayant un caractère commercial. Toutefois, il ne faut pas oublier que cette image n'est qu'une reconstruction après date des historiens antiques, fondée sur ce qu'ils savaient des motifs de la politique commerciale des Carthaginois. M. Bunnens a eu raison de ne pas fonder ses conclusions sur ces sources tardives, y compris Timée de Tauroménion qui déjà ne pouvait plus faire distinction entre commerce phénicien et commerce carthaginois.

Il reste à discuter la question du caractère du commerce phénicien. Le vers d'Homère: «des Phéniciens l'ont ... offert en présent à Thoas» (*Iliade* XIII, 745), est cité par M. Bunnens comme un exemple de la connaissance du poète des activités commerciales des Phéniciens (p. 93). Mais l'expression indique plutôt un «commerce» dépendant de structures sociales de don et de contre-don, si caractéristique d'une vie économique qui est très bien connue aux anthropologues et que M. I. Finley a reconnue dans le «monde d'Ulysse». En ce qui concerne les sociétés dites primitives il vaut mieux parler d'échanges que de commerce. Maintenant, il reste à préciser la nature du commerce phénicien dans ce cadre des théories anthropologiques sur le fonctionnement des systèmes économiques dans le monde pré-industriel. Peut-être, les systèmes d'échange des Phéniciens sont seulement à rechercher avec les méthodes de la «nouvelle archéologie». Les textes antiques, non classiques aussi bien que classiques, ne sont pas assez précis en ce regard, comme la lecture du livre de M. Bunnens nous le montre.

L'importance et la valeur de ce livre se trouvent dans ce qu'il prétend de donner: une mise à part claire et une analyse de la tradition littéraire concernant l'expansion phénicienne. Comme tel, le livre de M. Bunnens est une contribution valable à nos connaissances. C'est pourquoi l'absence d'une bibliographie est à regretter, vu la riche documentation bibliographique qui est contenue dans les notes. D'autre part, il faut féliciter l'éditeur qui a permis de marquer les références aux passages discutés par une

typographie spéciale, ce qui facilite particulièrement la consultation de l'œuvre.

Groningen, janvier 1981

E. CH. L. VAN DER VLIET

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Sylvia POWELS, *Der Kalender der Samaritaner anhand des Kitāb Hisāb as-Sinīn und anderer Handschriften*. Berlin-New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1977 (8vo, xviii + 382 pp., 6 plates) = Studia Samaritana 3. DM 98. ISBN 3 11 004763 2.

The core of this thesis is an edition in Hebrew characters of the *Book of Years, Months, and Days* composed by the Samaritan priest El'azar 'Abd al-Mu'in ibn Šadaqa al-Lāwī in Nablus in 1964 (pp. 141-199), followed by a German translation (pp. 201-257) and notes (pp. 259-297). This text consists of some basic and incomplete information on the elements of the Samaritan, Muslim, and Eastern Christian calendars; descriptions of the seven festivals in the Samaritan year; a list of passages from the Torah to be read on different Sabbaths; a day-by-day calendar for most of the year 6403 of the creation according to the Samaritans (1964/1965 A.D.); and various traditional rules for intercalation in the nineteen-year cycle. El'azar's little book is supplemented by an edition (with German translation and notes) of an incomplete calendar said to be for 1908 and a fragment of another, undated calendar, both preserved in one of the Gāster manuscripts in the British Library (pp. 299-338). The author might have noted that El'azar's calendar extends from 6 October 1964 to 24 September 1965; the second from 13 April to 5 November of 1907 (not 1908!), and the third apparently from 15 September to 23 November 1643! She is unable to investigate the means by which these calendars were computed.

This material is preceded by some information on Samaritan calendaric and astronomical manuscripts (pp. 3-7 and 12-17), by an account of the Samaritan calendar (pp. 23-109), and by a discussion of Samaritan religious festivals (pp. 110-139). The astronomical manuscripts need to be investigated and described by someone competent in the technical aspects of Near Eastern astronomy and its history. Powels demonstrates an extreme inadequacy in these matters; for instance, like their original editor, E. Robertson, she does not recognize (pp. 86-91) that the solar and lunar tables in the Samaritan manuscripts XXII, XXIII, and XXV at the John Rylands Library represent the original form of the tables of al-Khwārizmī (see D. Pingree, "Al-Khwārizmī in Samaria", to appear in the *JHAS*). And in general her explanation of the Samaritan calendar and its history is uninformed and inconclusive. Her attempts to explain a few technical passages (e.g., pp. 76-86 and 94-101) amply demonstrate her unfortunate inability to deal with this aspect of her material. She is unaware of the great advances that have been made in our understanding of ancient and medieval astronomy and its history since the 1930's, and is not capable of expressing the mathematical basis of the Samaritan calendar or its precise relation to other calendars or to astronomical theory. The documents that she publishes raise many

interesting questions; it is regrettable that she has not been able to answer them.

Brown University, April 1981

DAVID PINGREE

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Eliyahu ASHTOR, *Studies on the Levantine Trade in the Middle Ages*. London, Variorum Reprints, 1978 (23 cm., 372 pp.) = Variorum Reprints CS 74. ISBN 0 86078 020 1.

Eliyahu ASHTOR, *The Medieval Near East. Social and Economic History*. Collected Studies. London, Variorum Reprints, 1978 (24 cm., 362 pp.) = Collected Studies Series 79. ISBN 0 89078 025 2.

Ces deux volumes, comme tous ceux de la série Variorum Reprints, contiennent des études parues dans des revues plus ou moins accessibles, sans pagination continue, mais commodément à avoir sous la main. Ils sont pourvus d'un index des noms de personnes et de lieux, mais non d'un *index rerum*, ce qui est un défaut majeur dans des publications aussi documentées que celles du savant professeur de Jérusalem.

Le premier des deux recueils commence par deux études sur ce que l'auteur appelle encore la thèse de Pirenne. Il s'agit nécessairement du haut moyen âge, malgré que, dans sa préface (p. III), l'auteur ait annoncé que ses articles ne traitent que de l'époque postérieure aux croisades. L'élève de Pirenne que je suis est assez surpris de trouver feu F. Vercauteren cité parmi les adversaires de Pirenne dont il a, tout le monde le sait, édité l'ouvrage posthume *Mahomet et Charlemagne* (art. I, 166). Que deux vaisseaux aient pu transporter en 870 pas moins de 3.000 prisonniers chrétiens destinés à l'esclavage en Égypte serait un fait, s'il était vrai, qui révolutionnerait l'archéologie navale (ibid. 167). On se demande pourquoi M.A. a écrit en français dans le *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* l'article où figurent les passages relevés, car à certains moments cette langue semble avoir trahi sa pensée, à moins que ce ne soit le contraire. C'est ainsi qu'à la p. 168, il parle d'échecs des flottes musulmanes, alors qu'il vient d'énumérer des succès. Parfois il n'hésite pas devant un franc barbarisme: «vaincrent» (p. 169); «Lattakie, le bien connu port» (p. 171) germanisme caractéristique; «garçons beaux» (p. 175) etc. etc. N'empêche que, comme toujours chez M. Ashtor, tout cela est mêlé de renseignements précieux: par ex. p. 175 une traduction exacte d'un passage d'Ibn Haukal sur les esclaves slaves dont il donne une interprétation erronée, sur laquelle nous reviendrons, dans le troisième article du recueil «Aperçus sur les Rhadanites» (III, p. 272 sq.). C'est la rançon d'un travail parfois un peu rapide, comme le sont aussi, dans les notes, des sigles résolus nulle part, ou des noms d'auteurs non suivis de l'indication du travail visé. Comme l'est encore la localisation de Bulghar dans le Khwarizm que l'auteur ajoute à un texte d'al-Mukaddasi qui ne dit rien de pareil (p. 177). N'empêche, une fois de plus, qu'il y a là tout un dossier sur la traite notamment des Khwarizmiens à l'époque

samanide, dossier, que, historien de l'esclavage, j'apprécie d'autant plus qu'il n'est pas difficile de le mettre tout à fait au point. (I, pp. 175-181). Pour l'interprétation d'Ibn Khordadbeh, ici comme ailleurs, M.A. aurait dû tenir compte davantage des sources occidentales qui permettent de mieux comprendre les renseignements fournis par les sources arabes et vice-versa. P. 185, il n'y a pas de capitulaire de Raffelstetten, mais une *Inquisitio de theloneis* se rapportant au même endroit. Les Rūs opérant d'après Ibn Haukal sur les côtes d'Al Andalus sont évidemment des Scandinaves de Normandie. P. 188 Les marchands italiens n'ont pas transporté «à l'époque des croisades de grandes quantités de poivre et d'autres épices destinées à la consommation des masses». Les grandes quantités sont venues plus tard et même alors n'étaient pas destinées aux «masses». Au cours des dernières pages de cet article, l'auteur a complètement oublié la «thèse» de Pirenne, ce qui ne l'a pas empêché d'y consacrer un second article, la même année, dans la *Revue Suisse d'Histoire*. Vouloir faire d'Ibn Khordadbeh traitant de marchands Radhaniya un argument qui renforce la «thèse» de l'absence des relations entre le monde musulman et le monde chrétien est un tour de passe-passe assez surprenant (II, 604). Il est vrai que l'étude III intitulée «Aperçus sur les Rhadanites» se propose surtout de diminuer l'importance de l'activité de ces célèbres marchands juifs. M.A. commence par montrer très bien que le commerce maritime n'était guère possible entre chrétiens et musulmans à cette époque. Ce qui ne veut pas dire qu'il ne l'était pas entre les diverses rives musulmanes de la Méditerranée. M.A., semble-t-il, l'oublie. C'est évidemment à ce commerce-là que se rattache le commerce maritime juif, du moins au milieu du IX^e siècle. Les quatre différents itinéraires que M.A. attribue aux marchands rhadanites ne sont pas assez clairement tracés, et on ne comprend pas toujours les reproches qu'il fait à des arabisants aussi distingués que Cl. Cahen et J. Jacobi. L'itinéraire de Magdebourg vers l'Ouest n'est pas décrit par Ibn Khordadbeh pour le bon motif que c'est un itinéraire du X^e siècle, alors que Ibn Khordadbeh écrit au IX^e. Sur Magdebourg au X^e siècle on peut consulter A. Brackmann, *Magdeburg als Hauptstadt des deutschen Ostens im frühen Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1937) que M.A. ne connaît pas. La façon la plus claire de retracer les itinéraires en Europe centrale, c'est d'utiliser les tarifs de tonlieu que l'auteur ne connaît pas non plus et où les marchands juifs tiennent une place importante. En relevant la localisation des trésors de monnaies coufiques au milieu du IX^e siècle M.A. arrive à des conclusions sur les itinéraires suivis par les marchands juifs qui correspondent à ce qu'apprennent les textes occidentaux (III, 267). Je crois, comme M.A., que les Rhadanites sont des marchands juifs ayant leur base en France carolingienne, mais il ne la localise pas, ce que je ferai ailleurs. L'interprétation de sakāliba (III, 271) repose sur une négation de l'étymologie et de l'évolution sémantique. La localisation à Lucena en Andalousie des faiseurs d'eunuques est invraisemblable. Dans le texte d'Ibn Haukal — que M.A. veut interpréter autrement que moi dans mon article «A propos de la place des juifs dans l'économie de l'Europe occidentale aux IX^e et X^e siècles» (*Mélanges Dupré-Théseider*) — il ne remarque pas la différence entre les itinéraires suivis par les marchands d'eunuques slaves et ceux d'esclaves entiers, et n'utilise pas les sources occiden-

tales et byzantines. De plus il ne connaît pas mon étude des *Mélanges Hassinger*: Traite des esclaves et cols alpins au haut moyen âge, parue, il est vrai, la même année que son propre article. Ce que dit M.A. sur la traite au X^e siècle est très lacunaire. Il termine son article sur les Rhadanites sans essayer de les définir comme groupe. Décidément ils méritent bien qu'on y revienne encore!

Nous quittons le haut moyen âge avec un article sur les marchands kārimi de l'époque mamelouke. M.A. y voit un groupe hiérarchisé, mais sans statuts (IV, 52), spécialisé dans le commerce des épices, comme le pensait déjà Fischel en 1937, mais il y ajoute la traite (IV, 55 sq.).

Le commerce et la production de tissus de laine dans l'Orient médiéval est le sujet du V^e article. Depuis les manteaux de laine (sūf) portés par les mystiques soufis jusqu'aux manufactures califales de tiraz, M.A. accumule les données sur la production locale. Qu'il y aurait eu 14.000 «ateliers» de tissage à Alexandrie en 1395 ne sera cru par personne; même 14.000 métiers aurait été énorme (V, 671). Ce que dit l'auteur sur «le grand volume» (V, 673) de l'importation des draps européens au début de l'époque mamelouke au milieu du XIII^e s. contredit ce qu'il a avancé en sens opposé p. 663. N'empêche que, comme toutes celles qui constituent le recueil, cette étude fourmille de renseignements.

L'étude VI «The Venetian supremacy in Levantine Trade. Monopoly or pre-colonialism?» est en partie basée sur des notaires vénitiens ayant instrumenté au Levant. Parmi eux figure Nicolo Venier auquel je viens de consacrer une étude sur les années 1417-19 à Damas et 1420-1422 à Alexandrie. Ce notaire ne donne pas du tout l'impression que le commerce génois est en décadence dans l'état mamelouk, comme le prétend M.A. En réalité ce commerce est devenu plus levantin, en ce sens qu'il est mené davantage par les marchands génois de Caffa, de Pera, de Chio, que par ceux de Gênes même, à moins que l'on ne considère comme tels ceux qui font de longs séjours et vivent dans les fondouks. Mais est-ce tellement différent pour Venise? Les marchands vénitiens d'Alexandrie ne font-ils pas des affaires avec la Crète, colonie vénitienne, avec les places de Morée, etc? Les données concernant le commerce des épices sont, toutefois, précieuses, surtout à cause des renseignements très nombreux concernant les marchandises, les poids, les prix, même s'il n'y a ni monopole, ni colonialisme. Il en est de même des six autres études figurant dans ce volume, dont la première concerne le commerce vénitien du coton en Syrie. Cette étude fournit aussi d'utiles informations sur les plantations de coton dans le monde musulman méditerranéen (VII, 676 sq.). L'article VIII sur le commerce levantin d'Ancône complète les recherches de J. Delumeau et P. Earle en se basant sur des notaires opérant à Ancône et sur des notaires vénitiens à Alexandrie et Damas. P. 215 l. 7 lire *trattati* au lieu de *contratti*. Les quatre derniers articles traitent respectivement de «Profits from trade with the Levant in the fifteenth century», «The volume of Levantine Trade in the Later Middle Ages (1370-1498)», «Spice Prices in the Near East in the 15th century» et «La découverte de la voie maritime aux Indes et le prix des épices».

Le second des volumes dont il est ici rendu compte commence par un article théorique sur «La recherche des prix dans l'Orient médiéval: sources, méthodes et pro-

blèmes». Un second article concerne «I salari nel Medio Oriente durante l'epoca medioevale». Tous deux sont pleins de données concrètes tirées d'une documentation très riche, mais les comparaisons entre divers pays et époques sont difficiles à apprécier par suite de l'absence de données sur les cours des monnaies et sur les changes. A retenir, dans un troisième article «The diet of salaried classes in the medieval Near East», les données sur les plantations de cannes à sucre (III,5) qu'on rapprochera de celles, d'ailleurs plus riches, figurant dans le volume précédent, sur la production du coton (I, VII,676 sq.).

Vient ensuite «Un mouvement migratoire au haut moyen âge. Migrations de l'Irak vers les pays méditerranéens». Le V° paragraphe de ce travail (IV,208 sq.) contient une riche documentation sur le recrutement des soldats-esclaves aux IX^e et X^e siècles. Il s'agit évidemment ici d'immigration plutôt que d'émigration, mais M.A. pense que l'Irak servait de marché ou de camp pour des mamelouks destinés à l'Égypte. Ainsi l'armée d'Ahmad Ibn Tulun, équipée en Irak, aurait compris des esclaves grecs et soudanais. Makrizi dit par ailleurs que l'armée de ce souverain comprenait 24.000 esclaves turcs et 40.000 nègres. Ce sont surtout les Turcs et les noirs qui méritent créance. Malheureusement beaucoup de noms de lieux et même de personnes devraient pouvoir être confrontés avec d'autres et l'on constate avec déplaisir que l'index est loin de le permettre toujours.

Les articles suivants relèvent de l'histoire institutionnelle, sociale et politique: V. L'administration urbaine en Syrie médiévale. VI. Républiques urbaines dans le Proche-Orient à l'époque des croisades. VII. The social isolation of Ahl adh dhimma. VIII. L'inquisition dans l'État mamelouk. IX. L'urbanisme syrien à la basse époque. On retourne à l'histoire économique avec les trois dernières études: X. L'évolution des prix dans le Proche Orient à la basse époque. XI. Études sur le système monétaire des Mamelouks circassiens. XII. Le taux d'intérêt dans l'Orient médiéval. Ensemble beaucoup plus disparate donc que celui du premier volume, mais où, comme toujours, les renseignements de toute nature abondent. A consulter, plus qu'à lire d'un bout à l'autre. Le français de l'article sur l'administration urbaine, paru dans une revue italienne, est beaucoup moins bon que celui des deux articles de la Revue suisse d'histoire au premier volume, lesquels ont évidemment été revus par un francophone. Les indications concernant les fonctionnaires sont précieuses notamment pour l'interprétation des formes latinisées figurant dans les actes notariés établis dans les fondouks chrétiens. L'étude sur ahl adh dhimma concerne les minorités chrétiennes et juives au bas moyen âge. Particulièrement intéressantes les indications sur les signes distinctifs, même en ce qui concerne les chaussures. L'inquisition musulmane sévit contre des intellectuels réputés athées, des hétérodoxes chiites, des mystiques, des chrétiens renégats repentis. Le terme «urbanisme» est mal employé dans le titre de l'article IX où il s'agit en réalité des cadres administratifs. Dans l'étude X sur les prix, celui du pain devrait toujours être accompagné du poids pour qu'il soit réellement interprétable. De plus la composition en céréales est insuffisamment connue. De même la qualité et la composition des vêtements ne sont pas assez spécifiées, ce qui fait que la conclusion sur la stabilité des prix est discutabile. L'étude XI sur le système monétaire est une utile contribu-

tion à l'évolution des taux de change, si importante dans le commerce chrétien au Levant. Il en est de même de celle des taux d'intérêt (XII) qui permet de saisir mieux la raison de certains protêts actés par les notaires et, bien entendu, de suivre les fluctuations de la conjoncture.

Bruxelles, mars 1981

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EGYPTOLOGIE

ÉTUDES SUR L'ÉGYPTE ET LE SOUDAN ANCIENS, Vols. I-V. Villeneuve d'Ascq, Université de Lille III, 1974-1976 (24 cm., Vol. I, 12 pls., Vol. II., 278 pp., Vol. 3, 281 pp., Vol. 4., 365 pp., Vol. 5, 365 pp.) = Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie, n°s 1-5. ISSN 0153-5021.

L'Istituto di Papirologia e di Egittologia dell'Università di Lilla ha una lunga storia di pubblicazione di testi e di monumenti. Sotto la direzione di Jean Vercoutter la funzione archeologica ha preso rinnovato vigore; e nel 1972 uno strumento che dell'Istituto documentasse rapidamente tutte le varie attività è stato immaginato dal Vercoutter appunto, con quei Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille (CRIPEL) che portano come titolo quello che è in testa a questo rendiconto.

Diceva la presentazione: «Leur but est modeste: faire connaître le plus rapidement et le plus économiquement possible les travaux de notre Institut, les lignes directrices de ses recherches et les résultats essentiels». Tanta dichiarata modestia fa torto al peso e al significato che queste «Études» sono venute assumendo: dal 1972 al 1979 ne sono apparsi cinque volumi, il primo dei quali ha avuto l'inconsueta (per un periodico) prova di successo di una ristampa; e i contributi vari e sostanziosi che costituiscono la raccolta hanno di regola un interesse non solo momentaneo.

La cosa forse più caratteristica è una certa costanza dei temi trattati, che sono appunto quelli più consoni con l'attività del centro. La vecchia tradizione papirologica di Lilla si riflette nella pubblicazione a puntate di un «Catalogue des étiquettes de momies du Musée du Louvre (C.E.M.L.)» a cura di F. Baratte e B. Boyaval che presenta 1211 testi editi con precisione per il II, il III, il IV e il V fascicolo, e che alla fine è corredato da una serie di indici che permettono di utilizzare a fini di ricerca onomastica questi documenti di non sempre nota provenienza (ma la maggior parte sembra che provenga da Sohag). Ci son più di 500 nomi nuovi o di diversa grafia rispetto alle liste del Preisigke e del Foraboschi, c'è un certo numero di indicazioni di mestiere che mostra con quale ambiente si abbia a che fare, c'è un assai significativo numero di anni di vita che permette ricerche statistiche nel campo demografico, con correzioni alle curve di mortalità stabilite da precedenti ricerche (Humbert-Préaux; Pearson-Willcox) (II, p. 257-9).

Ma oltre a questo assai particolare tipo di documenti, c'è anche la pubblicazione, soprattutto a cura di Boyaval,

di nuovi testi ottenuti da vecchi *cartonnages* dagli scavi di Jouguet e di Lefebvre a Magdola e a Ghoran e che son depositati alla Sorbona. Ci son papiri amministrativi tolemaici (I,186 sqq.), talvolta di assai modeste proporzioni e conservazione. Ma un *cartonnage* conservato a Lille e che è stato svolto nel 1973 dal Fackelmann (notizia in II,9), ha dato, oltre a un po' di materiale documentario anche testi letterari assai importanti. Sono commentarii callimachei e resti di un testo poetico che è attribuito a Stesicoro, oltre a frammenti non identificati di prosa. L'edizione dei nuovi testi poetici, in IV,257 sqq a cura di G. Ancher, B. Boyaval e C. Meillier è un ottimo esempio di ampia collaborazione internazionale liberamente richiesta e cordialmente valutata, e di impegno critico e filologico a brevissima scadenza dalla scoperta. Il testo in prosa, estremamente frammentario, è presentato da C. Meillier in V,341.

Questa ampia serie di contributi rende omaggio alle tradizioni papirologiche di Lilla; da un più generale punto di vista metodologico, si sottolinea quanto opportuno sia legare papirologia ed egittologia come due momenti complementari della ricerca.

La più ampia serie di contributi, comunque, è quella connessa con gli acavi a Sai, in Sudan: una località che nel suo contorno geografico chiaramente definito (è un'isola) presenta un campionario vastissimo di si può dir tutti i momenti della storia nubiana, dal paleolitico all'età turca.

Una descrizione della situazione generale è data dal Vercoutter, proprio in apertura di rivista (I,9 sqq.) (ed è più brevemente ripresa da F. Geus e J. Reinold qualche anno dopo, in III,21): ma più che questi inquadramenti son tipici qui i gruppi di rendiconti su particolari cantieri di scavo. Una prima ispezione di materiale epigrafico sparso fra le rovine ha permesso al Vercoutter («La XVIII Dyn. à Sai et en Haute Nubie», I,9 sqq.) di riconoscere le linee generali dell'occupazione egiziana della regione, a partire dai primordii del Regno Nuovo, riprendendo e chiarendo un'idea che gli è cara, e cioè che la «Nubia» che gli Egiziani considerano straniera comincia dopo la II Cateratta. La fortezza, o meglio la città fortificata, è descritta da A. Azim («Quatre campagnes de fouilles sur la Forteresse de Sai», 1970-1973. I^e Partie: l'installation pharaonique», III,93 sqq), con viva attenzione ai suoi problemi di urbanistica. Le tombe del Nuovo Regno connesse con l'insediamento egiziano son segnalate e descritte con accuratezza, sia in genere dal Vercoutter (Sai 1972-1973, II,13) che più specificamente da A. Minault e F. Thill («La Tombe 14 de la Nécropole du Nouvel Empire à Sai», III,69) e dalla sola Minault («Sai 1974-1975: tombes pharaoniques», IV,87). Il corredo funerario ha dato alcuni pezzi notevoli, come un probabile rasoio bronzo con figura di stambecco (IV,95, 97), e due notevolissimi scarabei-pettorali che fanno oggetto di una particolare nota del Vercoutter («Deux Pectoraux-Scarabées de Cœur de Sai — S. 1147 et 1155», III,13 sqq.).

Allo stesso Vercoutter si deve una precisa descrizione di un gruppo di tombe meroitiche, in genere assai manomesse, ma con elementi ben utilizzati di datazione, che forniscono una forcella fra il 150 e il 306 d.C. («La tombe méroïtique SA.S.2.T.1 (I) de Sai», V,211).

Tuttavia il complesso più importante per la ricchezza e il significato del materiale è quello costituito dalla vastis-

sima necropoli Kerma che è oggetto di ben cinque ampi articoli descrittivi di B. Gratien («Les Nécropoles Kerma de l'Île de Sai», I,143 sqq; II,53 sqq.; III,45 sqq.; IV,107 sqq.; V,159 sqq.). È noto che l'Autrice sullo studio di questo materiale ha potuto costruire la sua sistemazione generale delle culture Kerma in quattro periodi, dalla fine del «Gruppo A» all'inizio dell'età imperiale egizia, arricchendo e modulando le antiche impostazioni del Reisner.

Altre tombe, anch'esse fondamentalmente Kerma, sono indicate da una serie di altri sondaggi a Sai nei pressi del Forte Adu (Geus e Reinold, III,21 sqq.; Geus, IV,63 sqq.).

Se Sai è il complesso archeologico più ampiamente esaminato, di altri siti vengono date notizie. A un altro cantiere importante del Vercoutter, Mirgissa, si riferisce uno studio di C. Venot («Le cimetière MX TD de Mirgissa» (II,29 sqq.) che anticipa quello poi apparso nel secondo volume della pubblicazione ufficiale per un piccolo e modesto cimitero del Nuovo Regno (Thutmose III?) — di cui proprio la qualità modesta è l'interesse principale.

Un'altra importante esperienza organizzativa, quella di una unità archeologica dislocata in Sudan per una collaborazione di giovani studiosi francesi con il Servizio delle Antichità sudanese è illustrata da Geus in IV,77 sqq. Nell'ultimo fascicolo della rivista (V,9 sqq.) è pubblicato il drammatico rendiconto di un intervento d'urgenza di questa unità a El Kadada, nella regione di Shendi, dove si è riusciti a salvare *in extremis* davanti all'ampliarsi della zona agricola una importante serie di testimonianze del neolitico (F. Geus e J. Reinold, «Fouille de sauvetage à El Kadada (Soudan) I — La Campagne d'Avril 1976»). Resta infine da ricordare che nel CRIPEL ha trovato posto la relazione di alcune esplorazioni, come quella di Geus e Lamme, «La Nubie au sud de Dal: exploration archéologique et problèmes historiques». (III,105).

Accanto a questa serie così significativa di documenti di archeologia militante si hanno anche alcune ricerche connesse con una attività più — per così dire — da tavolino. Quasi un «prolegomenon» alla recente ripresa di attività nelle oasi egiziane è L. Limme, «Les Oasis de Khargeh et Dakhleh d'après les documents égyptiens de l'époque pharaonique» (I,41 sqq.). Connesse invece con l'ambiente sudanese sono le ricerche su specifici funzionari egiziani colà dislocati (A. Fouquet, «Deux Hauts-Fonctionnaires du Nouvel Empire en Haute-Nubie», in III,129 sqq, che riunisce i documenti sul viceré Hekanakhte e il «delegato» Harnakhte della XIX dinastia — e M. Dewachter, «Un fonctionnaire préposé aux marches méridionales à l'époque d'Amenophis II: (Pa)-Hekaemsasen», in IV,55 sqq.) Particolarmente interessante sul piano generale la risposta del Vercoutter alle ipotesi sul comportamento del Nilo nel Medio Regno formulate dalla Bell («Égyptologie et climatologie. Les crues du Nil à Semneh», IV,141); e tale da arricchire il quadro cronologico generalmente proprio della rivista l'articolo di G. Vantini, «Les Noubas d'après les géographes arabes des trois premiers siècles de l'Hégire», V,119 sqq.

Specificamente connesso con un problema attorno al quale ha a lungo lavorato il Vercoutter è l'ingegnoso articolo di L. Basch, «Les bateaux-corbeilles des Haou-Nebout», IV,13 sqq, in cui si propone di riconoscere in *nbwt* una designazione di un particolare tipo di battello in uso nelle lagune e paludi del Delta.

Fra questo tipo di contributi una parte a sé merita una serie di articoli di varia ampiezza e di vario impegno, nei quali B. Menu fa il punto su specifici problemi di diritto egiziano — un argomento riserbato a ben pochi cultori, ma la cui importanza per la storia della civiltà e della società egiziana diviene sempre più evidente. Una lunga analisi del «prestito» nei vari momenti della storia egiziana, e del suo modificarsi da prestito non oneroso a prestito con specifiche (e alte) condizioni di interesse è appoggiata a numerosi testi antichi («Le prêt en droit égyptien», I, 61 sqq.). Un'altra analisi dell'aspetto giuridico della «proprietà» nella stele di Meten (B. Menu e I. Harari, «La notion de propriété privée dans l'Ancien Empire Égyptien», II, 126 sqq.), tende a mettere in evidenza l'origine regale di ogni proprietà antica. Una rilettura della stele del Cairo JE 66285 mostra come secondo la Menu l'essenziale dei rapporti giuridici nell'Egitto faraonico non riguardi tanto la proprietà quanto il godimento di diritti (per quanto concerne sfruttamento della terra e servizi («La fondation culturelle accordée a Sheshonq», V, 183 sqq.)).

Alcuni contributi più puntuali non sono stati ricordati in questo nostro rapido indice: ma da quanto è stato fin qui elencato si vede la solida concretezza di questa rivista, legata a specifiche ricerche su materiali — archeologici e documentari che siano.

È, anche, caratteristico di questa rivista il ritornare degli stessi nomi da un numero all'altro: si configura così un efficiente ed affiatato gruppo di lavoro, in cui le diverse mansioni dei singoli studiosi sono ben coordinate da una mente direttiva, che è facile identificare in colui che per questi anni ha guidato sia la scuola egittologica di Lilla sia la maggior parte delle imprese di cui i CRIPEL danno notizia — anche se ufficialmente il suo nome non appare segnato dal crisma direttoriale in nessun punto della pubblicazione, ma risulta solo come firma di quei discorsi più generali che pongono in prospettiva la bella attività consegnata in questi cinque volumi.

Roma, marzo 1981

SERGIO DONADONI

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ENCHORIA, ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DEMOTISTIK UND KOPTOLOGIE, Vol. VIII, Sonderband, published under the joint editorship of E. Lüddeckens, H.-J. Thissen, K.-Th. Zauzich, at Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1978 (30 cm., 171 pages and 47 plates), DM 60.—. ISBN 3 447 01960 3.

The volume VIII Sonderband of *Enchoria* comprises the publication of papers read at two international conferences of recent date: (a) the International Conference of Demotists held in Berlin on September 26th-28th 1977, (b) a part of those presented at the International Congress of Coptology held in Cairo in December 8th-18th 1976.

The international conference of demotists in Berlin, the first of its kind, was organised by Dr. K.-Th. Zauzich, now Professor of Egyptology in the University of Mainz, to mark the 150th anniversary of birth of Henry Brugsch (1827-1894). The report on the proceedings of the meeting is made available on pages 4-6 of this volume and is

followed by contributions presented by scholars who took part in it. The topics dealt with relate to the rather marginal problems of the Demotic papyrology.

1. In the "Prosopographia Ptolemaica and Demotic Studies" W. Clarysse announced the completion of the 6-volumed work on the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* and outlined the work which is to be done in the future which is going to be carried out by the School of Papyrology in Louvain. He presented a brief survey of the material now made available in the already published volumes of the *Prosopographia* and stressed how important evidence in Demotic texts is for furthering studies of Greek textual sources.

2. In a paper bearing the title "The Chicago Demotic Dictionary Project", Janet H. Johnson described the work preparatory to the compilation of a comprehensive Demotic Dictionary, stressing the work which had been done by scholars in the past, in particular by W. Spiegelberg and Sir Herbert Thompson. Neither of these pioneering undertakings has been made available to scholars in publications. J.H. Johnson outlined the ways in which the Chicago Dictionary is expected to be compiled in the future and presented some illustrative instances of its prospective arrangement.

3. In his contribution — "Stand und Aufgaben der Demotistik" — E. Lüddeckens gave a very detailed account of the state of affairs of Demotic studies, beginning with Spiegelberg's survey published in 1923. He discussed the progress made in various branches of the Demotic papyrology between 1923-1977 and described individual contributions by scholars in publishing further, hitherto unknown Demotic papyri. At the end of his lengthy report he pointed to the needs of the Demotic papyrology which still require further deep and long studies to be carried out in the future.

4. J. Quaegebeur presented in his article on "Les papyri démotiques des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire à Bruxelles" an inventory of Demotic papyri acquired at some recent dates by the Royal Museum at Brussels. This is a lot of 18 Demotic papyri from the Theban region. These documents range in date from the VIth to the IIInd century B.C. and relate to transactions with real properties of various individuals in the Theban region. A good number from among them connect with Demotic papyri of Theban provenance previously edited by W. Spiegelberg in the *Die demotischen Papyrus der Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire* and by S. R. K. Glanville in the *Cat. B.M.I.* The new Brussels papyri are expected to be published in the first volume of the *Papyrus Bruxellenses Demoticae*.

5. J.D. Ray reported in his paper on "The non-literary material from North Saggâra", on the progress of the work on the enormous amount of Demotic papyri and other inscriptional material unearthed at Saqqâra by the Egypt Exploration Society. The forthcoming work centres on the edition of magical texts, school exercises which present us with new hitherto unparalleled topics, and inscriptional material from the Baboon and Hawk Galleries. These are of outstanding interest to studies of the life of the occupiers of those galleries as well as to the private worship of ibis, hawk and the Mother of Apis. This report includes also a brief description of various minor items, such as inscriptions on pots containing bird mummies, series of dedications, inscriptions on private statues and a large number of ostraca.

6. E.A.E. Reymond reported on the contents of the collections of Demotic papyri in Vienna and in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford which are to be published at some future date.

In her second paper she reported on the contents of fragments of some learned books which can safely be held to be forerunners of the Greek and Latin Hermetic writings. These documents are now published in *MPER*, vol. XI (1978).

7. M. Smith devoted a long discussion to the "Transliteration of Demotic".

Attempts to render the Demotic Script in Roman characters are of high date and this rather technical tool in the editing of Demotic texts was introduced for convenience's sake: to make the reading of Demotic texts accessible to those who are not demotists. Smith made a survey of all the previous systems of transliteration of Demotic but failed in throwing some new light on it and in finding a standardised version of it.

8. W.J. Tait advocates in his paper "Demotic Literary Texts" for the urgent need of furthering studies in Demotic literary papyri which offer a valuable contribution to studies of the historical, political and social context in which these texts were written. He stressed that there are still large batches of demotic literary material in various museums' collections which were never tackled and deciphered. These documents impose the equally urgent task in preparing new editions of the already existing publications of Demotic literary texts.

9. H.J. Thissen gave in his paper on the "Demotische Texte der Kölner Sammlung" a brief but illustrative outline of the contents of the papyrological material housed in the Institute für Altertumskunde in Cologne. This collection comprises 180 papyri and 370 ostraca.

The outstanding document in this collection is a legal text referring to a lawsuit held at Thebes in 115/14 B.C. which links in contents with the well known process at Siut. It relates to a litigation regarding plots of land. Next to it comes a property settlement between husband and wife written in 176/5 B.C. which is of manifold interest. The remaining papyri, mainly fragments, relate to the usual types of transactions with private property and are of Ptolemaic date.

10. W. Westendorf explains in his "Bemerkungen zum Abschluss des Koptischen Handwörterbuchs" the genesis of this undertaking aiming at producing a new edition of the Coptic Dictionary to replace Spiegelberg's *Handwörterbuch*. This paper is intended to present the statistic evidence of the etymological inter-relation of the Coptic, Demotic and Classical Egyptian. Westendorf advocates how important are studies in the treasury of Coptic words for the Demotic which bridges the two great periods in the history of the Egyptian language: the classical Egyptian and the Coptic.

11. K.-Th. Zauzich presents in his paper on "Ein Index der Demotischen Literatur" general remarks on the state of the literature in Demotic papyri. The literature of Ptolemaic and Roman date is very rich but scarcely accessible to readers. He announced a project of publishing in the first instance an index of Demotic literary texts known from extant publications and discussed in general terms the various categories of the Demotic literary texts. The list of the Demotic literary texts will also include all

bibliographical information and further technical data, and is intended to be an aid — tool in promoting further studies in the Demotic literature.

The papers presented at the conference of the demotists in Berlin gave little that is positive and constructive; however they made it very clear what are the emergency needs of this branch of Egyptology which stayed rather neglected until recent years. There is much that will have to be done before demotists will be able to move from the marginal lines of editing and re-editing Demotic texts to further somewhat deeper studies to bring the Demotic papyrology into an equal and parallel line to its sister-branch — the Greek papyrology.

The second issue of *Enchoria*, Vol. VIII, includes a selection of papers presented at the 1st International Congress of Coptology held in Cairo in December 1976 and is intended to supplement R. McL. Wilson's work — *The Future of Coptic Studies*, published in Leiden in 1978.

The papers made available in this volume are divided into two sections:

A. General, Philology and Linguistic

B. Archaeology and History of Art, and are followed by a set of 47 magnificently reproduced photographic plates illustrating less familiar topics of Coptic Art.

In the first (A) Section G.M. Browne presents "Notes on Coptic Literary Texts" concerning Tito Orlandi's publication of *Constantini Episcopi Urbis Siut Encomia in Athanasium Duo*, Louvain 1974 and E.M. Husselman's article on "The Martyrdom of Cyprianus and Julietta in Coptic" in *JARCE*, 4, 1965, p. 79-86.

To both of these works Browne suggests a number of alternative readings and interpretations.

P. Pierre Du Bourguet, S.J. gives in his statement on the *Bibliographie Copte* an outline of the scope of this undertaking and discusses various views and ways of approach that will secure its continuation.

R. Kasser outlines in his paper on "Un Dictionnaire complet de la langue copte", all the details of the preparatory work on a new dictionary of the Coptic language which aims at replacing that of CRUM, and gives a summary of the methods followed in this enormous undertaking.

B. Layton describes the "Progress on the Coptic Dictionary of the Gnostic Literature" founded by T.O. Lambdin of Harvard University. This work is intended to be a comprehensive lexicon of all gnostic texts written in Coptic and will also include texts known from publications of earlier date, such as the Berlin Gnostic Papyrus, Bruce and Askew Codices and all the Nag Hammadi material. This enormous project of work is expected to be brought to a close within a reasonable period of time.

L.S.B. Maccoull speaks about "Coptic Documentary papyri in the Pierpont Morgan Library".

This library is famous by the 54 parchment codices comprising Christian scriptures from the monastic library at Hamouli. Less known part of the Pierpont Morgan Library are documentary texts, some of them of outstanding nature. These texts were purchased in Cairo in 1920 and are still unpublished though a survey study has been made available by Dr. Petersen.

Of special interest is P. 12 a marriage contract in Coptic of rare type evidencing clauses which are attested only in five other contracts. The names of the parties involved

are not given here and the document in question may be a patternlike form. The clauses of special significance are (a) the declaration of the bride that she is a virgin and that she is not related in any of the prohibited degrees of consanguinity or affinity to the prospective bridegroom; (b) the bridegroom promises not to enter the *thysiasterion* more than once a day.

The remaining documentary texts are mainly monastic correspondence, accounts and receipts, fragments of magical texts and school exercises.

Another outstanding legal document is P. 15, a lease of land executed between Flavius Sarapiamun and a certain Onnephrius for a rent in kind.

W. Myszor makes in his paper on "L'état actuel des études coptologiques en Pologne", a survey of the present state of Coptic Studies in Polen and their prospective lines in the future.

J. Osing speaks in his article on "The Dialect of Oxyrhynchus" about Paul Kahle's theories on the Coptic Dialect of Middle Egypt and attempts to broaden them from the comparison of the extant texts found in the region of Oxyrhynchus with P.BM.10808. He does not reach a positive statement to mark out the dialectal differences between the so-called dialect of Oxyrhynchus and the parlance of Middle Egypt.

W. G. Rusch introduces a historical subject in his paper on "Coptic as a Resource in the Quest of the historical Athanasius". No comprehensive study of the life of Athanasius of Alexandria has been undertaken at recent date. Rusch concludes that since Athanasius was a Copt who wrote in Egyptian he should be seen in the light of Egyptian traditions. He cites as the main source of information works by Constantine of Siut written in Coptic and Arabic now housed in the Pierpont Morgan Library. In his opinion Constantine's sermons reveal an Egyptian tradition about Athanasius. He presents a detailed analysis of the sections of those sermons. He reaches the conclusion that Athanasius enjoyed a great reputation even after his death not only as a mediator and reconciler but also as an apostolic, as a leader to the knowledge of God.

H. M. Schenke returns in his lengthy article to the theme of the "Middle Egyptian Dialect of the Coptic Language" and attempts to develop Paul Kahle's discovery. From a brief review of various opinions presented by Coptic scholars he passes to the discussion of the Present II, Circumstantial Present II and Perfect I in the Middle Egyptian Dialect, their spellings and their syntactical functions. He discusses a number of grammatical topics illustrated by quotations unfortunately presented in a somewhat ambiguous way that the reader may find it rather difficult to follow Schenke's attempts of development.

S. Tim describes in his paper on "The Tübingen Proposal for a Cartographic Representation of Christianity in Egypt" the preparatory work on the *Atlas of the Near East*.

Egypt's position is that of an interplay of three religions and their history is closely related to the history of various settlements. The cartographical representation of those settlements, projected in the three main periods of development of Christianity in Egypt, is a valuable contribution to the history of Christian Egypt.

W. Vyčichl reviews in his statement on "Coptic Dialect

Geography Based on Inscriptions" the probable influence of Coptic Dialects on the spelling of toponyms.

N. K. Butros presents in his review-paper on the "Coptic Music and its Relation to Pharaonic Music" a summary of his doctoral thesis dealing with the heritage of the Egyptian music. His work is a very detailed study of the history of the Egyptian music, beginning with Pharaonic times, passing through the ages down to the music of the Coptic Orthodox Church. He came to the conclusion that Coptic music originated in and is in a direct line the development of the Pharaonic one.

M. Trinci-Cecchelli discusses in her article on "Notes sur la porte de Sainte Barbe au Vieux Caire", the problem of two churches built under Eutyches, patriarch of Alexandria, fl. ca. IXth to Xth century A.D., which seem to have been originally dedicated to St. Barbe. She describes the physical appearance of the churches after their restoration and centres her study on the figurative representations on the panels of the main door; they depict new and rather unusual representations of the divine nature of Christ.

V. H. Elbern speaks about the "Werke koptischer Kunst in den Staatlichen Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz" and presents an inventory of the Berlin Collection of Coptic monuments, mainly from Byzantine times. The outstanding items of the collection are a statue of Isis and a number of reliefs from early Christian times which seem to have come from Esch-Sheik Ibada. Those sculptures show a number of artistically important features.

The Berlin collection possesses also a great number of Coptic textile materials; from amongst those of special value are: 1) a wall hanging showing fine figurative elements, either human figures, or pictures of various kinds of animals; 2) two other wall hangings made of purple material and showing unusual elements or ornamentation: the one an eagle, the other a geometrical pattern. These three items are unparalleled elsewhere and are from the artistic point of view highly valuable.

P. Grossmann, discusses in his study of "Zur Christlichen Baukunst in Ägypten", the architectural development of churches in Egypt and presents a very detailed expert analysis of the various types of buildings found in Egypt which seem to represent constructions of two periods: (a) churches of the Vth-VIth century A.D. and churches from the period of the VIth to VIIIth century A.D. He studies the architectural features that characterise the Egyptian *basilika* but contrast with the average type of the shrines built in the early Christian period. The latter show a lay-out which reveal clearly the shape of structures of Pharaonic date. He comes to the conclusion that the Coptic architecture had in all probability its roots in the Pharaonic one. He succeeded in establishing links between the lay-out of the Coptic *basilika* and the ground plans of the Pharaonic temples; in this respect the *basilika* at Hermopolis is of special interest. Clear regional differences have been noticed between the types of buildings in Upper and Lower Egypt, in particular in the arrangement of the main sanctuary. His valuable discussion is followed by a set of diagrams illustrating the gradual development of the inner part of the Coptic churches.

E. Lucchesi-Palli studies "A Coptic stele with female Bust in the British Museum". The stela in question, BM. no. 1522, purchased by the British Museum in 1911, seems

to have come from the Monastery of Jeremias at Saqqara. Lucchesi-Palli gives a very detailed study of all the features shown on the stela which is a rather curious monument in its conception. It is divided into two parts: the top part shows the bust of a woman, the bottom part an eagle seated underneath an arch. He comes to the conclusion that the coptic craftsman combined in his work two models: one which may derive from a pagan monument, another may have been taken from a Christian funerary stela. In its conception it is outstanding to the early Christian stelae with human figures and it also differs from the later types where the ornamental elements are prevalent. He cites two similar monuments but exact parallels are unattested.

C. Nauwerth describes in his study of "Die Josefsgeschichte auf Koptischen Stoffen" how she recognised in an *orbiculus* in the museum in Trier the pictorial representation of the *Joseph's Story*, depicted in a long series of scenes with the little Joseph in the centre framed in a small medaillon. From the significance of the scenes she argues on connections between the successive order of the scenes represented and sections of the narrative about Joseph. She lists a good number of tapestry work inspired by the same legend which are housed in various museums. This evidence shows how very popular the pictorial representation of Joseph's legend was in Coptic tapestry art.

K. Parlasca describes in his "Der Übergang von der Spät-Römischen zur Frühkoptischen Kunst im Lichte der Grabreliefs von Oxyrhynchus", the early Coptic funerary monuments representing the deceased ones in a kind of niche strongly resembling the type of small shrines of the late Pharaonic and Ptolemaic period. The best instances of these memorials came from Flinders Petrie's excavations at Oxyrhynchus. They reveal a strong native background in the conception of the memorial: their execution, however, shows elements which bring them close to the Roman art. In Parlasca's opinion this series of memorials may be dated of the IIIrd century A.D. and is artistically important for illustrating the essentials of Egyptian art prior to the IVth century A.D. — the date of the beginnings of the real Coptic art. The memorials represented on plates 34-37 can rightly be held to be items representing the period of transition between the Egyptian art of Roman times and that of the early Byzantine period.

M. Rassart-Debergh describes in her statement on the "Catalogue des collections coptes des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire à Bruxelles et projet de répertoire international" the work undertaken to prepare the general catalogue of all coptic objects housed in the Brussels Museum and gives a brief survey of the main categories of this collection.

M. H. Rutschowskaya presents an "Introduction à l'étude des bois coptes" du Musée du Louvre and describes the various kinds of wood used (1) as building material, (b) for furniture manufacturing. Many among the pieces of wood in the Louvre Collection show traces of decoration which are helpful in an attempt to date them. The probable date seems to be not later than the VIth century A.D.

Oxford, April 1981

E. A. E. REYMOND

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Dimitri MEEKS, *Année Lexicographique*. Tome 1 (1977). Paris, 1980 (21 cm., xxiii + 457 pages). ISBN 2-86459-001-8. Prix: 180 Francs français.

My immediate reaction to this work is to express the fervent hope that Dr. Meeks will continue this project. Egyptology suffers from a lack of reference works in all fields. For example, Lanzzone's *Dizionario di mitologia egizia* (1881-88) remains the comprehensive work in that area even though it needs major revision. The need for a thorough lexicon in Egyptology was not filled until the appearance of the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, beginning in 1972. While all agree that the great *Wörterbuch* is the essential linguistic tool for the study of the language, this is far from perfect and the literature is full of improvements made by individual lexicographers.

For those of us interested in words — what they mean and how they are spelled — the research can be frustrating indeed. The references in the *Wörterbuch* are a useful place to start, but endless weeks of searching for examples not recorded there are often necessary to track down the history of a given word or to discover why certain variations in spelling occur. This search for words, variant spellings, and the like, also involves compiling our own files of references, another time-consuming job.

Dr. Meeks has not solved these problems with the publication of one book, but he has done his colleagues an enormous service by collecting those words discussed in the year 1977. The magnitude of this task is stated very simply: there are 5,324 entries in this volume. These words have been culled from 57 books and 123 journals published in 1977. The *Année lexicographique* is thus a much-needed reference work which deserves nothing but praise. One mark of its usefulness is that over 11% of the words recorded are not found in the *Wörterbuch* or other standard dictionaries.

The individual entries vary in length from single references to long paragraphs. For example, no. 77.2468 gives new references published in 1977 for *h3yt*, "portal", and a discussion of various uses of the term as illustrated by references going back to 1930. Hence, in a large number of cases we not only have the 1977 material, but enough in addition to use Meeks' discussion as a reference in itself. Throughout this book, the hieroglyphic spellings are given for every new word and for new variant spellings, another very useful feature.

In his introduction, Meeks explains his methodology, some slight changes from the usual transliteration, and his reasons for the inclusion or exclusion of material. In general, he follows the arrangement of the *Wörterbuch* to place individual words, though not slavishly. He does not always follow an author's interpretation or translation, but sometimes offers his own views. This is quite acceptable as the reader can always consult the original publication. One can hardly fault a lexicographer for failing to resist the temptation of improving on a translation. At points in the introduction, Meeks apologizes for incompleteness in certain respects. However, no apology is necessary for if one tries for completeness in a work of this sort, it would never be published at all.

The book is handy to use and a model of what can be achieved with photo-offset printing. Indeed, I can offer no criticism whatsoever either of the format or content and can only repeat my hope that succeeding

volumes will appear regularly. The *Année lexicographique* must rightly take its place among the chief reference works in Egyptology.

Beirut, March 1981

WILLIAM A. WARD

* *

Friedrich ABITZ, *Statuetten in Schreinen als Grabbeigaben in den ägyptischen Königsgräbern der 18. und 19. Dynastie*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1979 (30 cm., 131 pp.) = Ägyptische Abhandlungen, Band 35. DM 62.-. ISBN 3 447 01993 X.

Il y a parmi les égyptologues, et dans beaucoup d'autres corporations analogues, des gens qui, comme le disait un jour un ami, ne se sont jamais servi de leur tête que pour y poser un chapeau qui devient, dans les cas extrêmes, un bicorné. Friedrich Abitz n'appartient pas à cette catégorie.

Le second livre qu'il consacre aux tombes royales du Nouvel Empire (*Die religiöse Bedeutung der sogenannten Grabschächten in den ägyptischen Königsgräbern der 18. bis 20. Dynastie*, Ägyptische Abhandlungen, 26, 1974) démontre qu'il suffit de penser d'abord et de chercher des rapports entre des faits apparemment disparates pour tirer d'un matériel à première vue abscons une connaissance nouvelle et une interprétation cohérente qui fait réellement progresser notre entendement de l'ancienne Égypte.

Sa méthode est infiniment simple et peut être recommandée à tout le monde. Au lieu de faire des catalogues prétendument exhaustifs d'objets similaires dont personne n'a le temps de faire l'étude, il compare entre eux des ensembles apparemment indifférents. Dans le présent ouvrage, il rapproche une série de statuettes de la tombe de Toutankhamon, dont certaines sont devenues trop célèbres par les expositions itinérantes, quelques peintures de la tombe de Séti II et une foule de textes du Livre des morts et de la littérature funéraire égyptienne en général pour donner un sens acceptable enfin à des objets qui avaient été livrés jusqu'ici aux seuls esthètes.

L'étude des vingt-quatre figurines de la Tombe de Toutankhamon éclairée de la façon que je viens de dire aboutit, grâce à une acuité d'observation et une finesse de raisonnement qui font plaisir, à démontrer le rôle qu'on doit leur attribuer dans la représentation de la continuation de la vie du pharaon mort qui re-naît en fait selon une imagerie empruntée à divers règnes de la nature.

Etendant son enquête, Abitz retrouve des traces de cette série de symboles dans quelques tombes privées et cherche aussi à retrouver des origines lointaines dans les frises d'objets et dans les rituels funéraires les plus anciens.

D'autre part, il montre l'unité de la tradition littéraire des Textes des Pyramides, des Textes des Sarcophages et du Livre des Morts, qui frappe tous ceux qui s'occupent de ces écrits. On ne peut qu'espérer que le présent travail contribuera à restituer le mobilier de Toutankhamon aux historiens de la pensée égyptienne et le soustraire aux esthètes qui en ont jusqu'ici tant mésusé.

J'attends pour ma part avec intérêt le prochain ouvrage auquel Friedrich Abitz consacrera sa sagacité.

Cologne, mai 1981

PH. DERCHAIN

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T. G. H. JAMES, *An Introduction to Ancient Egypt*. London, Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Publications Limited, 1979 (8°, 286 S., 21 Farabbildungen auf 16 Tafeln). Price: £ 8.50 (cased) ISBN 07141 0924 X; £ 4.95 (paper) 0 7141 0923 I.

Ein Katalog ordnet Objekte in der Regel nach Nummern, um ihnen dann im Text ihren historischen und kulturellen Platz zuzuweisen. Ein Führer reiht die Exponate nach ihrer Aufstellung, um sie einzeln oder in ganzen Komplexen zu besprechen. In sehr großen Sammlungen kann aber auch der umgekehrte Weg gegangen werden, nämlich eine Geschichte und Kulturgeschichte zu schreiben und dafür die eigenen Objekte als Beleg und Illustration heranzuziehen. Was W. C. Hayes 1953/1959 für das Metropolitan Museum of Arts in New York verwirklichte (*The Scepter of Egypt*), hat E. A. Wallis Budge in anderer Weise schon 1909 für das Britische Museum in London geschaffen; Land und Leute, Sprache und Schrift, Literatur, Sitten und Gebräuche, Architektur, Struktur des Staates, Religion, Totenkult sowie die Geschichte werden fast durchwegs anhand von Londoner Objekten vorgestellt¹). An dem hervorragend konzipierten und geschriebenen Buch ist einzig der irreführende Titel zu bemängeln: „A Guide to the Egyptian Collection in the British Museum“; wenn auch zugegeben werden muß, daß gerade ein Werk dieser Art geeignet ist, den Gebildeten zu einer Beschäftigung mit den ägyptischen Altertümern heranzuführen.

Da das Buch ein Erfolg war, erlebte es Neuauflagen und Überarbeitungen: 1930 durch H. R. Hall mit verändertem Titel, „A General Introductory Guide usw.“; 1964 durch I. E. S. Edwards, T. G. H. James und A. F. Shore, wobei unter gleich gebliebenem Titel ein neu geschriebener Text vorgelegt wurde, der sowohl dem Fortschritt unseres Wissens als auch den Zuwächsen des Museumsbestandes gerecht wurde; 1979 schließlich durch T. G. H. James und Mitarbeiter (vgl. S. 15 im Vorwort).

Auch hier werden Verbesserungen gebracht, und zwar nunmehr erstmalig unter einem unmißverständlichen Titel (wobei man nun allerdings den Bezug auf das Britische Museum vermißt!): „An Introduction to Ancient Egypt“.

Die Änderungen gegenüber der vorigen Auflage fallen mehr bei den Abbildungen ins Auge; erst bei genauerem Studium fallen die nicht wenigen textlichen Änderungen auf. Einiges Wenige ist — neben ein paar kritischen Bemerkungen — nachstehend angeführt.

¹) Nicht unähnlich ist die Vorgangsweise von E. Komorzynski, Das Erbe des alten Ägypten (1965), während Rez. in seinem vergleichsweise bescheidenen Band *Ägyptische Kunst in Wien* (1980) nur einen parallel laufenden historischen Abriss die chronologische Abfolge der besprochenen Objekte begleiten läßt.

S. 18 (Abb. 2): Nach den neuesten Entdeckungen in Qantir/Tell ed-Dab'a werden wenige Historiker mit der Gleichsetzung „Tanis (Avaris)“ zufrieden sein. — S. 81: Der traditionelle, aber nachweisbar falsche Gebrauch des Terminus „hamitisch“ scheint unausrottbar. Tatsächlich sind etwa Berberisch (bzw. tuareg) und bedja nicht näher miteinander verwandt als etwa Ägyptisch und Berberisch oder Semitisch und Kuschitisch u.s.f. — S. 82: Abb. 27 zeigt gegenüber der Auflage 1964 (S. 69) ein koptisches Ostrakon, das die Schriftzeichen klarer erkennen läßt und dem Leser einen typischeren Eindruck von der koptischen Schrift gibt. — S. 86 heißt es von den Hieroglyphen: „approximately 700 signs are known“. Demgegenüber kennt allein die Gardiner-Liste 743 Zeichen für die klassische Periode; insgesamt sind natürlich viel mehr Zeichen belegt. — Die Beschreibung des Glottal stop ist nunmehr londinozentrisch geraten; statt „as in bottle when mispronounced“ (1964: S. 73) heißt es nun „... when pronounced by a Cockney“. — S. 96 unten: Die Übersetzungen aus ägyptischen Texten wurden sprachlich geglättet, wie hier das Zitat aus pChester Beatty IV. — Die mit Recht nur selten gegebenen Zitate wissenschaftlicher Publikationen erfolgen nun nach dem Harvard-System, vgl. Anm. 1. — S. 103: Dem Autor scheinen die Ergebnisse von G. Fecht über die ägyptische Metrik nicht so vertrauenswürdig zu sein, daß er sie seinen Lesern gegenüber auch nur erwähnt. — S. 113: Bezüglich der Mumie des Seenenre vgl. die Ergebnisse von Bietak und Strouhal, wonach die tödlichen Kopfwunden sehr wahrscheinlich von Hyksos-Waffen herrühren²). — S. 125: Die Länge der Sothis-Periode ist leider nicht konstant; siehe M. F. Ingham in JEA 55 (1969) 36-40. — S. 158 vermißt man einen Hinweis auf die im Alten Reich geübte Mumifizierungsmethode, bei der der Leichnam mit Stuck überformt wurde. — S. 239ff.: Bereits die Überschrift weist auf eine wesentliche Erweiterung dieses Kapitels, das nun neben „Roman and Christian Egypt“ auch „the Kingdom of Meroe“ behandelt (S. 258ff.). — S. 263ff.: In der Liste der wichtigsten Könige sind nun auch diejenigen Dynastien mit ihrer Zeitdauer angeführt, aus denen keine Könige genannt werden (z.B. 7. und 8. Dynastie); nicht wenige Könige sind neu aufgenommen worden (z.B. Achthoes I.-III.). Die chronologischen Daten sind anscheinend von der Neuauflage der Cambridge Ancient History übernommen. — S. 267: Die Liste der Kartouchen ist inhaltlich unverändert, sie hat indessen dadurch gewonnen, daß der Text in Typensatz produziert ist.

Die photographischen Abbildungen sind nun nicht nur zahlreicher, sondern auch oft besser als in der letzten Auflage. So ist etwa Abb. 88 (S. 227) fast viermal so groß wie die bisherige Abb. 78; vgl. ferner etwa Abb. 71 (S. 197) mit der bisherigen Abb. 61, wobei Rez. die Lösung, Abb. 72 (bisher 62) als Inset in Abb. 71 zu quetschen, unbefriedigend findet.

Die graphische Gestaltung des Buches (Patrick Yapp) ist von einheitlichem Charakter, angefangen vom Schutzumschlag über Titelseiten und Kapitelüberschriften bis hin zu den Landkarten (S. 16, 18, 19). Insgesamt hat das Werk in vielfacher Hinsicht gewonnen; die Liebe und

²) M. Bietak und E. Strouhal, Die Todesumstände des Pharaos Seenenre (17. Dynastie). In: *Annalen des Naturhistorischen Museums Wien* 78 (Dezember 1974) 29-52 + Tf. 1-10.

Hingabe, mit der sich die Kustoden des „BM“ der Neuauflage des beliebten Buches gewidmet haben, verdient alle Anerkennung.

Wien, März 1981

HELMUT SATZINGER

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Elmar EDEL, *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan: II. Abteilung: Die althieratischen Topfaufschriften. Paläographie der althieratischen Gefäßaufschriften aus den Grabungsjahren 1960 bis 1973*, von Elmar Edel unter Mitwirkung von Edgar Pusch und Marie-Luise Viregge. Opladen, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1980 (30 cm., 13 pp., 126 pls.) = Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Band 66. DM 48,-. ISBN 3 531 05080 X.

The excavations conducted under the direction of Elmar Edel in the tombs of the Qubbet el Hawa opposite Aswan have produced a wealth of vessels inscribed in hieratic dating to the Old Kingdom. By the end of the 1973 season a total of 1911 inscribed vessels had been recorded. The information they contain pertains not only to the history, administration and prosopography of the region of the First Cataract during the late Old Kingdom. They also constitute a major source for the history of writing and its development during this period. The material represents the largest integrated body of writing originating within a limited range of time from any site of ancient Egypt. The range of paleographic forms it offers varies. With some signs it is rather wide, with others less. The number of abbreviated cursive forms is minimal, but has parallels in papyri of the same date and place. It seems certain that the writing material had its impact on the sign-forms, as did the funerary use of the vessels on which the hieratic was written. The range of variety in this material, which is limited in date and place, provides a good insight into the much less rigid scribal practices than those practiced in the New Kingdom.

The paleography offered now completes the publication of the hieratic inscriptions and makes them properly accessible. The individual signs, for which numerous attestations are documented, are listed according to Gardiner's Sign-list with cross references to Möller, Hieratische Paläographie. Special emphasis is given to ligatures listed after the individual signs. Although some of the still unpublished material from the tombs of the Qubbet el Hawa could not be included, this paleography is a major research tool. The author has to be thanked for having faced the tedious labors to provide it.

The Johns Hopkins University,
March 1981.

HANS GOEDICKE

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P. GROSSMANN, *Elephantine II. Kirche und spätantike Hausanlagen im Chnumtempelhof. Beschreibung und typologische Untersuchung*. Grabung des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Schweizerischen Institut für ägyptische Bau- und Altertumskunde Kairo. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein, 1980 (36 cm., 118 p., 30 fig., 30 pl. hors-texte) = Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 25. DM 150.—. ISBN 3 8053 0383 1.

Ce second volume de la publication des fouilles germano-suisse sur l'île d'Éléphantine à Assouan est consacré à l'architecture postpharaonique rencontrée dans la cour du temple de Chnoum.

L'histoire de la destruction de celle-ci commence par un incendie dans le pronaos à la fin du 3^e ou au début du 4^e s. A partir du second quart du 5^e s., le parvis et le pronaos sont envahis de constructions qui présentent les caractéristiques d'un camp militaire romain tardif plutôt que d'un établissement monastique. La comparaison avec d'autres camps connus en Égypte, tels que Dionysias (Qasr Qaroun) et surtout Taposiris Magna, paraît tout à fait pertinente. On connaît par ailleurs une lettre de l'évêque Appien de Syène et Éléphantine demandant aux Empereurs Théodose et Valentinien une protection militaire contre les incursions des Blemmyes et des Nobades, texte que l'on peut dater entre 425 et 450. Les fouilles d'Éléphantine révèlent que ce camp connu au moins une extension au cours de son existence. Une cohorte a pu être maintenue sur place pendant un siècle jusqu'à la conversion des Nobades en 542/43.

La démolition du temple, commencée dès la première moitié du 5^e s. pour édifier ce camp, se poursuivit au 6^e s. par le démantèlement du pronaos, des pylones et de l'enceinte de la cour, en liaison avec une seconde phase de construction à la fin du 6^e ou au début du 7^e s. Cette deuxième occupation comprend une église à l'emplacement du pronaos et des maisons réutilisant les murs du camp romain; l'aménagement de certaines habitations indique qu'il ne s'agissait pas là d'un quartier pauvre d'Éléphantine. Cet établissement a subi une destruction, peut-être lors de l'invasion perse en 619.

Après cette péripétie, eut lieu une troisième phase de construction, au cours de laquelle un petit nombre de maisons furent restaurées, tandis que l'église était encore utilisée et sera, semble-t-il, la seule à survivre pendant une période indéterminée au-delà du 7^e s.

Alors que le camp romain du 5^e et de la première moitié du 6^e s. présente des alignements réguliers d'habitations au plan stéréotypé, comprenant une entrée avec départ d'un escalier et une pièce arrière, les maisons privées des phases II et III sont diversifiées par leur implantation et leur dimension. L'église est constituée de trois parties: 1) une salle carrée d'environ 5 m. de côté, délimitée par quatre piliers en forme d'équerre, qui supportaient une coupole centrale; 2) autour de celle-ci, un déambulatoire de 3 m. de large, qui s'ouvrait vers l'extérieur par deux portes aux angles nord-ouest et sud-ouest et se trouvait flanqué au sud-est par le sanctuaire proprement dit; 3) celui-ci comprenait trois pièces d'environ 3 m. de côté chacune et, de part et d'autre, au nord-est une salle qui a pu servir de baptistère et au sud-est un couloir qui

permettait d'accéder aux maisons dans la cour du temple mais qui fut condamné à la fin du 6^e s.

Pour situer cet édifice dans l'ensemble des églises chrétiennes d'Égypte et de Nubie, P. Grossmann réexamine ce qu'il appelle les monuments à quatre supports et déambulatoire («*Umgangsvierstützenbauten*»). Les traits communs à cette catégorie de monuments sont leur symétrie par rapport au carré central, les issues latérales aux extrémités ouest du déambulatoire et parfois les traces d'une barrière (chancel ou iconostase) fermant aux laïcs l'espace situé au-delà des piliers est (Éléphantine, Nağ al 'Uqba, Nuri I, Aksha, Adindan). Quelques unes présentent une abside non pas rectangulaire mais semi-circulaire (Buhen Sud, Aksha, Meinarti, St Raphaël à Tamit); certaines sont munies d'un couloir passant derrière le sanctuaire (Nuri I, Aksha, Meinarti, Tamit, Shaima Amalika).

P. Grossmann propose pour un certain nombre de ces églises des dates nouvelles, ce qui le conduit au classement chronologique suivant: seconde moitié du 6^e s.: Éléphantine; 7^e s.: Nağ al 'Uqba, Buhen Sud, église du temple de César Auguste à Philae; 8^e s.: Aksha, Meinarti, Deir el Fahuri près d'Esna; 9^e s.: Nuri I, Adindan; 10^e-11^e s.: St Raphaël à Tamit; 12^e-13^e s.: Shaima Amalika, église Est de Gendal Irqi; date indéterminée: église de Théodore à Deir Tadrous au sud du Caire.

L'auteur a raison de critiquer le terme de basilique que nous avons utilisé pour l'église d'Aksha; sa reconstitution de la couverture de celle-ci (Abb. 18) est en effet la seule qui puisse s'accorder avec la coupole centrale que nous avons envisagée et que son étude confirme.

P. Grossmann suggère de voir l'origine de ce type d'église à coupole centrale dans un schéma évolutif qui conduit du tétrapyle aux édifices cruciformes à quatre supports, en se diversifiant de la vallée du Nil au monde byzantin et à l'ensemble de l'Orient méditerranéen.

L'illustration de cet ouvrage se compose de 30 relevés architecturaux dans le texte, de 25 planches de photographies et de 5 plans qui donnent l'état au moment de la fouille et la restitution des diverses étapes de construction. On peut regretter l'absence d'un plan d'ensemble du site d'Éléphantine (qui figurait sans doute dans *Éléphantine I*), pour situer le secteur étudié, ainsi que d'une carte des sites mentionnés dans l'étude comparative.

Ce volume représente une contribution appréciable aux remarquables travaux réalisés par l'Institut archéologique allemand du Caire.

C.N.R.S., mars 1981

HENRI DE CONTENSON

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Jean LECLANT (Hrsg.), *Le monde égyptien. Les Pharaons*. Bd. I: *temps des Pyramides* unter Mitarbeit von Cyril Aldred, Jean-Louis de Cenival, Fernand Debono, Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, Jean-Philippe Lauer, Jean Leclant und Jean Vercoutter. Bd. II: *L'Empire des Conquérants* unter Mitarbeit von Cyril Aldred, Paul Barguet, Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, Jean Leclant und Hans-Wolfgang Müller. Bd. III: *L'Égypte du crépuscule* unter Mitarbeit von Cyril Aldred,

François Daumas, Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt und Jean Leclant. Paris, Gallimard, 1978, 1979 und 1980 (28 cm., 3 Bände) = L'Univers des Formes.

Keine Frage — die dreibändige Publikation altägyptischer Kunst von der Vorgeschichte (Paläolithikum) bis zur meroitischen Periode (3. Jh. n.Chr.) wird als ein Standardwerk in die Ägyptologie eingehen, dem bis jetzt nichts Vergleichbares zur Seite zu stellen ist. Ausgewiesene Ägyptologen zumeist der älteren Generation, referieren im Besitz fundamentalen Wissens mit souveräner Gebärde über die Geschichte der verschiedenen Kunstsparten, im Regelfall auf der Basis allgemein anerkannter Forschungsergebnisse. Die Bände sind bestens illustriert durch Schwarz-weiß-Tafeln, Farbtafeln, (meist zweifarbigen) Zeichnungen von Plänen, Schnitten, Aufrissen und Rekonstruktionen. Sie sind ausgestattet mit je einer Zeittafel, einer Bibliographie, einem Namens- und Sachregister sowie einigen Karten. Ein solches Werk, das gesicherte Erkenntnisse vermittelt, anspruchsvoll und zuverlässig zwar, aber nicht neuartig und problemhaltig, ist für Fachkollegen ein willkommenes Nachschlagewerk, in erster Linie aber eine Dokumentation für Liebhaber, wie es in diesem Umfang und in dieser Bildpracht nicht seinesgleichen hat. Das ihm in der Intention am ehesten vergleichbare, aber anspruchslosere deutsche Werk, die Neuauflage der Propyläen Kunstgeschichte (1975) ist vornehmlich von jüngeren Kollegen geschrieben und daher durch Neuansätze ausgezeichnet, inhaltlich weiter durch die Kapitel zu den „Gestaltungsmerkmalen“, „Bildostraka und Buchmalerei“ sowie „Keramik“.

Um gleich die allgemeinen kritischen Bemerkungen voranzunehmen, sei erwähnt, daß einige Schwarz-weiß-Bilder — jedenfalls für deutschen Geschmack — zu dunkel sind und dadurch Konturen verschwimmen lassen und farbige gelegentlich zu grell. Weiter, daß es für den Leser eine Erleichterung bedeutet hätte, wenn im Text auf die Abbildungen hingewiesen worden wäre, auch über die Kapitel hinweg, so bei Besprechung des Schreibzeugs von Hesiré (p. 262) auf Abb. 124. Hinweise sind nur gegeben auf die „zusätzlichen Abbildungen“ im jeweils „Zweiten Teil“, dort finden sich auch Rückverweise auf den Text. Auch auf die „Pläne und Rekonstruktionszeichnungen“ des „Dritten Teils“ = „Anhang“ verweist zwar der Text, doch umgekehrt vermißt man dort die Rückverweise. Die Anlage in diese jeweils drei Teile ist im übrigen nicht einzusehen, sie erschwert die Benützung des Werks. In der Bibliographie wäre für den Laien, der ja vornehmlich angesprochen wird, eine Trennung nach Sachbereichen hilfreich gewesen, während der fachkundige Benützer in der alphabetischen Anordnung von mehreren Hundert Titeln vor lauter Bäumen sein ihm interessierendes Waldstück nicht sieht. Er sollte vom Gegenstand ausgehen können und nicht vom Verfasser, der ihm im allgemeinen nichts sagt, unter dem er jedenfalls kaum etwas sucht. Soviel zur Anlage.

Wenn ich mir im folgenden einige kritische Bemerkungen gestatte, so sei dies Ausdruck gewissenhafter Lektüre, der Sache nach können sie weggepustet werden wie einzelne Staubkörnerchen auf einem vollendet polierten Glanzstück.

Der Herausgeber J. Leclant eröffnet den I. Band und zugleich die dreibändige Serie mit einer zweiteiligen Einleitung. Er bietet zunächst die geographische Grundlage

des Landes als eines Geschenks des Nils. Die Behauptung, daß „Ägypten“ „nur“ als „die beiden Länder“ bezeichnet werde, ist insofern mißverständlich, als sie lediglich auf einen Aspekt zutrifft, nicht generell (vgl. kmt oder t3 mrj). Das Bild einer „fleur épanouie“ für das Delta ist zweifellos schöne Poesie, doch hätte man gern gelesen, daß R. M. Rilke der Poet ist, der sie geschaffen hat. Wohltuend redet der Verf. der grundsätzlichen Einheitlichkeit der frühen Kultur Ober- und Unterägyptens das Wort. Isoliert wie sie war, besann sie sich auf ihre eigene Form und assimilierte sich, was sie in ihrer Mittlerstellung zwischen den Kontinenten von außen aufnahm. (Im Abschnitte Pharaon als Mittler zwischen der Erde und den Göttern ist bei Abb. 10 die irrige Legende zu bedauern, daß Echnaton die Ma'at opfere, während er Gefäße darbietet).

Wenn Leclant in dem Abschnitt über das Heilige und die Götter das All in der Vorstellung der Ägypter als eine Einheit versteht, so folgt ihm die Rez. gern, doch daß er die monophysitische Entscheidung der frühen Christen (Chalcedon) damit zusammenbringt, scheint ihr nicht zwingend, nachdem er selbst die dualistische Konzeption (im Sinne der Komplementarität) als eine ontologische Grundlage der Urteilsfindung herausgestellt hat.

Im zweiten Teil seiner Einleitung „Auf den Spuren der Pharaonen“ gibt der Verf. den Blick auf die Wissenschaftsgeschichte frei, etwas frankozentrisch, aber doch über die markantesten Punkte informierend. Nicht ungern hätte man den Namen Hermann Junkers gelesen, und bei der von der UNESCO durchgeführten Rettungsaktion der Tempel von Abu Simbel hätte es Essen-Hochtief verdient, als federführendes Unternehmen erwähnt zu werden. Überflüssig zu sagen, daß die Versetzung von Philae seit der Drucklegung des Buches beendet ist und die Nachfolgeinsel endgültig den Namen Agilkia trägt. (Die Festung Buhen (Abb. 25) stammt nur in ihrem unteren Teil aus der 12., im oberen aus der 18. Dyn.)

F. Debono bietet zur Vorgeschichte einen hervorragenden Überblick (I. Kapitel) über die Besiedlung Ägyptens seit fast 2 Millionen Jahren, zeigt die Geröllkulturen auf, danach die ersten ungeformten Geräte des Primitiv-Paläolithikums, dem Oldowayen, das durch den Fund eines fossilen menschlichen Zahnes im thebanischen Gebirge 1975 als die 1½ Mill. Jahre umfassende Periode der Menschwerdung vom Primaten zum Hominiden gesichert werden konnte. Im anschließenden Alt-Paläolithikum (ab 500.000 v.Chr.) hat der Mensch neue, symmetrische Formen von Steingeräten zugeschlagen, leichtere Geräte wie Schaber, Stichel und Messer mit facettierter Basis gearbeitet und schließlich, seit sich die zuvor in den heutigen Wüsten umherziehenden Stämme auf den Nilterrassen niedergelassen hatten, feinere und differenziertere Typen (mit Retuschen) entwickelt. Die Funde lassen Debono auf eine Invasion von Fremden, den Leuten des Atérien Nordafrikas, schließen. Im End-Paläolithikum wurden Geräte in geometrischen Liliputformen hergestellt, darunter die ersten Pfeilspitzen und (Harpunen mit?) Widerhaken. Gegen Ende des Paläolithikums seien über Palästina und den Sinai in zwei Wellen (15.000-7.000 v.Chr.) die Natoufien-Leute mit neuen Geräten eingedrungen. Die Lektüre gerade dieses sonst so eindrucksvoll-informativen Kapitels würde entscheidend erleichtert, wenn Hinweise auf die Abbildungen gegeben wären.

In dem (II.) Kapitel über „Frühgeschichte“ behandelt

J. L. de Cenival nicht, wie man erwarten würde, die beiden ersten geschichtlichen Dynastien, sondern das (vorge-schichtliche) Neolithikum der 1. und 2. Neqada-Kultur. Sowohl die unabhängige Existenz einer Tasa-Kultur wie den zeitlichen Vorrang der Badari-Leute vor denen von Neqada zweifelt er, dem neusten Forschungsstand entsprechend, mit guten Argumenten an, ohne zu simplifizieren. Die Theorie, daß die figürlichen „Schmink“-Paletten Anhänger gewesen seien, muß auf sich beruhen. Die vier Paletten in Gestalt einer Schildkröte sind mit gutem Blick gegeneinander abgehoben, wenn auch für Abb. 51 das Prädikat „presque naturaliste“ überrascht.

Der plötzliche Wechsel im Bilddekor der Neqada-Gefäße ab SS 36 beschäftigt den Verf. mehrmals — auch bei Besprechung der „Tänzer“ oder „Muttergottheiten“? — ohne daß er Stellung genommen hätte auf deren Interpretation der Rezensentin als Bestattungsgefäße mit Darstellungen aus Beisetzung und Nekropole; offensichtlich ist der einschlägige Aufsatz in der Denkschrift für J. Vandier seiner Aufmerksamkeit entgangen. Dem Einfluß des Vorderen Orients auf die künstlerische Entwicklung ist vielleicht zuviel Reverenz erwiesen. Das Messer vom Gebel el-Arak hätte man gern abgebildet gesehen, nicht nur weil der Verf. sich darauf beruft, sondern auch, weil es zu den dominanten Stücken der behandelten Epoche gehört. Die Darstellung des Nilpferds in Abb. 50 ist ausschließlich phänotypisch beschrieben, indes sich hier eine gute Gelegenheit geboten hätte, auf die der Aspekte vorausgehende Darstellweise einzugehen. Die Darstellweise im übrigen mit „torsion“ und „rabattement“ und dem bekannten Wechsel von Vorder- und Seitenansichten bei der Wiedergabe dreidimensionaler Gebilde in der Flächenkunst aus Mesopotamien abzuleiten, ist seit der 1. Aufl. von Heinrich Schäfers „Von ägyptischer Kunst“, 1918, deren 4. Aufl. sogar Englisch vorliegt, nicht mehr vertretbar.

Das III. Kapitel „Architektur“ stammt aus der Feder von J.-Ph. Lauer. Beginnend mit der Grabarchitektur der Thinitenzeit und endend mit den nubischen Festungsbauten des MR hat er den umfangreichsten Beitrag des 1. Bandes geliefert, schöpfend aus seiner überquellenden Kenntnis und getrieben von seiner Begeisterung für die Sache. Die Darstellung, gewissenhaft, genau und detailliert, führt in manche Einzelfragen, für die beim Laien viel Interesse vorausgesetzt wird und die für den Fachmann bereits monographisch oder in Zeitschriften vorliegen. Sein Beitrag ist im Anhang durch 76 Pläne und Rekonstruktionszeichnungen sowie ausführlichen Anmerkungen angereichert.

Lauer vertritt die These, daß das Grab in Neqada und die Sakkara-Gräber Königsgräber der 1. Dyn. darstellen, während die Anlagen in Abydos als Kenotaphe anzusehen seien. Die ersten Gewölbe (1. und 2. Dyn.), Bogen- und Kragen- (noch nicht Keilschnitt-) Gewölbe aus Lehmziegeln finden sich interessanterweise bei den bescheidensten Gräbern, und zwar, weil mit dieser Bautechnik die Verwendung von (kostbaren) Holzbalken umgangen werden konnte.

Mit besonderer Zuwendung widmet sich der Verf. seinem Lieblingskind, dem Grabbezirk der Stufenpyramide des Djoser, und versteht es, den Leser, auch wenn er mit dem Original und seinen Publikationen gut vertraut ist, erneut in den Bann des ingeniosen Reichtums, der Aussagekraft und der technischen Sorgfalt jener der Idee des Imhotep

entsprungenen Anlage zu ziehen. Bei der wohl eigenartigen Pyramide, der von Meidum, ist das Kraggewölbe aus behauenen Steinen ein neues architektonisches Element, und die Zugangspassage von Norden her erstmalig; mit Recht geht Lauer auf die Theorie Mendelssohns nicht ein. Snofru feiert er als den größten Bauherrn des AR. Der Rauminhalt allein seiner beiden Pyramiden in Dahschur liegt um 400.000 m³ über dem der wegen ihres gewaltigen Volumens bestaunten Cheopspyramide. Anstelle des einfachen Kalkmörtels ist am Mauerwerk erstmals Gips verwendet, im „Tal“-Tempel der Knickpyramide der Dekor mit bemalten Reliefs eingeführt. Die im ganzen neue geistige Konzeption macht die architektonischen Meisterwerke zu historisch weittragenden Kultgebäuden.

Die weitere Entwicklung nach Plan, Technik, Ausstattung ist faszinierend vorgetragen, geradezu atemberaubend aber ist das noch nicht abgeschlossene, gigantische Unternehmen der Freilegung und Wiederherstellung der Pyramiden der 6. Dyn., sämtlich in gleicher Größe und in den Proportionen des triangle sacré erbaut. Den bewundernswerten, entsagungsvollen Puzzle-Spielern wünscht die Rez. angemessenen Lohn in Gestalt weiterer wichtiger Textvarianten.

Die großen Privatgräber, vor allem von Sakkara und Gisa, aber auch weniger bekannte, werden anschließend trefflich, wenn auch cursorischer gewürdigt. (Beachtung verdiente die neuere Entdeckung von Privatgräbern in Theben von D. Arnold und M. Saleh). Nach einem Streifzug durch die königlichen Grabbezirke des MR und die meist aus dem Felsen geschlagenen großen Privatgräber der 11./12. Dyn. in Mittelägypten, Theben und Assuan wendet sich Lauers Interesse der Tempelarchitektur, dem Städte- und Festungsbau zu. Relativ kurz, mit wünschenswerter Akzentsetzung und präzise charakterisierend, aber nur das Faktische und dies dem heutigen ruinösen Stadium entsprechend knapp angehend, zieht er die Linie der Festungsbauten bis ins 17. Jh. n. Chr. dünn fort.

Das IV. Kapitel über Relief und Malerei, hervorragend illustriert, ist der Kompetenz von J. Vercoutter anvertraut. Entsprechend der Intention des gesamten Werkes beschreibt der Verf. gut betretene Pfade, ohne durch Novitäten zu überraschen oder auch nur neuartige Interpretations-hypothesen zu diskutieren. Der Leser wird an seiner Hand auf solidem Grund geführt. Seine Explikation beschränkt sich hauptsächlich auf Deskription und inhaltliche Deutung, die formale Wertung geht kaum über allgemeine Prädikate und Maßverhältnisse hinaus. Den raketenhaften Beginn der Flachkunst erklärt er sowohl aus der zentralen Lenkung des Staates und seiner wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung wie auch als Ausdruck religiösen Verhaltens.

Die Funktion der Bilder, das Repertoire der Themen und ihre Position sind ausführlich dargelegt. (Daß Fisch- und Vogelfang, wenn überhaupt je, bereits in dem besprochenen Zeitraum des AR und des MR religiöse Bedeutung hätten, ist mir nicht eingängig. Bei Abb. 142 aus dem Sonnen-heiligtum des Neuserre kann man wohl kaum von einem „calendrier“ sprechen, da die Jahreszeiten-darstellungen nicht der Zeitmessung dienen). Gern hätte die Rez. mehr vernommen über etwaigen Eigenwert der Malerei bzw. inwieweit man überhaupt den Begriff „Malerei“ (peinture) anzuwenden berechtigt ist. Wann und wo geht sie über eine Kolorierung hinaus? Der Laie, der von der ihm gewohnten Vorstellung der „Tafel-

malerei“ an die Lektüre herantritt, erfährt zwar exakt, wo „Malerei“ angewendet wurde, doch dürfte ihn auch interessieren, welchen Stellenwert sie gegenüber dem Relief im Bewußtsein der Ägypter einnimmt. Sehr überzeugend ist die konservative Grundhaltung der Kunst begründet, auch die aspektivische Darstellweise intellektuell wie ästhetisch nahegebracht. Die profunde Kenntnis der Materie erlaubt es dem Verf., auch die Lücken der Überlieferung aufzuweisen.

Etwas empfindlich reagieren könnte man auf den Gebrauch von „realistisch“, „idealistisch“, ja „Stil“, da diese Begriffe von der Kunstgeschichte vergeben sind für scharf profilierte Phänomene, mit denen sich die hier beanspruchten Erscheinungen nicht schlechthin zur Deckung bringen lassen. So kann wohl kaum der „Stil“ der 5. Dyn. im Vergleich zu dem der 4. Dyn. erschaffen (p. 166) und der „Stil“ der 6. Dyn. ebenso gut bleiben wie der der 5. Dyn.; gemeint ist im ersten Fall die Spannkraft, im zweiten die Qualität. Mit Vergnügen folgt man der stilistischen Überleitung vom AR zum MR oder der bekannten Beobachtung, daß der Ägypter mit dem Themenschatz der Bilder nicht das Kontinuum eines Werdegangs einfängt, sondern nur bestimmte Phasen festhält, vornehmlich Anfang und Ende. Daß etwa das Ausheben von Kanälen oder der Bau von Dämmen oder, wie ich hinzufügen möchte, der Bau der Pyramiden niemals dargestellt wird, gehört indes nicht zur gleichen Ausfallserscheinung. Die phasenbestimmende Markierung (Jugend-Alter, Leben-Tod, Aussaat-Ernte) ist aufs engste an die aspektivische Darstellweise geknüpft, während das Fehlen der genannten Staatsarbeiten im ikonographischen Programm bedingt ist durch den privaten Charakter der Grabbauten als Bildträger.

Als Nebenprodukt des Kapitels ist die Skizzierung der Grabanlagen zu danken. Stellung und Rang der Künstler und ihre Relief- sowie Maltechnik werden gebührend behandelt, auch einige chemischen Angaben zur Farberstellung gemacht. Auf die Grundfarbe des Gegenstandes tendierend, selbstverständlich ohne Rücksicht auf Brechung durch Licht, Atmosphäre, Schatten oder organische Veränderung, enthalten sich m.M. nach die Farbwerte alles Transitorischen ebenso wie die auf Faktizität gerichtete Ikonographie.

Mit Feingefühl für subtile künstlerische Werte hat C. Aldred im V. Kapitel des Werkes die Plastik behandelt. Das Verhältnis des Ägypters zu einer Statue umschreibt er zunächst so, wie ich die Beziehung eines Kindes zu seiner Puppe sehe: Er konnte sie beseelen, sie ansprechen, mit ihr verkehren; durch magische Rituale und Namensgebung zu einem Träger numinoser Macht bzw. Stellvertreter eines lebenden Menschen berufen. In chronologischer Folge stellt der Verf. eine gute Zahl repräsentativer Werke (in vortrefflicher Wiedergabe) vor, wenn auch der nimmersatte Betrachter sich einige vom Verf. diskutierte Figuren hinzuwünschen würde. So die frühzeitliche Elfenbeinstatue mit dem heb-sed-Gewand aus Abydos als einzig erhaltenes Beispiel ihrer Art oder etwa den Kolossal-kopf Userkaf aus Rosengranit als erstes Exempel einer freistehenden überlebensgroßen Plastik.

Das Schaffen als Formgebung aus aspektivischer Sicht wird eingehend und wiederholt behandelt, doch da kaum anzunehmen ist, daß dieser Begriff sich bereits Laienkreise erobert hat, wäre ein Literaturhinweis wohl nicht unnütz

gewesen. Mit der „Geburt“ der Götter auf dem Palermo-Stein ist m.M. nach das „Schaffen“ eines Bildes gemeint, während Aldred darin die Festlegung ihres Kanons erblickt.

Im Zusammenhang mit dem frühzeitlichen Schaffen stellt er sich erstmals intensiv der Frage nach der Porträthaltigkeit ägyptischer Plastik und tastet das Verhältnis von Typus: Idealbild: Individualbildnis sorgsam ab, wobei sich durch Begriffsüberschneidungen mit der Terminologie etwa von Vandersleyen oder Misliwitz, die beide kürzlich diesem Thema gründlich nachgegangen sind, Verständigungsschwierigkeiten ergeben. Nicht mehr haltbar sein dürfte die Übersetzung von twt r cnḥ als „Statue nach dem Leben“ (p. 174).

Unbestritten ist die Feststellung, daß die Vorderansicht einer menschlichen Plastik die wichtigste Ansicht darstellt, während in der Flachkunst das Profil entscheidend ist (zu der bisherigen „einzigen“ Rückenansicht sind übrigens inzwischen durch S.A. Goudsmit, *The Back View of Human Figures in A.E.*, in: *JNES* 40, 1981, 43-48, weitere vier Beispiele aus dem AR zusammengetragen worden). In der Rückenplatte der frühen Dioritstatue des Brooklyn-Museums (Abb. 176) eine Art Gehäuse-Rest zu sehen, ist ebenso originell wie die Hypothese Wildungs, in der Rundung eine Himmelswiedergabe zu erblicken.

Das ästhetisch empfindsame Auge Aldreds bewährt sich glücklich auch bei der Abhebung der Provinzkunst gegen die der Residenz, wenn er dabei auch die von Kees hervorgehobene Lebendigkeit, Ursprünglichkeit und Unbekümmertheit als Quellen unikatler Motive unbeachtet läßt.

Der Grobschlächtigkeit des Mentuhotep (Abb. 204) und seiner Genossen unterstellt Aldred die Absicht, den wieder zur Macht gekommenen Pharao, wie ich formulieren darf, als eine Art „Großen Bruder“ (Orwell) darzustellen, dessen Brutalität einschüchtern sollte. Als wichtigen Hinweis erlaube ich mir noch den auf seine Interpretation des Würfelhockers als einen ḥsj (être sanctifié), mit welcher Deutung er offensichtlich andere neuere Theorien ablehnt. Aus der Tatsache, daß die Haltung erstmals am Ende der 6. Dyn. bei den Holzfiguren unter dem Baldachin von Modellbooten vorkommt, auf denen der Verstorbene eine Pilgerfahrt durchgeführt haben könnte, schließt er, daß der Würfelhocker möglicherweise durch eine solche Pilgerfahrt geheiligt (ḥsj) worden sei. Daß der Typus als „ḥsj“ verstanden wurde, geht jedenfalls allein aus dem Determinativ für diese Vokabel seit dem MR hervor. Im Abschluß des Kapitels resümiert Aldred in umspannender Zusammenschau der Kultur mit trefflicher Kennzeichnung der stilistischen Eigenart der Epochen und tiefgehender Verknüpfung von Erscheinung und Beweggrund über den Wandel der Plastik von ihrem Beginn bis zum Ende des MR.

Das mit „Arts de métamorphose ou arts appliqués“ betitelte (VI.) Kapitel des Kunstgewerbes ist thematisch mit seinen Untertiteln: Siegel und Skarabäen, Möbel und die Kunst der Holzverarbeitung, Das Goldschmiede- und Juwelierhandwerk, Einlegearbeiten und Goldauflagen, Toilettegegenstände, Geschirr und Gefäße, Kultgerät und Apothropaika, Die Insignien der Beamten, Spiel und Musik, Werkzeug und Waffen, Fahrten und Reisen, Dekorative Verkleidungen“ und schließlich „Die Kleidung“ am weitesten gespannt und fordert seiner Bearbeiterin, Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt, vielfältige Kenntnis und Eindringen in die verschiedenartigen Techniken ab. Mit um-

fassendem Überblick und in nuancenreicher Sprache ist sie den Anforderungen meisterhaft gerecht geworden. Bei dem für die einzelnen Sparten vergleichsweise schmalen Raum kann es nicht anders sein, als daß manches Wissenswerte ungesagt bleiben mußte, aber gerade in der Auswahl und Anschaulichkeit der Darbietung bewährt sich die Vermittlergabe der Verf. in. Es sind nur wenige Bemerkungen, bei denen die Rez. kleine Fragezeichen zu setzen sich erlaubt.

So bei der Deutung des Spiegels (p. 252) als magischen Helfer bei der Auferstehung; bei dem Gegengewicht des Menits als Körper der Großen Mutter, der dem Toten oder Lebenden den Wiederbeginn eines neuen Jahreszyklus ermöglicht; bei der Erklärung der „Puppen“ als weibliches Prinzip, mit dessen Hilfe der Tote sich selbst wiedererzeugen könne; oder der Interpretation der Nilpferdstatuetten als jenen bösen Dämon, der auf den Grund des Flußbettes verdammt zu denken sei (p. 262). Auch die Ausdeutung des Vogelkopfes beim Schlangenspiel als Sonnengans läßt aufhorchen. Die Deutung der Apotropaika als „Geburtsmesser“, die Altenmüller gegeben hat, scheint Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt nicht anzunehmen, jedenfalls bleibt sie unerwähnt. Schließlich sollte man den blauen Anhydrit nicht mit „Marmor“ (Abb. 249 und p. 257) bzw. „Blauen Abydos-Marmor“ bezeichnen.

Wenn in seinem Schlußwort J. Leclant dem Rätsel des Ursprungs und dem der hohen Vollendung des 1. Jahrtausends der Hochkultur nachtastet und in Afrika ihren Urgrund sieht, jedenfalls eine afrikanische Dominante erkennt — eine Sicht, deren Problematik er sich selber bewußt ist —, so wird ihn nicht jeder begleiten. Wenn er der Periode die Prädikate von edler Einfachheit und stiller Größe (noble simplicité et sereine grandeur) zuschreibt, so hätten wohl Winckelmann so gut wie die Ägypter nur zurückhaltend eingestimmt, da dieses Urteil ausschließlich für die griechische Kunst geprägt wurde. Die Kunst der Pharaonen verlangt nach ihrer eigenen ästhetischen Flagge. Dem Herausgeber wie den Autoren sei für ihre vorzügliche Arbeit aufs herzlichste gedankt.

(Fortsetzung: ad Bd II und III, folgt).

Tübingen, April 1981

E. BRUNNER-TRAUT

* *

Peter WAGNER, *Der ägyptische Einfluss auf die phönizische Architektur*, Bonn, Habelt, 1980 (21 cm., 279 p., 48 taf.). ISBN 3 7749 1772 8.

L'auteur de ce petit ouvrage a tout d'abord établi un catalogue des influences égyptiennes sur l'architecture phénicienne. Pour ce faire, il s'appuie essentiellement sur les découvertes faites depuis les travaux d'Ernest Renan jusqu'à ceux de Maurice Dunand, à Byblos, Amrit, Sidon, Oumm el 'Amed et un certain nombre de sites libanais.

Il constate que les éléments égyptiens n'apparaissent en l'état actuel de nos connaissances que dans les monuments religieux et funéraires. L'architecture sacrée phénicienne paraît en effet largement dominée par l'influence égyptienne, déjà visible dans la culture protophénicienne de Byblos, dès la fin du 3^e millénaire. Elle devient pré-

pondérante dans la culture phénicienne proprement dite à partir du début du 1^{er} millénaire, pour atteindre son apogée à la période perse. L'auteur suppose à juste titre que les formes égyptisantes que l'on peut discerner dans l'art achéménide sont passées par l'intermédiaire des Phéniciens. Dans l'art funéraire, l'influence égyptienne reste beaucoup plus discrète.

P. Wagner note cependant qu'en dépit du décor égyptisant, corniche à gorge par ex., qui figure dans les sanctuaires phéniciens actuellement dégagés, tels que le Ma'abed d'Amrit ou Ain el 'Hayat, le plan en est radicalement différent du temple égyptien. Par ailleurs, les motifs égyptiens sont généralement associés à des thèmes qui leur sont étrangers: sur les naos et les autels, les corniches à gorge voisinent avec des rosaces ou des fleurons, qui appartiennent au répertoire local puisqu'on les retrouve sur les ossuaires israélites, ou avec des merlons à degrés d'origine assyro-perse. De même, les tombes à couverture pyramidale de Phénicie et de Palestine présentent la combinaison d'une conception égyptienne et de formes hellénistiques.

Plus nettement marqués par la culture pharaonique seraient les naos à frise d'uraei, les chapiteaux hathoriques de type cypro-phénicien et les constructions pyramidales. On peut y joindre des modèles qui n'apparaissent que de façon sporadique, tel le baldaquin, figuré sur les patères en bronze de Nimrud et d'Olympie. La longévité de cette tradition égyptisante et le conservatisme de l'art phénicien se traduisent par la survivance d'autels à gorge dans l'époque romaine.

L'auteur conclut de son enquête que les formes égyptisantes ne paraissent pas avoir véhiculé les concepts religieux qu'elles exprimaient dans la vallée du Nil. C'est ainsi que les obélisques sont devenus des bétyles selon une notion commune à la Phénicie et la Palestine; les chapiteaux hathoriques sont liés désormais au culte d'Astarté; les monuments pyramidaux sont devenus l'image du défunt, la Néfesh sémitique; le disque solaire ailé n'est plus Horus d'Edfou, mais un symbole cosmique universel dans l'empire achéménide.

Ce travail, précis et bien illustré, met bien en valeur le caractère syncrétiste de la culture phénicienne, qui a su assimiler des éléments issus d'horizons divers et en constituer un ensemble cohérent, que l'on retrouvera par la suite dans l'art punique.

Paris, C.N.R.S., janvier 1981

HENRI DE CONTENSON

* *

Karl MARTIN (with contributions by Peter Kaplony): *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum, Lose-Blatt-Katalog Ägyptischer Altertümer*, Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim, Lieferung 8: Reliefs des Alten Reiches, Teil 3. Mainz/Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, (30 cm., 122 pages plus 47 pages). DM 68.-. ISBN 3 8053 0353 X.

When I submitted my review of the first two parts of this work, the third had not yet appeared. The material which I expected to be included in this third fascicle, notably

the indices, has added greatly to the value of the whole. The objects treated here represent the remainder of types which can be considered Old Kingdom reliefs in the collection at Hildesheim, as well as some material which could have been a part of the first two publications. Included are: Offering tables, plates and stands, stelae, ointment palettes, additional false door parts, clay jar sealings and miscellaneous fragments of relief. Some of these can not quite be considered "relief" because their inscriptions or markings are in paint or ink, but it is well that they be included, in any case.

The Indices are as complete for the material as anyone could wish providing an exhaustive guide to the contents of the three fascicles. They are arranged by: Inventory number, names (kings, gods and private), modern place names, titles, epithets, types of object, material, buildings and parts of buildings (including the mastaba and temples from which the objects come), costume and a general index with a wide variety of citations. There is also an addenda and corrigenda for the first two parts.

As was mentioned in the preceding review, some of the photographs lack clarity or definition. In most instances this has been remedied by the inclusion of a line drawing. Stela 1884 might have profited by this treatment. Stela 1875 has the advantage of a color plate which is especially useful to illustrate the subtlety of the piece.

As was said in the original review, it is much to the credit of Karl Martin and The Pelizaeus-Museum for producing this material. Any shortcomings the work may have are greatly outweighed by its qualities.

The Detroit Institute of Arts,
March 1981

WILLIAM H. PECK

* *

G. KILLEN, *Ancient Egyptian Furniture*. Vol. I: 4000-1300 B.C. Warminster, Aris & Phillips, 1980 (31 cm., x + 73 pp. + xxviii pp., 50 pls.) = Modern Egyptology Series. Prix: £ 17.50. ISBN 0 85668 095 8.

Si la littérature égyptologique concernant les meubles est abondante, elle consistait, il y a encore quelques années, en des études limitées, éparpillées dans des revues et des comptes-rendus de fouilles. La publication en 1966 de l'ouvrage d'Hollis Baker, *Furnitures in the Ancient World*, avait eu le grand mérite d'être le premier ouvrage d'ensemble sur la question. Le livre de G. Killen, *Ancient Egyptian Furnitures I* (4000-1300 B.C.) envisage le sujet sous un angle plus restreint permettant par exemple une étude très approfondie des techniques et l'établissement d'une typologie qui se révélera très utile pour l'archéologue, confronté à des problèmes de datation.

L'ouvrage commence par une présentation des matières premières et des techniques utilisées pour la fabrication des meubles. Le matériau le plus fréquent était naturellement le bois, denrée rare en Égypte; aussi fut-il très tôt importé. L'utilisation de nouvelles essences à un moment donné révèle parfois l'adoption de techniques différentes, telle la courbure du bois à la vapeur. Bien que les bois égyptiens antiques n'aient été l'objet que d'un petit nombre

d'analyses, l'auteur fournit une liste impressionnante d'essences utilisées durant la période pharaonique, complétant les données rassemblées par Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, avec le résultat de comptes-rendus de fouilles et d'identifications récentes effectuées par le Royal Botanic Garden, Kew. Dans l'énumération des bois et de leurs caractéristiques on trouve côte à côte des arbres originaires de la Vallée du Nil (acacia, palmier, figuier, tamaris, jujubier ...), de l'ébène importé d'Afrique et des essences originaires du Proche Orient: buis, cèdre, chêne, pin ... A cette liste déjà fort longue, j'ajouterai le Balanite et le Karité (*Butyrospermum Parkii*), deux bois assez communément employés au Nouvel Empire, à en juger d'après les identifications effectuées par le Centre Technique Forestier Tropical sur des objets de toilette et des statues conservés au Musée du Louvre. Seul le nom égyptien de l'ébène (hbny) est mentionné dans l'ouvrage mais l'auteur aurait pu, sans entreprendre de longues recherches, fournir un certain nombre d'autres termes; signalons que l'étude de ces termes a fait l'objet d'un mémoire récent de l'EPHE qui peut être consulté à la bibliothèque du Collège de France (G. Charpentier, *Lexique bibliographique de la botanique égyptienne*, Paris 1979). Les autres matériaux et les techniques utilisés par les ébénistes sont présentés d'une façon très claire. Dès la première dynastie l'ivoire était utilisé pour fabriquer les pieds de petits meubles; par la suite, il fut employé pour les incrustations avec la faïence, le verre, la cornaline. Pour améliorer l'aspect d'un bois de mauvaise qualité, les Égyptiens connaissaient le placage dès la Première dynastie, et au Nouvel Empire, l'usage de la marqueterie était à son apogée. On pouvait également recouvrir le bois de peau, l'enduire d'une couche de stuc, ou le noircir pour imiter l'ébène. Quelques tombes royales ont révélé l'existence de meubles somptueux recouverts de minces feuilles d'or. Le mobilier égyptien était assemblé par un système de tenons et de mortaises, parfois renforcé par des chevilles ou, à la XVIII^e dynastie, par des clous d'or. La colle, d'origine animale, fut largement utilisée à partir de la V^e dynastie; auparavant les éléments étaient maintenus par des lanières de cuir.

Le second chapitre rassemble la documentation concernant les outils employés pour la fabrication des meubles. Ils sont représentés dès l'Ancien Empire sur les scènes ornant les parois des mastabas et certains d'entre eux ont été retrouvés par les archéologues. L'auteur analyse ces instruments qui sont tout à fait proches de ceux qu'utilisaient nos artisans avant l'avènement de la machine: équerre, pierre à aiguiser, herminettes, haches, divers types de ciseaux, maillets, scies, foret, poinçons ... une exception, la scie à dents modernes qui n'a largement été utilisée qu'à l'époque romaine. L'étude attentive des outils et les techniques qui en découlent, l'abondance des illustrations font de cette partie de l'ouvrage une référence indispensable pour qui s'intéresse à l'histoire des techniques. Mais hélas les outils antiques n'ont été que trop rarement découverts dans un contexte permettant de définir leur usage avec précision. Aussi la panoplie découverte dans la tombe de Toutankhamon (n° 17 pl. 13), composée d'instruments de fer très petits, pourrait tout aussi bien être celle d'un orfèvre; l'une des herminettes (n° 8 pl. 7) me semble être un outil factice appartenant à un dépôt de fondation semblable à celui conservé au Musée du

Louvre (AF 8962) ce qui expliquerait la surprenante minceur de la lame.

A partir du chapitre 3 commence l'étude proprement dite des meubles qui sont présentés typologiquement : lits (chap. 3), tabourets (chap. 4), chaises (chap. 5), tables (chap. 6), supports de vases (chap. 7). On peut s'étonner de n'y trouver ni les coffres et coffrets, ni les chevet qui habituellement figurent parmi les meubles. Les objets sont étudiés chronologiquement à l'intérieur de chaque chapitre, précédés d'une courte introduction. L'ensemble a l'aspect d'un catalogue où chaque pièce est soigneusement décrite, souvent accompagnée d'un dessin très précis expliquant les techniques d'assemblage. Bien évidemment on ne pouvait donner un catalogue de tous les meubles égyptiens, aussi l'auteur a-t'il sélectionné dans chaque catégorie des objets typiques illustrant les diverses rubriques de sa classification. On ne peut qu'admirer l'énorme travail de documentation qu'implique un tel parti d'autant plus qu'à côté de meubles célèbres ayant appartenu à la reine Hétérophères ou à Toutankhamon, on ne trouve pas moins de 27 objets inédits. Dans le mobilier égyptien certaines formes

survivent d'une époque à l'autre avec une fidélité étonnante. Si la date contestable de la chaise trouvée à Naga el Der (n° 1 pl. 85) semble avoir été fixée d'après le contexte de fouilles, on aimerait avoir plus de précisions sur les critères retenus par l'auteur pour dater certains objets que le profane placerait à une autre époque : pour quel motif le lit conservé à Vienne (n° 5 pl. 35) est-il attribué au Nouvel Empire? Quelles sont les raisons permettant de placer à l'Ancien Empire le support de vase du musée de Limoges (n° 1 pl. 115) alors qu'il ne correspond à aucun des deux types décrits auparavant?

Cet ouvrage sérieux et extrêmement bien documenté se termine par un appendice dont la richesse surprendra : il s'agit d'un catalogue sommaire des meubles conservés dans les différents musées égyptologiques. Pour des raisons qui me sont inconnues et dont on ne peut tenir grief à l'auteur, Killen n'a pas eu connaissance de la collection de meubles du Musée du Louvre. Aussi trouvera-t'on ci-dessous la liste sommaire du mobilier du Louvre dont la connaissance n'apporte d'ailleurs aucune modification importante à cet ouvrage très précieux.

FRANCE : DEPARTEMENT DES ANTIQUITÉS ÉGYPTIENNES DU MUSÉE DU LOUVRE *)

n° d'inventaire	description	matière	date	taille en cm
AE 05196	chevet	bois		11,7
AE 06582	chevet brisé	bois		16
AE 06738	chevet brisé	bois		7
AF 3 = dépôt à Rennes	chevet brisé	bois		11
AF 2895	chevet de Ptahmes	bois	N.E.	18
AF 2	chevet brisé	bois		7
E 168	chevet	bois	N.E.	15,6
E 900	chevet	albâtre	A.E.	23,8
E 3196	chevet	calcaire	M.E.	19
E 3443	chevet	bois	N.E.	5,8
E 3471	chevet	albâtre	AE	21,2
E 5365 = dépôt à Varsovie	chevet	bois		18,5
E 10750	chevet	albâtre	AE	23,8
E 10912	chevet	bois		16,2
E 11468	chevet de Nefertiyt	albâtre	PPI	17
E 13291 = dépôt à Nantes	chevet fragmentaire	bois		18,5
E 13407 = dépôt à Rennes	chevet fragmentaire	calcaire		16
E 13852	chevet	bois		19,5
E 13853	chevet	bois		18,5
E 14003	chevet de Sennefer	bois	XVIII ^e	15,6
E 14439	chevet de May	bois	XVIII ^e	17,7
E 14440	chevet	bois	XVIII ^e	17,5
E 14441	chevet	bois	XVIII ^e	6,5
E 14442	chevet	bois	NE	22,5
E 14655 = dépôt à Angers	chevet	bois	NE	10
E 17240	chevet	albâtre	PPI	12,8
E 17242	chevet fragmentaire	albâtre	PPI	12,5
E 17243	chevet fragmentaire	albâtre	PPI	
E 17244	chevet fragmentaire	albâtre	PPI	21,5
E 17245	chevet fragmentaire	brèche	PPI	
E 19661	chevet fragmentaire	bois	NE	27,3
E 19960	chevet	bois		16,4

n° d'inventaire	description	matière	date	taille en cm
E 19962	chevet fragment	bois	ME?	16
E 19963	chevet fragmentaire	bois		22,3
E 22285	cheves de Metou	albâtre	VI ^e ?	21,3
E 22779	chevet de Khenemet	albâtre	VI ^e ?	21,8
E 25185	chevet	brèche	PPI	19,6
E 25186	chevet	albâtre	PPI	21
E 25187	chevet fragmentaire	calcaire	PPI	17,5
E 25188	chevet fragmentaire	albâtre	PPI	14,8
E 25654 = dépôt à Lille	chevet	bois	DPI	17,5
E 22315	chevet fragmentaire	bois	ME?	13,8
N 646	chevet de Pépi II	ivoire	AE	21,8
N 3383 = dépôt à Besançon	chevet	bois		
N 3384	chevet de Neferoubenef	bois	XVIII	28
N 3425	chevet fragmentaire	bois	NE	20
N 5433	chevet de Piay	bois N	NE	7
N 2736 a	chevet	bois	NE	15,5
N 2737 a	chevet	albatre	AE	19,3
N 2736 b	chevet	bois	NE	19,5
N 2736 c	chevet	albatre	AE	22
N 2736 d	chevet	bois	NE	16,5
N 2736 e	chevet	bois	NE	16
N 2736 f	chevet	bois	NE?	29,7
E 27146	éléments de lit royal	bois	XVIII	42,8
E 3197	coffret fragmentaire	bois		15
E 8429	coffret	bois	NE?	22,3
E 11896	coffret	roseau	NE?	25
E 14657-E 20507	coffret	bois	NE	6,3
E 15129	coffre	bronze	Amenhemhat II	29,6
E 17275	coffret	calcaire	PPI	21,3
E 25685	coffret	albâtre	Montouhotep II	9,8
N 794	couvercle de coffret	ivoire	Merenré	14,6
N 1322	coffret	bois	NE?	12,8
N 1392	coffret	bois	ME?	33
N 2635	coffret de scribe	bois	NE	28
N 2666	coffret de Mesré	bois	NE	29
N 2915	coffret de scribe	bois	NE	41,5
N 2922	coffret de Mesré	bois	NE	24,5
N 4530	élément de coffret	bois	BE	26,5
N 2661	coffret	bois		23,9
E 2773	coffre	bois	BE?	56,5
AE 17570	piéd de chaise	bois		35,5
E 14437	chaise	bois-vannerie	XVIII	74,5
E 27126	chaise	bois	NE	27,5
N 2950	chaise	bois-ivoire	NE	91
AE 05845	piéd de tabouret?	bois	NE	31,5
AE 17558	piéd de tabouret?	bois		19,5
AE 17569	piéd de tabouret?	bois		29,6
E 3858 = dépôt Varsovie	tabouret	bois	NE	38
E 10780	tabouret (piéd)	bois	BE	28,5
E 14654	tabouret	bois-vannerie	XVIII	15,3
E 14438	tabouret	bois-vannerie	XVIII	17,3
N 879	tabouret	bois-vannerie		15
N 875 D	fragments de tabouret	bois	NE	22
AE 06099	pliant	bois-ivoire	NE	28
E 14002	pliant de Sennefer	bois-cuir	XVIII	45
N 877 = dépôt à Rennes	2 montants de pliant	bois		31
N 878 = dépôt à Rennes	2 traverses de pliant	bois		
N 875 E	piéd de meuble	bois		29
N 875 G	piéd de meuble	bois		26,3
N 875 H	piéd de meuble	bois		13,7

*) Cet inventaire a été réalisé avec la collaboration du Service Informatique du Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Louvre.

n° d'inventaire	description	matière	date	taille en cm
AE 17558	pied de meuble	bois		19,5
AE 17569	pied de meuble	bois		29,6
AE 17570	pied de meuble	bois		35,5
E 10379	pied de meuble	bois		37,5
E 13270 = dépôt à Rennes	pied de meuble	bois		27,5
E 25670 = dépôt à Lille	pied de meuble?	bois	NE	9
N 875 A	pied de meuble	bois	BE?	48,5
N 875 D	pied de pliant de Mahou	bois	NE	48
N 875 F	pied de pliant	bois	NE	21,5
N 875 F	pied de pliant	bois	NE	21,4
AE 17574	tête de lion (élément de meuble)	bois		10
AE 06737	tête de lion (élément de meuble)	bois	BE	16,3
AF 27	tête de lion (élément de meuble)	bois	NE	27
AF 25	tête de lion (élément de meuble)	bois	NE	19
E 2537	tête de lion (élément de meuble)	bronze	BE	18,5
E 5329	colonnnette (élément de meuble)	bronze	Psousennès I	13,5
E 5390	tête de nègre (élément de meuble)	bois	NE	17,5
E 10669	pied de chaise? (élément de meuble)	bois	BE	35
E 11351	tête de Bès (élément de meuble)	bois	BE	13,2
E 17225	pied de lit? (élément de meuble)	bois	NE	21
E 17333	sphinx assis (élément de meuble)	bois	BE	42
E 17447	femme debout (élément de meuble)	bois	XVIII	24,8
E 25381	tête et queue de lion	bronze	NE	14
E 11019 A	pied de meuble	ivoire	thinite	16,4
E 11019 B	pied de meuble	ivoire	thinite	13,7
N 875	patte de lion	bois	NE?	23,3
N 1819	tête de canard	bois-ivoire		7
E 5360	tête de lion	bois		6,8
E 10501	brasero? de Khéti	cuiivre	Khéti	16
E 13238	avant de lion	bois		59,7
E 14333	chevet-maquette de maison	calcaire	BE	33
E 25291	homme debout (élément de meuble)	bois	XVIII	17,2
E 12714 A	fragment de coffret	bois	NE	14,7
E 25502 A	coffret de tisserand	bois	NE	32
N 3800	tête de lion	bois	BE	8,3
N 4218	Bès (élément de meuble)	bois		16,6
N 4991	femme (élément de meuble)	bois	NE?	26,2
N 875 J	élément de siège?	bois		43,2
N 3312	dossier de chaise	bois	NE	43,5
N 1319	support de vase	bois	NE	43
N 880	modèle de lit	bois	NE?	19,5

Les numéros AE ... sont des numéros provisoires, uniquement utilisés pour le classement informatique des objets.
Paris, février 1981
C. ZIEGLER

Peter L. SHINNIE and Rebecca J. BRADLEY, *The Capital of Kush I: Meroe Excavations 1965-1972*. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1980 (23,8 cm., xvii, 317 pp., 46 pls., 92 figs. (11 in separate folder) = *Meroitica*, vol. 4. Price 78,- M. (Bestellnummer 753 6654(2155/4)).

The site of Meroe, the capital of the ancient Kingdom of Kush, located about 200 k. north of the modern city of Khartoum, was first correctly identified by the explorer James Bruce in 1782. The first excavations were carried out at the townsite between 1909 and 1914 by John Garstang. Garstang excavated extensively, but confined his work to the so-called "Royal City" (a massive palace complex), the adjacent Amun Temple, and various other temples and massive public buildings scattered farther afield, as well as at three non-royal cemeteries east of the city. The quality of his archaeological excavations was not high and the surviving records of them do little to supplement his inadequate publications. Most of what we know about the history and culture of the city of Meroe is derived from Dows Dunham's publications of George Reisner's excavation and analysis of the three so-called "Royal Cemeteries" (belonging to the monarchs and nobility of Kush) that are located east of the area where Garstang worked.

Excavations were recommenced at Meroe by Professor P.L. Shinnie in 1965. The present volume reports on the first phase of Shinnie's work, which lasted until 1972. The aim of this "first campaign" was to investigate some of the problems of Meroitic domestic architecture and chronology not studied by Garstang. Shinnie sought to ascertain the cultural sequence in the domestic and industrial part of the town using modern stratigraphic methods of excavation. He hoped to establish a chronology for the occupation of the site and to study aspects of Meroitic daily life and domestic architecture, ecological conditions in ancient times, and the history of iron-working at the site. He also sought to learn more about the architectural history of the Amun Temple. These objectives were pursued with varying degrees of thoroughness. No specific studies were made of the palaeoecology of Meroe and its nearby hinterland.

Shinnie's main tasks during the first campaign were the excavation of two large trenches in the more northerly of the two large mounds, or *tells*, located immediately east of the Royal City. Both trenches were dug down to the sterile soil underlying the site. The first of these (the 50-line trench), in the southern part of the mound, consisted of a single row of a dozen 10 m. squares. The authors divide the strata in this part of the site into three main components, or phases of occupation, each of which is further sub-divided into several episodes. The Early Component contained the remains of mud-brick houses that had been rebuilt several times, as well as of iron-slag. Radiocarbon dates of the sixth century B.C. provided a *terminus ante quem* for the first cycle of occupation in this area. During the Middle Component, this part of the site was largely abandoned but used for the disposal of domestic refuse and iron-slag. Sand also accumulated there. Shinnie dates the beginning of this period c. 300 B.C. The Third Component was characterized by intensive building and rebuilding, which began c. 100 B.C. The topmost levels of the site have suffered from severe wind erosion. Shinnie speculates, on the basis of surface finds, that there may have been a late or post-Meroitic occupation making extensive use of redbrick that has been completely eroded or robbed out.

The second major excavation (the 79/80-line trench) was made farther north at one of the highest points on the north mound. An area 40 x 20 m. was excavated at the surface but the trench was narrowed to 8 x 8 m. at a basal depth of 10 m. The stratigraphy in this part of the site was considerably more complex than that of the 50-line. Here three main cycles of construction were discerned that were separated by periods when the area was abandoned. At the bottom of the trench Shinnie found a circular pattern of post-holes, "reminiscent of modern local hut construction", sunk into a low sand dune. Above a layer of compact sand were three levels of poorly preserved mud-brick structures separated by layers of domestic refuse and fine clay. Various criteria date these levels between the seventh and fourth centuries B.C. On top of these occupation layers were two thick strata of domestic refuse and a layer of windblown sand laminated with ash. Above were four more building levels containing structures made of bricks that averaged 34 x 17 x 8 cm. These bricks were smaller than those found in lower strata of this trench or the Early Component of the 50-line. The structures appear to date between c. 300 B.C. and A.D. 100. Another period of abandonment, during which this area was used as a refuse dump, was followed by three major building levels. The earliest appearance of W.Y. Adams' M Family pottery in the lowest of these levels dates it about the second century A.D. The authors suggest that the absence of characteristic X-Group (Ballana) wares of Lower Nubia indicates that the occupation of Meroe did not continue after A.D. 400 at the latest. Yet the discovery in a pit below the penultimate building level of a coin identified as "Axumite of the mid-fourth century A.D." (p. 185) casts doubt on this conclusion. There were also, as along the 50-line, traces of a possible redbrick building level post-dating Building Level I. An occupation approximately coeval with the Ballana period farther north is indicated in the cemeteries that Garstang excavated east of the city.

In the first part of the book, Shinnie and Bradley outline previous work at Meroe and describe in detail the stratigraphy of the 50 and 79/80 lines. Their descriptions are clear and thorough, although the terminology is complex. The combined use of the analytical categories of "components" and "building levels" might have been avoided. A helpful partial concordance of stratigraphic units is provided on page 96. Serious use of this section also requires cutting apart and pasting together in a useful order the various plans and sections assembled on the sheets in the folder accompanying the volume.

In addition to the two main trenches, 5 "trial" ones, each measuring 2 x 2 m., were dug nearby; some according to the cultural stratigraphy, others in arbitrary 20 cm. levels (spits). All the material from these "trial trenches" was put through a fine hand-sieve in order to obtain a sample of pottery and small finds that was more carefully controlled than in the main excavations. Only one of these controlled excavations (T.T.5) is described in detail. A final brief section deals with the re-excavation of a portion of the forecourt of the Amun Temple. Evidence was found

of at least two distinct building episodes, neither of which can be fixed chronologically on the basis of present evidence.

The authors stress that their analyses of the finds from these excavations are partial and "undesirably summary" in many respects. A vast amount of material was recovered (e.g., up to one million potsherds each season) and much of it could not be retained for detailed analysis. It is hoped that the information provided in the book will "enable future researchers to make more comprehensive descriptions and perhaps to draw conclusions of greater general significance" (p. xvi).

The pottery found during the first campaign is described according to (a) form and (b) type and variety. Reconstructed vessels were grouped into 145 form classes which are illustrated in a 16 page corpus, followed by 15 more pages detailing painted, stamped, and impressed decoration and a register that describes and identifies the find spots of 406 pots that were complete enough to be reconstructed on paper. The sherds were classified in terms of seven basic types, distinguished according to similarities in fabric, method of manufacture, and form. These were further subdivided into 28 varieties according to surface treatment, colour, and decoration. The resulting typology is described as a "purely provisional ... synthesis of several preliminary studies" (M.A. theses by Shinnie's students). It is hoped that further research will enable this system to be brought into line with Adams' pottery classification for Lower Nubia. No attempt seems to have been made to analyse the pottery from Meroe statistically, nor is it clear that sherds were recovered in a manner that would have permitted frequency seriation to be done. Because of this, disappointingly little precise chronological information has been obtained so far. Imported wares that Adams dates after about A.D. 200 have been found "only in the very topmost levels" (but which levels?). Type F pottery, corresponding to Adams' Family M "egg shell" wares, are found only in the three highest building levels in the 79/80-line. Radiocarbon dates at Meroe tend to confirm Adams' date of c. A.D. 100 (?) for the beginning of this type. Type Cb (the so-called cherry-red type), which is common in the lower levels of the site, is dated, on the basis of radiocarbon dates and Reisner's Royal Cemeteries chronology, between the sixth century and c. 300 B.C. and type Ja (brown, sometimes with a red-slip rim) is most common even earlier.

The small finds, which were largely analysed by Mrs. K. Robertson, include amulets, beads, clay figurines, and glass, metal, and stone artifacts. Comparisons with the tomb sequences worked out for the *Royal Cemeteries of Kush* permit time ranges to be applied to some of these objects, although unfortunately this information is not used systematically to date the stratigraphic levels at Meroe. 209 of the most important small finds are illustrated by line drawings. The object register, which records the find spots of over 3,500 objects, is of minimal use to readers because it fails to identify artifacts except in the most general terms (green faience bead, bronze clip, clay bead, pottery mold). There is no ordering of this material by types or even broad categories of objects and no counts of artifacts of different sorts. The reader can use this register to tabulate a few crude statistics of his own, such as how many bronze objects were recorded for each

level in a trench. Yet because we lack detailed information about how these data were recovered, the significance of these calculations cannot be assessed. This material should either have been published in greater detail and a more organized form or the 72 pages omitted completely.

A final report by P. L. Carter and Robert Foley discusses the faunal remains from the excavations. Systematic samples were recorded from a 3 x 1.5 m. "Bone Trench" cut into the side of the 50-line trench and from Trial Trench 5. Other materials, recovered less systematically from the main excavations, were used to indicate the full range of species present at Meroe. The Bone Trench showed "a steady decline in the relative importance of caprovines [sheep and goats] and a steady increase in the importance of cattle" (p. 304). This change is interpreted as reflecting the overgrazing of the herb *Blepharis* sp. favoured by the caprovines. Yet the bone from T.T.5 revealed a steady relationship between cattle and caprovines, with the former predominating through the history of the city. Hence it is concluded that "the site is too vast to be fully represented by two small trenches" (p. 306). Animal age ratios indicate that the bulk of Meroitic cattle were killed when mature but not old. This does not lend support to the suggestion that the Meroites treated cattle in the same way as do modern tribal peoples of the southern Sudan, who rarely kill them for fresh meat. More caprovines were slaughtered at a sub-adult age. Hunting seems to have been of little importance. The carrying capacity of the Meroe region appears to have been higher in ancient times than it is now. Carter and Foley point out the need for a palaeoecological study of the region. One question that such a study must resolve is whether a branch of the Nile flowed east of the city, at least during the flood season. Inundations from that branch might explain the periodic silt deposits evident in the earlier phases of tell formation.

Undoubtedly, the most important single finding of Shinnie's excavations has been the light they have cast on the early history of iron-working in the Sudan. Iron objects appear in graves from the early Napatan period but hitherto it was uncertain whether iron had actually been worked in the Sudan, as opposed to being imported from Egypt, prior to reign 18 (which Hintze dates c. 468-463 B.C.) or in quantity prior to the reign of Harsiyotef (which is dated 404-369 B.C., not late third to early fourth century B.C. as Shinnie and Bradley state on p. 17). Evidence of iron-slag has been found near the bottom of Shinnie's trenches in strata dated to the sixth century B.C. There is also evidence of smelting activities during all later periods. Nevertheless, the number of iron objects found appears to increase markedly in the upper levels of the site. Until a more comprehensive survey has been carried out, the total amount of iron-smelting at Meroe at any one period will also remain problematical.

This report ends without any conclusions or summary. Some discussion of Meroitic domestic life is promised in volume II. Yet the authors fail to provide a summary of their stratigraphic and chronological findings. No attempt is made to compare the stratigraphy in the 50 and 79/80 lines to see if common trends can be discerned. Nor do they draw together and discuss the chronological evidence yielded by pottery, small finds, and radiocarbon dating to determine to what degree these sources agree or disagree

with each other and whether, when used together, they can provide a more refined chronology than each does separately. The data become a three-dimensional jig-saw puzzle that the readers are challenged to solve for themselves. Given the absence of precisely classified data, the vagueness of certain generalizations about the distribution of these data, and some inevitable contradictions between different classes of data, this is a more difficult task for readers than it should have been for the excavators. It is vitally important to have an accurate understanding of the culture history of the city of Meroe. On the basis of his recent study of Kushite cemeteries, André Vila (*La prospection archéologique de la vallée du Nil au sud de la cataracte de Dal*, vol. 12, *La nécropole de Missiminia*. Paris: Edition du CNRS, 1980, p. 170) has suggested that, even if the military campaign of Psamtik II in 591 B.C. did not penetrate farther south than Napata, it may have radically injured the whole Sudanese kingdom, initiating a prolonged epoch of economic and political recession. Whether or not this is so should be evident in the stratigraphy at Meroe. Finally, I wish that Akademie-Verlag had provided a stronger binding for a book that, in spite of its limitations, will be a major reference work for archaeologists in the Sudan for the foreseeable future.

McGill University
Montreal, Canada, March 1981

BRUCE G. TRIGGER

GRIEKS-ROMEINS EGYPTE

THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI. Volume XLIII edited with Translations and Notes by J. R. REA. London, Egypt Exploration Society, 1975 (1 vol. in-8°, xviii + 163 pp., 12 pll.) = Graeco-Roman Memoirs, No. 60.

Le volume 43 des *P.Oxy.*, que nous devons — une fois de plus — au labeur et à la compétence de J. R. Rea, nous apporte une ample moisson de documents officiels et privés (nos 3088 à 3150) datant, pour la grande majorité, des II^e, III^e et IV^e siècles. Après les rubriques habituelles de l'introduction, il convient d'attirer spécialement l'attention sur la précieuse liste qui a été dressée (pp. xv-xviii) des additions et corrections récemment proposées aux papyrus publiés par l'E.E.S. : une petite centaine d'entre eux sont concernés, essentiellement parmi les *P.Oxy.* et les *P.Tebt.*

Mutilé au début, 3088 présente successivement la fin d'une lettre, puis la copie d'une missive émanant du préfet Flavius Titianus. Le premier texte semble avoir été écrit le 21 mars 128; à part la clause finale et la date, on n'y lit qu'une brève menace de châtement. Pratiquement contemporain, en tout cas de la même 12^e année d'Hadrien, le second est peut-être une annexe de la lettre précédente. Le préfet y autorise les Oxyrhynchites à utiliser certains fonds pour améliorer l'équipement des thermes et il les félicite pour leur intention louable. Au III^e siècle, l'intermédiaire obligé de pareille correspondance sera la *βουλή*; on est mal renseigné pour la période antérieure et ce papyrus n'apporte guère de précisions : le préfet s'adresse directe-

ment à la cité (τῇ πόλει) et à ses habitants (ὄμοις). Le destinataire de 3089 est Théon, stratège de l'Arsinoïte pour les départements de Thémistès et de Polémon, en 146. Il s'agit d'un rapport rédigé par les *presbyteroi* de Dionysias suite à une demande émanant d'un certain Eclectus, *procurator* (*usiacus*, sans doute); la requête de celui-ci est bien recopiée *in extenso*, mais le rapport des *presbyteroi* est extrêmement laconique, de sorte qu'il nous est malaisé de saisir le nœud du problème. 3090 date de février/mars 216; c'est un rapport établi par des convoyeurs de veaux qui, alors qu'ils amenaient des animaux à Alexandrie pour la visite de Caracalla, avaient dû abandonner la caravane à partir du Nome Hérakléopolite pour regagner Oxyrhynchus avec dix veaux qui étaient tombés malades. 3091 est la prestation de serment que fait l'année suivante un liturge désigné pour livrer à Alexandrie de l'orge destinée à l'armée de Caracalla, qui stationnait alors en Syrie.

Grâce à 3092, nous connaissons un nouveau *procurator usiacus*, Aur. Terpsilaos, qui fait fonction de dioécète; ce document est un contrat conclu entre deux fermiers d'impôts et deux autres personnages qui vont partager la concession avec eux pour l'année à venir, soit 217/8. À ce propos, la ligne 5 porte une double indication : «26» et «2» (*s.l.*), la 26^e année de Caracalla étant effectivement devenue la seconde de Macrin par suite de l'assassinat du premier nommé le 8 avril 217. L'éditeur hésite sur le point de savoir s'il s'agit là de la correction d'une seconde main ou d'une hésitation du scribe, qui était peut-être déjà au courant mais qu'embarrassait la lenteur manifestée par l'administration pour notifier le changement officiel de la formule de datation; le changement de dioécète est peut-être aussi une conséquence de cette atmosphère troublée. Pareille impression se confirme à la lecture de 3093, copie de pétition très mutilée, mais qui nous apprend que le 21 septembre 217, le dioécète était un certain Héracléidès, lequel faisait aussi fonction de *juridicus*; le document offre un réel intérêt paléographique car son écriture (v. pl. III) présente encore certains traits qui caractérisent les mains littéraires de style orné et doit, selon l'avis d'E. G. Turner, nous inciter à retarder d'un siècle la datation d'un papyrus homérique de Yale (inv. 1546) attribué par son éditeur au second siècle (*CdE*, 46, 1971, 313-317). Lettre privée écrite probablement à Alexandrie en 217/8, 3094 fait allusion à un procès compliqué qui s'est étalé sur trois préfectures; l'adresse fait une intéressante mention de deux *θαλλοδόται* officiant auprès du Sérapéum (à ce sujet, cf. maintenant P. Nautin, *L'offrande des palmes au Sérapéum d'Alexandrie*, dans *REG*, 90, 1977, p. xii).

Les quatre textes suivants sont d'une importance capitale pour la connaissance des cycles de tribus à Oxyrhynchus. L'éditeur fait le point de la question dans l'introduction commune qu'il leur consacre. Depuis quelques années, le nombre de documents portant des mentions de ces cycles s'est fortement accru et l'on peut aujourd'hui affirmer que plusieurs systèmes se sont succédé. Le premier atteste l'existence de six tribus qui durent alternativement pourvoir aux liturgies durant quatre cycles de six ans, de 206/7 à 229/230. Cf. 3095 : convention de substitution entre deux personnes pour une charge d'*ἐπιστολαφορία* (à la p. 26, ligne 4, lire «p. 96» au lieu de «p. 96») qui avait été pourvue par l'amphodogrammate de la 6^e tribu, 2^e période, en 217/8; 3096 : demande adressée à l'amphodogrammate de la 6^e tribu, 3^e période, en 223/4, pour obtenir une rectifica-

tion de nom dans la liste des «13 ans»; à ce propos, on s'attendrait à retrouver au verso la mention de cette τάξις, bien attestée à l'époque (cf. *PSI* 1230 de 203 et *P.Oxy.* 1306 de 215/6, v. Mertens, *Les Services*, pp. 102-105); ne conviendrait-il donc pas d'y lire τγ, plutôt que ιβ ou ιδ comme le suggère l'éditrice de ce texte, U. Schlag, en note à la ligne 18? **3097**: serment d'un liturge désigné par le responsable de la première tribu, 4^e période, en 224/5 (sur ce document, v. maintenant N. Lewis, dans *BASP*, 16, 1979, pp. 209-210). À partir de 230/1, en raison sans doute de l'accroissement des charges liturgiques, les tribus furent groupées deux à deux et le cycle ramené à trois ans. V. **3098**, où l'amphodogrammate de la 5^e et 6^e tribu (*sic*) désigne un collecteur d'impôts en grain pour le village de Kesmouchis en 232/3. Dans la suite, on sait qu'il y avait douze tribus sous Aurélien, ce qui fait supposer que chaque tribu primitive a été divisée en deux à un moment donné, que, suivant la théorie d'A. Bowman, on pourrait situer sous le règne de Philippe, en 245/6, quand l'amphodogrammate a été remplacé par le phylarque; le cycle aurait ainsi été de douze ans jusqu'à l'avènement de Dioclétien.

On connaissait jusqu'ici trois textes relatifs à la gérusie d'Oxyrhynchus; le volume 43 en apporte d'un coup quatre supplémentaires (**3099-3102**), tous datés — à l'exception peut-être du dernier, dont la date n'est pas formellement assurée — de la 5^e année d'Alexandre Sévère, soit 225/6. Il s'agit chaque fois de demandes d'admission; les âges des impétrants sont respectivement de 58, 53 et 63 ans (étant très incomplètement conservé, **3102** ne fournit pas le renseignement. Peut-être s'agissait-il à ce moment précis de la naissance de cette institution, qui semble accorder l'entretien aux frais de l'état d'un certain nombre (200?) de personnes âgées reconnues aptes en raison d'un statut social privilégié et congénital. Particulièrement intéressantes sont la mention du pompagogue (ici, destinataire des demandes) et celle des στέμματα, qui pourraient bien être les «arbres généalogiques».

3103 est une déclaration d'héritage adressée en avril/mai 226 par trois femmes à qui un affranchi a légué 800 drachmes. Le destinataire est le stratège Aur. Antyllos, dont le nom apparaît ici entièrement pour la première fois (cf. *P.Oxy.* 2566) et dont la charge, relativement brève, vient s'insérer entre celle d'Aur. Harpocraton, attestée d'octobre 218 à janvier 225, et celle du stratège au nom mal conservé qui a reçu, le 24 juin 228, la déclaration de décès de type assez exceptionnel qui constitue le **3104**. Ayant été désigné par l'amphodogrammate pour la πρακτορεία σειτικῶν des catèques de Thôlthis, Aur. Thônis écrit (**3105**) au stratège Aur. Léonides, entre 228 et 235, pour proposer la *cessio bonorum*, conformément au rescrit promulgué par Septime Sévère en 200, rescrit que nous connaissions déjà par le *P.Oxy.* 1405 et dont nous avons ici une nouvelle copie partielle (à la note 11, au lieu de «12» juin, lire «24»). **3106** porte, comme 2104, un fragment de la lettre de Sévère Alexandre adressée à la communauté grecque de Bithynie et connue par *Dig.* 49.1.25. **3107** est un reçu de taxes diverses payées par quatre esclaves en 238; son intérêt majeur réside dans le fait qu'il porte la dernière date attestée de Maximin et Maxime (7 avril) et la première des Gordiens (13 juin), c'est pourquoi il avait déjà été publié dans *ZPE*, 9 (1972), pp. 4-7, pl. Ib. La mention du préfet L. Lucretius Annianus permet d'attribuer à **3108** une date proche de 240; il s'agit d'une copie

d'*agnitio bonorum possessionis* rédigée en grec. Dans **3109**, quatorze villageois de toutes les toparchies du nome s'engagent par serment à convoier en Syrie trente-six bœufs de labour; attribuable à la période 253-256, ce document est un témoignage de la contribution égyptienne aux campagnes orientales de Valérien. Le préfet qui y est impliqué, Magnus Felix Crescentianus, se retrouve dans le texte suivant (**3110**), de 253-257, début de pétition qui lui est adressée et où nous apprenons qu'il se prénomme Titus. **3111** est un contrat de fret relatif au transport de 800 keramia de vin du Nome Oxyrhynchite à Cléopatra, port de l'Hermopolite. On ne s'explique pas pourquoi cet acte, qui date du 15 mai 257, a été conclu à Antinoë. La marchandise est destinée aux troupes du *corrector* Ulpus Pasion, qui est attesté ici pour la première fois et qui réapparaît dans le document suivant (**3112**), copie d'une lettre envoyée le 19 janvier 258 par le vice-préfet Mussius Aemilianus. Les introductions à ces deux documents renferment de précieuses considérations sur la personnalité, le rang et le rôle des *correctores* en Égypte, ainsi que sur la carrière de Mussius Aemilianus, qui deviendra préfet l'année suivante.

Dans **3113**, un ex-gymnasiarque très âgé à l'époque (c. 264/5) adresse une pétition au préfet C. Claudius Firmus pour être libéré d'une tutelle d'orphelins qu'il ne souhaitait pas assumer. **3114** contient une pétition qu'envoie au phylarque, en juin/juillet 267, un jeune homme de 18 ans dont le nom a été omis dans les documents relatifs à la taxe de capitation; ce semble être l'allusion la plus récente au paiement de la λαογραφία. Je constate que le phylarque en question se retrouve en qualité de laographe dans *P.Oxy.* 2855 (de 291) et comme systate dans *P.Corn.* 18 (de 291) ainsi que dans *P.Oxy.* 3183 (de 292). Tracé au dos d'un petit fragment de registre, **3115** (6 juillet 271) est un ordre donné par le stratège de remettre aux Palmyréniens 22½ artabes d'orge. Avec **3116**, un vainqueur au concours antinoite du bige écrit, en 275/6, au stratège faisant fonction dans l'Oxyrhynchite pour lui demander de signaler les privilèges qu'il a mérités à des autorités qu'une lacune nous empêche d'identifier. **3117** (1^e moitié du III^e s.) porte au recto des comptes rendus d'une séance du tribunal relative à un problème d'héritage (v. la note de N. Lewis, dans *BASP*, XIV, 1977, pp. 159-160) et, au verso, une note d'affranchissement d'esclave. Du III^e siècle également, **3118** est une lettre adressée au procureur du Phare pour lui ordonner, à la demande de deux femmes romaines, d'empêcher qu'un homme sorte d'Égypte.

Très mutilé; **3119** cite deux fois le mot Χρηστιάων; comme il y est question d'une «année 7» et que l'écriture est attribuable au III^e siècle, l'éditeur envisage la possibilité d'un rapport avec la persécution de Valérien. **3120** permet de fixer à l'année 310 la préfecture de Sossianus Hiérocès; le document est un reçu de 3,5 grammes d'or délivré par un orfèvre en rapport avec une réquisition de 28 livres d'or ordonnée par le préfet. Ayant gardé des comptes d'une dépense faite à l'occasion de la confection d'une couronne offerte pour l'anniversaire de Licinius Junior en 316, 317 ou 318, **3121** nous apprend qu'à ce moment la livre d'or est achetée par la métropole oxyrhynchite à 288 talents, soit 432.000 deniers, alors qu'en 324 (*P.Oxy.* 1430), le gouvernement n'en donne que 313.500. Avec une formule de datation post-consulaire, **3122**, de 322, rapporte le serment prêté par trois hommes qui s'engagent à cultiver

quinze aoures. Les deux papyrus suivants, **3123** et **3124**, sont originaires du Nome Lycopolite et apparemment rien n'explique pourquoi ils ont été exhumés à Oxyrhynchus. Le premier (29 mars 322) est l'accusé de réception par l'*exactor* d'une lettre que le *praeses Thebaidos* lui a adressée en même temps qu'au logiste et au proèdre (v. N. Lewis, dans *BASP*, XIII, 1976, pp. 157-8). Le second est une lettre du stratège (c. 322) annonçant aux responsables des boulangeries de Ptolémaïs que 312 artabes de blé destiné à la fabrication du pain de l'armée ont été déchargées à Lycopolis.

3125 est transmis au *magister rei privatae* par le logiste et le stratège, qui lui annoncent que deux (ou trois) personnes sont envoyées pour lui porter les rapports demandés; l'éditeur énonce une hypothèse intéressante pour expliquer une datation consulaire un peu exceptionnelle (Proclus et Paulinus, en 325). **3126** (19 août 328) est la pétition qu'un homme originaire de l'Oasis d'Ammon adresse au logiste pour lui demander de faire partager une maison dont il a acheté un quart, mais dont il ne parvient pas à expulser deux copropriétaires indivises; il se réfère à un ordre du préfet Septimius Zenius, dont il joint une copie; le texte mentionne les μηνιάρχαι οἰκοδόμων. Dans **3127**, un homme s'engage par serment à convoier deux débiteurs à Alexandrie, où il doit les remettre au *rationalis* Flavius Nemesianus; à ce propos, v. maintenant P.J. Sijpesteijn-K.A. Worp, dans *ZPE*, 26 (1977), pp. 270-1. **3128** ne porte que deux lignes qui sont une datation consulaire, avec la même paire que le document précédent (année 332). Issu directement de la chancellerie préfectorale (v. pl. XI), **3129** demande au stratège Synésios, en 335, de protéger les intérêts d'un créancier, s'il estime après enquête que sa plainte est fondée; la date figure en latin.

Les dernières pièces du volume (**3130-3150**) ont fait l'objet d'un séminaire tenu à Florence en 1970 et dirigé par M. Manfredi et J.R. Rea. Chaque étudiant a préparé en italien l'édition d'un texte; J. Rea a traduit ces manuscrits en anglais, puis a opéré les harmonisations et les mises à jour rendues nécessaires. **3130** est un ordre d'arrêter trois individus qui est adressé à l'archéphode de Taampetei (extrême fin du II^e ou III^e s.). Dans une lettre destinée à l'ἀνταρχιδικαστής, le stratège Aur. Harpocraton (**3131**, c. 218-225) lui fait savoir que son assistant a délivré certains documents (au nombre des attestations de ce stratège, l. 1, n., il convient d'ajouter *P.Oxy.* 3097 publié dans le présent volume). Avec **3132**, un liturge envoie au stratège (2 novembre 237) le serment officiel par lequel il s'engage à percevoir les impôts en argent de la métropole pour le district de Nesmeimis dans la toparchie supérieure; il présente aussi son garant. **3133** porte la dernière attestation en date de l'idiologue; il s'agit d'un rapport expédié au stratège le 25 janvier 239 par un comogrammate qui signale n'avoir rien à déclarer pour le mois de Tybi en ce qui concerne les départements du dioecète, de l'idiologue et des autres procureurs. **3134** (novembre 258 ou 259) est un contrat de dépôt de 500 drachmes passé entre deux ἱεπονεῖται ἐξ ἐφηβείας; sur ce titre, on peut voir maintenant l'article de K.J. Rigsby, *Sacred Ephebic Games at Oxyrhynchus*, dans *CdE*, LII, 103 (1977), pp. 147-155. Dans **3135**, qui date peut-être des environs de 273/4, un aurige d'Hermopolis s'engage à conduire les chevaux d'un gymnasiarque lors des Jeux Capitolins organisés à Oxyrhynchus. Le 21 juin 292, un père demande que sa fille de 18 ans

soit enregistrée ἐν τῇ τῶν ὁμοίων τάξει (**3136**). L'inscription des filles est rarement attestée: pour Oxyrhynchus, cf. seulement *P.Corn.* 18, de juillet 291; sans doute vise-t-elle à réserver les droits de la descendance en cas de mariage avec un homme de même statut privilégié. Comme dans le *P.Corn.* qui vient d'être cité, c'est plusieurs enfants à la fois qu'un père veut enregistrer avec le **3137** (295); il adresse sa demande au κοινὸν des systates, que nous trouvons ici mentionné pour la première fois. Ceci tend à montrer que les systates gardaient encore une activité en matière d'état civil alors que la tribu qu'ils représentaient ne devait plus subvenir aux liturgies; à cette occasion, ils étaient groupés en collège comme ont pu l'être également les laographes (cf. *P.Oxy.* 2855, de 291). **3138** est un billet adressé au banquier Sarapion pour lui demander de verser 600 drachmes à un ὀρθογράφος qui a confectionné un extrait à partir des archives publiques (III^e s.). Postérieur à 272, **3139** est un acte de divorce qui nous fait connaître un nouveau gymnasiarque. **3140** est contemporain du précédent; il contient la fin d'une pétition relative au vol d'une pièce de machine élévatoire. **3141**, qui porte une datation consulaire du début de l'année 300, est la déclaration de décès d'un marchand de laine, laquelle est adressée au systate par la belle-mère du défunt pour être en règle vis-à-vis de la taxe professionnelle et de l'impôt de capitation.

Après un reçu d'ἐπικεφάλαιον de 1200 drachmes (**3142**, du 26 juillet 301), nous avons trois actes de vente d'animaux, successivement un âne (pour 15 talents: **3143**, de 305), un cheval cappadocien (au prix de 30 talents: **3144**, de 313) et de nouveau un âne (pour 12 talents: **3145**, début du IV^e s.); dans les trois cas, on relève la présence d'Aur. Apollonius, fils de Sarapion, qui intervient comme vendeur ou comme acheteur, et qui se retrouve aussi dans *P. Corn.* 13 (de 311?). Le 10 mai 347, Aur. Sozon, un Alexandrin résidant temporairement à Oxyrhynchus, reconnaît avoir reçu d'un agent du compte impérial 1500 myriades de deniers qu'il promet de rembourser à Alexandrie (**3146**); on lui a accordé la somme κατ'ἐπιθήκην, que l'éditeur interprète «sur présentation d'une lettre de crédit»; le document a été biffé en forme de treillis (cf. κεχιασμένην *P.Oxy.* 3057.3, n.), ce qui prouve que la somme a été effectivement restituée. **3147** (IV^e/V^e s.) est une lettre dans laquelle un certain Théodôros, épimélète, donne une série d'instructions relatives, semble-t-il, à des déplacements officiels qui vont avoir lieu. Dans le bref **3148** (26 août 424), Théodoulos ordonne à son assistant de fournir aux *tabularii* deux doubles jarres de vin memphite à l'occasion de la fête du Nil; ce billet est daté par l'ère oxyrhynchite. **3149** (V^e s.?) est une lettre de recommandation envoyée à un moine, l'Apa Théon, par un chrétien qui implore sa générosité en faveur d'un certain Héortasios; entre autres curiosités, épinglons l'abréviation des *nomina sacra* et la forme εὐβρίσκis, qui annonce le grec moderne. Le recueil s'achève par une autre lettre chrétienne (**3150**, VI^e s.) adressée, semble-t-il, à la supérieure par une nonne qui a quitté le monastère d'Apa Sarous, mais la personnalité des correspondants n'est pas clairement définie.

Les index de ce beau et riche volume ont été établis selon le plan traditionnel et avec le soin méticuleux qui caractérise la série. J'y relève au moins sept noms communs ou adjectifs destinés à enrichir les prochaines éditions de nos dictionnaires: ἀνακομιστής, ἀρότις, ἐπιστολαφορία, λινοκαταγωγέυς, μοζίκιον (celui-ci étant d'origine copte),

ὄμβρυσις, χαλκόχρως. Douze planches, enfin, reproduisent fidèlement une vingtaine de documents remarquables surtout par leur écriture.

Liège, mars 1981

PAUL MERTENS

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P. W. PESTMAN (Ed.), *Greek and Demotic Texts from the Zenon Archive* (P. L. Bat. 20). Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1980 (29 cm., 291 pp., 30 pls.) = *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava*, Voll. XX A, B. Prix: fl. 240.-. ISBN 90 04 06113 4 et 90 04 06114 2.

Le titre de cet ouvrage demande une explication, que le lecteur trouvera dans la préface. Le point de départ de P. W. Pestman a été la recherche, entreprise il y a bien des années déjà, de textes bilingues gréco-démotiques dans les archives de Zénon. La constatation de l'état chaotique dans lequel se trouvent maintenant ces archives, l'occasion qui a été donnée à l'auteur d'étudier sur place les originaux appartenant à différents fonds, le fait qu'un important travail de regroupement de fragments appartenant à un même document a rendu, pour certains textes, les premières éditions inutilisables, la possibilité, enfin, qui s'est présentée de recourir à la collaboration d'une importante équipe internationale — elle comprend W. Clarysse, M. Muszynski †, T. Reekmans, Annette Schutgens, W. J. Tait, J. K. Winnicki et Zaki Aly —, toutes ces raisons ont amené l'éditeur à élargir considérablement son projet initial et à présenter, dans le volume que nous analysons, les papyrus de Zénon dispersés çà et là dans des recueils où ils se trouvent mêlés à d'autres documents, ceux aussi dont l'édition originale a été considérablement améliorée par de nouvelles lectures, et ceux qui ont pu être reconstitués à partir de fragments publiés séparément.

Le volume comporte trois parties. La première rassemble les reçus bilingues (13 textes) des archives de Zénon et du prédécesseur de celui-ci, Panakestôr, qui fut le premier administrateur de la *dôrea* d'Apollonios. La deuxième contient la réédition de 63 papyrus, parmi lesquels trois textes littéraires. Et dans la troisième sont donnés, en supplément, quelques documents qui, sans appartenir aux archives de Zénon, se rattachent étroitement à celles-ci, comme, par exemple, le projet de digues et canaux (avec plan) pour la *dôrea* (P. Lille 1) ou la dédicace à Anubis pour Apollonios et Zénon (S.B. I, 5796). Tous les textes du recueil sont réédités avec soin et, malgré la diversité des collaborateurs, qui utilisent quatre langues différentes, ils sont présentés de façon uniforme: pour chaque réédition, avec appareil critique, sont données la bibliographie, la description matérielle, l'analyse du contenu, la traduction et une substantielle annotation. Des index, qui répondent à toutes les exigences de l'édition papyrologique, achèvent l'ouvrage. Le fascicule séparé, qui contient les planches, permet au lecteur de déchiffrer les textes tout en gardant les transcriptions sous les yeux. Comme certains papyrus sont assez grands, il n'a pas été possible d'en publier les photographies dans le même format que le volume de texte.

En éditant ce recueil, P. W. Pestman et ses collaborateurs n'ont pas seulement rassemblé de façon commode une

partie des *membra disjecta* des archives de Zénon; ils ont revu les textes et les traductions, et, dans bien des cas, ont apporté des éclaircissements ou proposé des interprétations originales. En outre, ils annoncent la publication prochaine, dans la collection des *Pap. Lugd.-Bat.*, d'un vademecum qui répond à un véritable besoin: *A Guide to the Zenon Archive*. Dès à présent la reconnaissance des papyrologues et des historiens leur est acquise.

Je voudrais terminer par une observation qui m'est inspirée par la rédaction de la *Bibliographie Papyrologique* sur fiches éditée par la Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth. Une difficulté à laquelle M. Hombert et moi nous nous heurtons sans cesse est le choix des abréviations désignant les recueils de papyrus ou d'ostraca, les *corpora* et les séries. Malgré tous les appels qui, depuis longtemps, ont été lancés en vue d'arriver à un système unique qui serait adopté par tous, une grande anarchie continue à régner. Un des meilleurs moyens d'arriver à l'unité souhaitée serait que chaque éditeur propose une abréviation qui figurerait de préférence à la suite du titre du livre. Le présent éditeur y a songé, comme on a pu le voir dans le titre reproduit ci-dessus. Hélas, nous croyons que son choix n'est pas heureux — ce n'est pas la première fois, du reste, que l'abréviation retenue par un éditeur nous paraît difficilement acceptable. Même si, dans certains cas, les rédacteurs de la *Bibliographie Papyrologique* croient devoir s'écarter des abréviations proposées par la *Checklist* de l'American Society of Papyrologists, ils considèrent comme excellente la distinction faite entre *P.* = *Papyri* et *Pap.* = *Papyrologica*. C'est donc cette seconde abréviation qu'il serait souhaitable de voir adoptée désormais par les responsables de la Série. Et les auteurs de la *Checklist* nous paraissent bien inspirés également en proposant *Pap. Lugd.-Bat.* (c'est nous qui ajoutons le trait d'union), tellement plus clair, pour ceux qui ne sont pas des spécialistes de la papyrologie, que le simple *P.L.Bat.*

Bruxelles, avril 1981

GEORGES NACHTERGAEEL

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Dorothy J. CRAWFORD, Jan QUAEGEBEUR, and Willy CLARYSSE, *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis*. Louvain, Katholieke Universiteit, 1980 (24 cm., xvi and 144 pp.) = *Studia Hellenistica*, Fasc. 24. Price: Bfrs. 650.

While our knowledge of the city and people of Alexandria is extensive, and many studies have been devoted to Graeco-Roman settlements in the Fayum, our knowledge of hellenistic Memphis — the old Pharaonic capital of Egypt and the largest native city in these late times — is still surprisingly scanty. These interdisciplinary *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis* help reconstruct a picture of life in that city.

The first contribution to this volume is Dorothy Crawford's study, "Ptolemy, Ptah, and Apis in Hellenistic Memphis". From the time of their conquest of Egypt, the new Macedonian rulers showed a supportive attitude toward the native cults, respecting Memphite as well as Theban and other local traditions; in Memphis it was primarily the cults of the anthropomorphic Ptah and the

Apis bull which drew their attention. Examining the attitudes of various rulers to the Apis cult, Crawford suggests that Ptolemy IX Soter II used the cult as a political instrument in his dynastic struggles with Ptolemy X. The apparently abundant evidence she brings, however, could easily be coincidental; the visit of Ptolemy IX to Memphis after his enthronement, at which time he ordered the final burial of a long deceased Apis bull, was presumably the traditional tour made by the new pharaoh through the realm. Nor is his official titulature, which connects him with Apis, necessarily significant here; his father, Ptolemy VIII, had several titles which connected him even more closely with the Memphite cults. Discussing the cult of Ptah, she points out the prestige of the high priest of that god, who crowned at least several Ptolemies and officiated at the Sed-festivals. She sees the introduction of the cult of the queen Arsinoe Philadelphus alongside the cult of Ptah as an important experiment by the Ptolemies, the success of which resulted in the institution of the royal cult. Another indication of the success of the queen cults at Memphis are the occurrences of the names Arsinoe and Berenice, the only Greek names taken by the Egyptian priestesses. As to the Ptolemies' relations with Memphis as a whole, Crawford sees the series of priestly synods held mainly in Memphis in the late third and early second centuries and increased cooperation with the priests as part of Ptolemy V's policy. Evidence for the second century is scanty, but repeated visits of Ptolemy VI to Memphis show his interest in that city.

The conquest of Egypt by Octavian brought new rulers with a new religious policy; the cult personnel of Ptah now became simultaneously prophets of the Pharaoh, Augustus Caesar. The long line of the priestly family of Ptah disappeared shortly afterwards.

There follows a study by Jan Quaegebeur on "The Genealogy of the Memphite High Priest Family in the Hellenistic Period", a subject which had been misinterpreted several times in recent studies. He briefly discusses his objections to theses, based on biographical inscriptions of the high priests, advanced by E. A. E. Reymond (in "Alexandria and Memphis", *Orientalia* 46, 1977, 1 ff.): her interpretation of the title *hry ššṯ* ("the overseer of secrets") as a Prime Minister of the Ptolemies, the "prophet of the Window of Appearances" as one whose task was to crown the king, and her reading R'-kd ("Alexandria") for the Memphite toponym Rwt-ist. The author then reconstructs the lineage of the high priests from the third to the first century B.C., discussing statues related to this family and giving translations of their inscriptions. He then includes a prosopographical survey of the high priests, containing all mentions of the priestly family in the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, with his additions and corrections. Quaegebeur remarks on the problem of the chronology of the priests in the second century, for which funerary documents are lacking. Inexplicably, three generations of priests here are known to span the unusually long period of 120 years.

Although refuting Reymond's grounds for seeing ties between Alexandria and Memphis, the author sees one bond between the two cities in two statues of a Memphite high priest found in the Alexandria Serapeum. As statues were indiscriminately gathered from all parts of Egypt and set up in the Serapeum, this need not really be of

significance, but other Memphite texts which the author cites show the close relationship some prominent native families enjoyed with the royal court.

In a note on "A Royal Visit to Memphis and the End of the Second Syrian War", Willy Clarysse cites a papyrus in the Zenon archive, PSI IV 354, concerning the expected arrival of the king in Memphis in midsummer of 253, shortly before several cleruchic settlements were granted in the Arsinoite and Memphite nomes. Postulating the royal visit to be associated with these grants, he assumes the Second Syrian War to be already ended, the soldiers having returned to Egypt. This then gives an earlier terminus ante quem to the war.

In his second contribution, "Philadelphiea and the Memphites in the Zenon Archive", Clarysse investigates the relations between Philadelphiea and the surrounding regions. Naturally, the intimate economic connections to the Memphite nome testified in the Zenon papyri result largely from the fact that Apollonios, Zenon's superior, owned another estate there. The mixture of nationalities which characterizes Memphis is also seen in the managing personnel of Apollonios' Memphite dorea. But while relations of Philadelphiea with Memphis were very active, her relations with the nearby Arsinoite nome seem to have been very scanty. In a prosopographical survey, Clarysse shows that immigrants from the southern Memphite nome largely contributed to the labor force and population of Philadelphiea. The high frequency of Memphite theophoric names with Imhotep (Imouthes) and Apis is contrasted to the surprisingly rare occurrences of the typical Fayumic theophoric names with the crocodile-god Sobek (Souchos).

These studies thus look at Memphis from various viewpoints; the religious life is examined primarily through hieroglyphic and demotic stelae, and a spectrum of the population of the Memphite nome is seen through Greek papyri. Although we are still far from being able to create as unified a picture of Memphis as we can of Alexandria, the conclusions reached here by Crawford, Quaegebeur, and Clarysse are of great importance, making this book now indispensable for any study concerned with Memphis in the Ptolemaic Period.

Trier, in February, 1981

WENDY CHESHIRE

CHRISTELIJK EGYPTE

R. M'L. WILSON (Ed.), *The Future of Coptic Studies*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1978 (25 cm., 253 pp.) = *Coptic Studies*, vol. I. Prix: fl. 140.-. ISBN 90 04 05807 9.

Du 8 au 18 décembre 1976 s'est tenu au Caire le premier Congrès International des Études Coptes sur le thème *The Future of Coptic Studies*. Les communications ayant été très abondantes, leur publication intégrale en un seul volume s'est vite avérée impossible. Un certain nombre d'entre elles avaient paru assez rapidement dans diverses revues, mais, malgré cela, le nombre en demeurant très

élevé et le contenu fort peu homogène, l'éditeur fut contraint d'une part d'opérer un choix et d'autre part, de répartir la matière selon les domaines abordés. Les travaux relatifs aux manuscrits de Nağ' Hammādi ont paru comme vol. XIV des *Nag Hammadi Studies* sous le titre *Nag Hammadi and Gnosis*, par les soins du même éditeur R. McL. Wilson (1978); d'autres, qui ne se rapportaient ni à la gnose, ni directement à l'avenir des Études coptes ont été publiées récemment dans un Sonderband du Volume VIII (1978) de la revue *Enchoria* (pp. 47-171 et 47 planches).

Le présent volume ne contient pas moins de douze contributions, chacune d'elles ayant pour objet l'avenir d'un secteur des Études coptes. En voici le sommaire, avec un numéro d'ordre pour faciliter les renvois :

- (1) M. Krause, *Die Disziplin Koptologie* (pp. 1-22).
- (2) James M. Robinson, *The Future of Papyrus Codicology* (pp. 23-70).
- (3) Gerd Mink, *Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft und Koptologie* (pp. 71-103).
- (4) Wolf-Peter Funk, *Toward a Synchronic Morphology of Coptic* (pp. 104-124).
- (5) Adel Y. Sidarus, *Coptic Lexicography in the Middle Ages* (pp. 125-142).
- (6) Tito Orlandi, *The Future of Studies in Coptic Biblical and Ecclesiastical Literature* (pp. 143-163).
- (7) Hans Quecke, *Zukunftschancen bei der Erforschung der koptischen Liturgie* (pp. 164-196).
- (8) E. Lüddeckens, *Die koptischen Inschriften des koptischen Museums in Kairo* (pp. 197-202).
- (9) A. Guillaumont, *Les fouilles françaises des Kellia, 1964-1969* (pp. 203-208).
- (10) R. Kasser, *Fouilles suisses aux Kellia. Passé, présent et futur* (pp. 209-219).
- (11) Pierre du Bourguet, *Avenir de l'étude des tissus coptes* (pp. 220-226).
- (12) John Gillespie, *Coptic Chant: A Survey of Past Research and a Projection for the Future* (pp. 227-245).

Les domaines abordés ici sont la linguistique (n° 3, 4, 5), la littérature (n° 6, 7), l'archéologie (n° 8, 9, 10, 11) et la musique (n° 12). Les deux premières communications sont hors-série, celle de M. Krause (n° 1) parce qu'elle tente de cerner les frontières de la coptologie et de préciser ce que renferment ces limites, celle de J.M. Robinson (n° 2) du fait qu'elle traite un problème, la codicologie du papyrus, qui n'est pas propre au copte seul et est même totalement indépendant de la langue dont le papyrus est le support. Il est vrai que la découverte de Nağ' Hammādi a apporté un matériel considérable pour notre connaissance du codex et l'on ne regrettera jamais assez que ces précieux codices n'aient pas été étudiés avant d'être démontés pour mieux protéger leurs feuillets. Quant à la coptologie (n° 1), M. Krause la définit ainsi, à la suite de J. M. A. Janssen : «eine Disziplin, die sich mit der Sprache und allen Gebieten der Kultur Ägyptens, der Religionsgeschichte, Theologie (speziell der Alt- und Neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft, Kirchengeschichte und Konfessionskunde), der Geschichte, der Archäologie und Kunst, der Rechts- und Medizingeschichte befasst, sowie mit der Ausstrahlung Ägyptens auf andere Länder, vor allem Nubien» (p. 6). La complexité de la coptologie tient surtout, à mon sens, à deux faits historiques : la christianisation de l'Égypte, sans laquelle la langue copte ne serait

sans doute jamais devenue langue véhiculaire de culture et l'occupation byzantine qui, à côté d'influences négatives, a ouvert l'église égyptienne sur le reste du monde chrétien et permis nombre d'échanges entre le monde méditerranéen et l'Afrique. M.K. donne de précieuses indications sur la place donnée aux études coptes dans les diverses universités, ici liées aux sciences bibliques, là à l'égyptologie; comme il est naturel, son exposé est exhaustif sur la situation en Allemagne Fédérale, beaucoup moins pour les autres pays.

Il serait difficile de rendre compte dans le détail et encore plus de discuter de chacun des sujets traités dans ce volume. On peut toutefois faire dès l'abord quelques remarques plus générales. Il était bien impossible d'envisager ce que devrait être l'avenir des études coptes dans leur diversité sans faire, au préalable, le bilan du travail réalisé. Plusieurs communications, aussi bien dans le présent volume que parmi celles publiées ailleurs, se bornent à ce dernier point sans envisager ce qui devrait être fait dans les années à venir, ce qui était pourtant le programme du Congrès. D'autre part, celui-ci aurait dû inciter les participants à mettre en évidence les zones d'ombre, je veux dire les secteurs de la coptologie où les ouvriers sont peu nombreux, voire absents, tandis que d'autres en attirent beaucoup : certains textes coptes ont été publiés plusieurs fois, dans un espace de temps assez restreint, sans grand profit pour la science et il arrive même que telle réédition soit en régression par rapport à celle qui l'a précédée. Au contraire, des masses de documents coptes dorment, attendant en vain la venue de quelque prince charmant.

On saura gré à G. Mink et W.P. Funk (n° 3 et 4) d'aborder une étude de la langue copte, en fonction des récents progrès de la linguistique. On doit, toutefois, remarquer qu'il reste encore beaucoup à faire pour que le linguiste soit assuré de la valeur et de l'authenticité du matériel dont il dispose, car trop d'éditions ont été faites sans la rigueur nécessaire. Par ailleurs, le manque de textes et documents datés et bien localisés, en nombre suffisant, rend particulièrement délicate l'étude diachronique du copte.

Dans ce domaine aussi, les recherches commencées par Adel Sidarus (n° 5) sont prometteuses. Dans le présent volume, il se limite à la lexicographie. N'oublions pas que W.E. Crum avait compris tout le parti que l'on peut tirer des travaux des grammairiens et lexicographes coptes des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles, ce dont témoigne son *Coptic Dictionary*. A. Sidarus indique, à plusieurs reprises, dans quelles directions devra s'orienter la recherche en ce domaine. Le lecteur aura profit à consulter du même auteur l'étude complémentaire «La philologie copte-arabe au Moyen-Âge», dans les «Actes du 8^e Congrès de l'Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants», Aix-en-Provence, 1978, pp. 267-281.

A propos du terme «copte» qu'il juge «an unfortunate appellation», T. Orlandi (n° 6) remarque (p. 143, note 3) : «The words «Copt» and «coptic» should be restored to their primitive form of «(christian) Egyptian», in order to avoid many confusions». Cette opinion, déjà émise par P. du Bourguet, serait grosse de conséquence dans le domaine de «la littérature biblique et ecclésiastique» dont traite ici l'auteur, car elle entraîne, en bonne logique, à ne pas prendre comme premier critère la langue copte. En effet, la diglossie a été longtemps le lot des chrétiens

d'Égypte : grec-copte, plus tard copte-arabe et même un temps, grec-arabe; certes, l'étude de la forme littéraire est indispensable, mais ne doit pas faire oublier l'essentiel, celle des idées dans un milieu humain géographiquement limité. Qu'une œuvre littéraire, née en Égypte, ne soit plus conservée qu'en grec, ou en arabe, ou en éthiopien, voire en syriaque, par suite des accidents de transmission, cela n'est pas un motif pour qu'elle soit considérée comme étrangère à la coptologie. Malgré cette excellente suggestion, T. Orlandi parle ensuite de la littérature copte, au sens de «parvenue jusqu'à nous en langue copte», donc dans une acception très limitative. L'auteur aborde beaucoup de questions, mais me semble laisser un peu le lecteur sur sa faim en ce qui regarde l'avenir de la littérature en langue copte, comme domaine de recherche.

Il me paraît s'aventurer dangereusement quand il affirme : «... for reasons deriving from the religious temperament of the Egyptian masses, we shall not find the great works of the Fathers translated into Coptic, but only some of their less important homilies and spiritual treatises addressed to the monks» (p. 152, ll. 10-14). Des découvertes pourraient bien, prochainement, contredire ce jugement pour le moins hâtif. Il indique, in fine, les catalogues des fonds coptes existant, mais je regrette qu'il n'ait pas mentionné aussi les catalogues manuscrits mis à la disposition des chercheurs dans plusieurs bibliothèques.

La contribution de Hans Quecke (n° 7) passe en revue, de façon quasi exhaustive, les recherches menées dans le domaine de la liturgie copte depuis les initiateurs qu'ont été A. Baumstark et H. Engberding. Ici aussi, comme dans celui de la littérature copte, on ne peut faire abstraction du reste du monde chrétien, des communautés de langue grecque et syriaque surtout, principalement en raison des échanges nombreux. Tout naturellement, l'auteur commence par la liturgie eucharistique, qui a été de beaucoup la plus étudiée et cela depuis le XVII^e siècle, peut-être surtout à cause des controverses théologiques (pp. 169-180), puis passe à la prière des heures, secteur où il nous a donné une magistrale synthèse. Mais H. Quecke ne se limite pas aux textes liturgiques, puisqu'il aborde aussi les questions de l'architecture des églises, la musique et la poésie, les vêtements et les langues liturgiques, avant de revenir aux documents écrits, pour parler de genres littéraires, encore inexploités (alpha, poièkon, hermèneia), ou de certains types de livres liturgiques, qui demeurent pour nous en partie obscurs, comme les «typika». Après quelques notations sur la liturgie nubienne, il examine aussi l'année liturgique et le calendrier des saints. L'auteur estime (p. 196) qu'une bonne part de la littérature copte avait une destination liturgique et que, pour ce motif, l'étude de la liturgie copte peut être un excellent stimulant pour celle de la littérature. J'avoue être, pour ma part, quelque peu sceptique, pour une raison au moins : nous ne savons pas ce qui, dans les bibliothèques découvertes comme celle d'al-Hāmūli, était destiné à la lecture liturgique et ce qui était réservé à la «meletè» individuelle. Il semble même plutôt que, le lectionnaire ayant fait son apparition assez tardivement, on a davantage copié des œuvres entières et pas seulement les parties qu'on en lisait à l'église, aussi bien pour les ouvrages des Pères que pour les livres bibliques.

E. Lüddeckens expose brièvement (n° 8) son projet de catalogue des inscriptions sur pierre, conservées au Musée

Copte du Vieux-Caire. Le titre et l'article ne mentionnent que les textes coptes, mais l'auteur annonce, à la fin, son intention d'éditer aussi les inscriptions grecques. Il serait, en effet, peu logique de se limiter aux coptes et cela, d'autant moins que les formules hybrides ne sont pas rares. Je ferai deux remarques : il convient de ne pas laisser de côté le style décoratif de ces stèles funéraires (E. Lüddeckens ne paraît pas s'intéresser aux inscriptions non-funéraires), parce qu'elles sont un des éléments importants pour la localisation et que celle-ci est fort utile pour une étude dialectologique des formules coptes utilisées par les lapicides : le classement selon le décor doit être fait parallèlement à celui des formulaires. Il faut aussi noter, c'est ma seconde remarque, l'origine des stèles — l'auteur le signale, mais sans s'y arrêter, — car, à mon sens, le classement primordial doit être géographique : une stèle d'Esna n'a ni le même décor, ni les mêmes formulaires qu'une stèle du Fayoum. A ce sujet, soit dit en passant, il faut corriger les indications de provenance données par W.E. Crum, dans *Coptic Monuments*, car il s'est trop fié aux notes d'A. Gayet (voir G. Daressy, «Renseignements sur la provenance des stèles coptes du Musée du Caire», dans ASAE 13 (1914) pp. 266-271). J'ajouterai qu'il y a dans les musées provinciaux égyptiens, Assiout, Louxor etc, des stèles coptes, qui ont peu voyagé, et qu'il serait intéressant de les adjoindre à celles du Musée Copte, sans parler de celles qu'on peut voir dans plusieurs couvents, comme le Dayr Abū Hennès, le Dayr al-Šuhādā' d'Esna et bien d'autres. Une dernière suggestion : pourquoi imprimer les formules grecques sans accents, quand on en restitue les graphies correctes?

Les deux contributions qui suivent (n° 9 et 10) d'A. Guillaumont et R. Kasser donnent une vue d'ensemble sur les fouilles réalisées, depuis 1964, sur le site étonnant et unique, — plus de 1500 ermitages, — des Kellia (Basse-Egypte). Le lecteur trouvera ici, trop rapides certes, mais précieuses, des informations de première main sur les résultats des dernières campagnes, dont la publication, du côté suisse comme du côté français, se fait désirer depuis quelques années, à l'exception de l'ouvrage remarquable de M. Egloff sur la poterie copte des Kellia (2 vols en 1977). A. Guillaumont donne des précisions sur cinq petits ermitages, dégagés en 1966 et un très grand complexe de bâtiments communs, découverts en 1967 et 1968. Les fouilles ont pu reprendre, heureusement, en 1979 (voir *Bull. I.F.A.O.* 80 (1980), pp. 346-368). De son côté, R. Kasser apporte des informations neuves sur le vaste couvent du «Qusūr 'Isā I», exploré de 1976 à 1980. La découverte d'un tesson donnant la formule complète ΕΝΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΚΕΛΛΙΩΝ vaut pour tout le site des Kellia et pas seulement, par antonomase sans doute, comme semble le croire R. Kasser, pour le «Qusūr 'Isā I» (p. 214), car des poteries avec le sigle εκ ont aussi été trouvées dans le kom 34 (Qasr Wahayda), donc à l'autre extrémité de la zone archéologique. Il ne faut pas, au reste, oublier que dès 451 — et l'église inférieure du kom «Qusūr 'Isā I» n'est pas, très vraisemblablement, antérieure au milieu du V^e siècle — il y eût deux églises, celle des chalcédoniens et celle des antichalcédoniens.

L'avenir de l'étude des tissus coptes (n° 11) est exposé par P. du Bourguet. Celui-ci remarque tout d'abord que la datation des tissus coptes paraît vouée à l'échec, à moins d'une découverte archéologique miraculeuse, si l'on veut

s'appuyer sur des critères externes. Reste l'étude interne des tissus eux-mêmes, technique et iconographique. L'auteur énumère donc ces éléments: l'analyse du fil, des teintures, du tissage et enfin, ce qui est le plus important, de l'iconographie. P. du Bourguet conclut avec sagesse en remarquant que si la datation des tissus coptes de façon précise est, pour l'heure, sans avenir au moins proche, l'analyse des tissus eux-mêmes demande encore beaucoup de travail et sera très fructueuse.

La musique copte est traitée ici (n° 12) par J. Gillespie, qui trace d'abord l'historique des travaux qui lui ont été consacrés depuis le XVIII^e siècle. Son jugement est parfois sévère, tel celui sur G.A. Villoteau, qui fut membre de l'expédition d'Égypte de Bonaparte: «with Coptic music he showed a remarkable and consistent talent for misunderstanding» (p. 229). Il faut attendre les quarante dernières années pour voir paraître des ouvrages vraiment scientifiques avec surtout H. Hickmann, R. Ménard et I. Borsai. Le fait que ces recherches sur la musique ont été longtemps le parent pauvre des études coptes s'explique peut-être par l'absence totale de transcription musicale en Égypte, au contraire des autres églises orientales. Il est remarquable que la musique de l'Ancienne Égypte a sans doute influencé le chant copte, qui se différencie beaucoup des autres au Proche-Orient, tandis que, dans bien d'autres domaines, y compris artistiques, les chrétiens d'Égypte ont assimilé tant d'apports étrangers. J. Gillespie expose, en terminant, son projet d'enregistrement de tout le répertoire musical copte.

L'ouvrage est heureusement complété par une série d'index des Musées, bibliothèques, des noms de lieux et de personnes cités dans le livre, ce qui en fait un instrument de travail commode.

Le Plessis-Robinson, RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN
13 mars 1981 C.N.R.S.

ASSYRIOLOGIE

Bendt ALSTER, Ed., *Death in Mesopotamia. Papers Read at the XXVI^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*. Copenhagen, Akademisk Forlag, 1980 (22 cm., 302 pp., 16 pls.) = Mesopotamia. Copenhagen Studies in Assyriology, Vol. 8. Price: 150.-. D. Crs. ISBN 87 500 1946 5.

A memorable Assyriological formulation of death is owed to Landsberger, who saw in the hollowness of the Akkadian word for it a "sudden transition from a normal state of existence to the opposite one."¹ This "transition" from aspects of ancient Mesopotamian literature, society,

¹ "Plötzliche(r) Übergang von einem normalem Seinzustand in den gegensätzlichen", *Islamica* 2 (1926), 362 = *Libelli* 152 (1965), 8 = *MANE* 1/4 (1976), 9; similarly von Soden, *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse* 1973, No. 6, 23, "Umwandlung oder ... Übergang von einem Zustand in den entgegengesetzten ..."

religion, and archeology was the subject of the XXVI^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Copenhagen. A generous selection of the papers read there, edited by Bendt Alster, has been here published with admirable dispatch in the *Copenhagen Studies in Assyriology*. This engaging book provides such warmth of human and scholarly interest as to dispel somewhat the fell chill of its topic.

Taking as a map Bottéro's masterful "croquis du terrain,"² in fact, an eloquent adventure of reflection and erudition, the reader has many paths to follow towards a would-be "sociology of death." None leads, of course, to authoritative vaticination of the ultimate mystery, but one can peruse with enjoyment the manifold ways in which the imagination, intelligence, and pragmatism of the Mesopotamians dealt with it.

Death and the Individual. Death as a personal experience was not an attractive one to the Mesopotamians. I can find no trace of *Todessehnen*, nor was death seen as a release or beginning. Perhaps for this reason, self-predication of the dead is a rarity in Akkadian belles-lettres: we have no "Letters from Heaven" or *Risālat Ghufrān*. A particularly touching example of self-predication of the dead is found in a late (?) Old Babylonian text inscribed on a series of rude cones that one can imagine set around the tumulus formed by the speaker's earthly remains:³

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| 1) a-na ma-ti-ma | Until whenever, |
| 2) a-na la-ba-ar u ₄ -mi | Until the aging of days, |
| 3) a-na u ₄ -mi ša-a-ti | Until distant days, |
| 4) a-na u ₄ -mi ša u ₄ -hu-ru | Until days which are uttermost, |
| 5) KI.MA ₅ a-ni-a-am | Let who sees this tomb |
| 6) li-mu-ur-ma | Not disturb it, |
| 7) la ú-ša-sa-ak | Let him restore it to order! |
| 8) a-na āš-ri-šu li-te-er-šu | That man who shall see this, |
| 9) a-wi-lum šu-ú | May he not disdain |
| 10) ša a-ni-i-ta i-ma-ru-ma | To say: |
| 11) la i-me-e-šu | "I should restore this tomb |
| 12) ki-a-am i-qā-ab-bu-ú | to order". |
| 13) KI.MA ₅ mi a-ni-a-am | May the favor he'll have done |
| 14) a-na āš-ri-šu-mi lu-te-er-šu | Be requited him: |
| 15) gi-mil i-pu-šu | Above, may his name be |
| 16) li-ir-ti-ib-šu | be a good one, |
| 17) i-na e-la-ti šum-šu li-da-mi-iq | |
| 18) i-na ša-ap-la-a-ti | Below, may his ghost |
| 19) e-te-em-mu-šu me-e za-ku-ti | drink clear water. |
| 20) li-il-tu-ú | |

Perhaps the most pathetic aspect of this little apostrophe is that the speaker neglects to tell us his name, the essential datum in so many non-Mesopotamian examples of the genre (cf Hawkins, pp. 213ff: "I [am] PN"). Did he feel that such information would gain him no comfort in the hereafter? Yet a real, individual voice seems to speak to us in the wistful appeal of the text, so that one doubts that this was a mere anthology piece.

By contrast, a tablet buried with a corpse of a prince of Uruk bears only the deceased's name, which, as fate

² "La mythologie de la mort en Mésopotamie ancienne", pp. 25-52.
³ Thureau-Dangin, *OLZ* 4 (1901), 5ff = *VAS* 1 54 = Deimel, *Or* 6 (1923), 62f = *YOS* 9 83, some with slight variants. Thureau-Dangin suggested, on the basis of the single exemplar known to him, that it served as a stopper for a jar holding cremated remains, but this seems to me improbable.

would have it, is not quite legible.⁴) A Sumerian poet was daring enough to have a dead youth speak to his reproving sister, and describe his helplessness.⁵) Here too one finds no sense of relief, just frustration and the agony of cold immobility. Dying as a metaphor for personal suffering does not seem so common in Akkadian, but hunger (*MCS* 4 p. 13 No. 4, 17ff),⁶) loneliness, and reverses⁷) could claim the ultimate metaphor.

Turning to the problem of coping with the death of others, one can hardly be left unmoved by Jacobsen's portrayal of the child offering her precious trinkets to ransom her dead brother, snatched live, as she thought, by a kidnapping raid (p. 22). The loss of a spouse, a sibling, a friend, a parent, a child — all of these rending experiences find voice in terms which any modern reader can apprehend directly, at least as Jacobsen so surely mediates them.

Death as Departure from Human Society. A far more business-like predication of the dead is provided by the last will and testament, a type of document, which, though rare, is better known at Nuzi, Kanesh, and Assyria than in Babylonia, where law or custom of inheritance seems in most cases to have been sufficient.⁸) Perhaps the closest we have to Babylonian wills are the "adoptions" of the cloistered women of Sippar. These ladies thwarted neglectful relatives' cupidity by adopting younger cloistered women and transferring their often substantial assets to them *inter vivos* at the expense of their brothers and nephews, many of whom they seemed to have outlived anyway.⁹) The exordia in the wills we do have are all of a business-like nature, it seems, so they tell us nothing of their writers' attitude towards death beyond their certainty that they would not be around to manage their business affairs or households.¹⁰)

Death in administrative records was often merely a matter of entering "died" or making a deletion. The story of suffering and demise told in a record like *BIN* 8 314, in which two slaves (*ir*) and a free citizen (*dumu-gi₇*) perish after two months and four days of labor, must be left to inference or imagination. This writer has argued that they died in a prison camp.¹¹) In his study of Ur III mortality in personnel lists, Tyumenev¹²) suggests that a typical presumed premature mortality rate ran 10-14%, higher for children (35%), as they were often used in barge hauling. The figures rise, according to him, to 25% in all

⁴) Falkenstein, *Bagh. Mitt.* 2 (1963), 42.
⁵) Jacobsen, "Death in Mesopotamia," pp. 19-24, cf 21f.
⁶) *ā-ni ki-na-tu-i-a in bu-bu-tim i-mu-tu ki-ma* ŠE.BA [Ku]-ti-ú ma-hi-ru "See here, my people died of hunger while (even) [Gu]tians are getting grain rations!" (collated, restoration A. Westenholz).
⁷) For examples, *CAD* M/1, 422b, c' (last items).
⁸) Speiser, *JCS* 17 (1963), 65ff; Postgate, *Iraq* 41 (1979), 89ff; Garelli, *RA* 60 (1966), 131ff; von Soden, *WdO* 8 (1976), 211ff; Wilcke, *ZA* 66 (1976), 197ff. As the latter two authors have treated *BIN* 6 222 or 224 together with direct or implied appeal for collation, I offer here results of study of the two original tablets: *BIN* 6 222: No practical improvement possible to von Soden's edition. Line 3 at end: *ú-ši-š-š-āš-šu* (-š-š-š-š); line 7 end: *ú-za-zu* (-š-š-š-š). *BIN* 6 224 is definitely not part of 222, as suggested by Wilcke, for the ductus is quite different. Line 5: the perplexing 4th sign is as copied, not *ši*, but looks like DA without the internal Winkelhaken: *𐎶𐎶* (not RA).
⁹) The classic study of this situation is L. Matouš, "Der Streit um den Nachlass des Puzur-Aššur," *ArOr* 37 (1969), 156-179.
¹¹) *OrNS* 48 (1979), 158ff; cf Nikol'skij *DV* 5 11, 12.
¹²) *Gosudarstvennoe Hozjajstvo Drevnego Šumera* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1956), 364ff.

categories of workers in the time of Shulgi, and to an appalling 66% in one instance. However we assess the figures, we can sympathize with the undertones of disgust in Tyumenev's otherwise formal presentation — not at the inefficiency implied, but at the sheer cruelty. The Assyrian commemorative inscriptions with their relish for body counts have drawn the attention of Assyriologists, apologetic or condemnatory.¹³) While none of these matters seems to have drawn the direct attention of the RAI participants, they will not be far from the reader's mind.

Tombs and burial practices elicited several contributions.¹⁴) As Alster noted, no one wanted to re-open the "royal tombs" of Ur with their so far unresolved socio-economic, chronological, and zoological problems (to mention just three). Yet as late as Ur-Nammu we seem to hear of equids being buried with the king (*JCS* 21 [1967], 114.71: *anše ki mu-un-di-ni-ib-túm*, cf Kramer, p. 121). Was his chariot buried with him too, as the succeeding lines appear to suggest (...*gišgigir ba-da-šú* "the chariot was covered over with him [?]")? One suspects that burial of the ruling class in third millennium Mesopotamia at least was, on occasion, an expensive undertaking. Just how expensive even common burial could be may be gleaned from the "Reforms of Urukagina," in which stiff fees were collected by the corpse washers and various people entrusted with the task of sending the body on its final journey.¹⁵) In short, death as a departure from human society can be documented well enough, and offers us few difficulties of conceptualization.

But was death a departure from society? A possible resolution of the paradox, on the one hand, of a "land of no return," and, on the other, of a constant to-and-froing of often malevolent, or at least fretful shades of the departed, is offered by Bottéro (p. 43): the first means that death is the end of anything about a person that we can like, love, esteem, or enjoy; the second, perhaps, that some disembodiment of the deceased may haunt, especially if the body was not properly interred. This presence can be experienced but scarcely reached or aimably apprehended. One need not wonder at the generally negative view taken of the spirits of the dead in Mesopotamian civilization, nor even suggest an evolution for it: most urbanized, material folk share an abhorrence of spirit traffic and prefer to leave it to professionals or the witchy fringe.

What then are we to make of the goods and chattels, including livestock, evidently buried with the ruling class in some cases? Did one really need such things in the land of no return, or were they only for grandiose departure? Two interesting texts having to do with burial furnishings are edited, one Old Babylonian (Tsukimoto, pp. 129ff, and the other Old Sumerian Foxvog, pp. 67ff).

Foxvog's text is baffling indeed, and despite his admirable treatment, basic questions remain. Is a little help provided by a document with faint parallels to this one,

¹³) Was Assurnasirpal a "talented military leader" (with D. Sadaev, *Istoriia drevnej Assirii* [Moscow, 1979], 76) or should we see him as the murderous blunt instrument of near mindless brutality (cf Kraus, *JEOL* 15 [1958], 232ff; with thanks to D. Snell from a Dutchless reader)?
¹⁴) E.g., Rashid, pp. 255ff; Frifelt, pp. 273ff; Hodjasch, pp. 281ff.
¹⁵) The relevant passages are treated by Hruska, *ArOr* 41 (1973), 112f.

MDP 14 19? There a scribe receives 1/3 mina of silver from the ensi of Umma. This transaction was witnessed by the local land registrar, two elders, and a whole range of Ummaite dignitaries. The scribe gave the silver to a woman (widow?) named Nana as payment for her maintenance rights on 216 iku of land. Why the agency? Because, one may speculate, this woman too, like the Adab widow, was in URUxA — at least, “the shepherd of U.” is mentioned in line 34, and the tablet was apparently found at Susa. The vaguely parallel structure of Foxvog’s text: A. Price Lál-la an-na-sum B. Price Lál-la a-du₈ makes it seem likely that Lalla got the silver at U., just as Nana seems to have. Since the weighing of the silver and the measuring of the grain were two separate transactions (lines 101f), and not, so far as I can see, a case of conversion of grain into silver (so Foxvog), I suggest that Lalla’s sons took the grain. It was carried off by the deceased’s servants. The four IB-officials witnessed both this carrying-off and the payment of the silver to the widow.

More definite information on the IB-official would help us. In OAIC 9, an IB is witness to an oath in which a sum in silver is mentioned, and in RA 8 [1911], 158 (AO 5657) an IB counts out garments to a clerk at KA-Sabum. The latter case interests us, because accountability was based at Umma and the transaction took place elsewhere; OAIC 9 is not clear. Could an IB be entrusted with valuables to be paid to another elsewhere, like the silver in MDP 14 19? In any case, we must explain why the silver was “released” to the woman, rather than her simply receiving it. Here again accountability may provide the answer. The paying-out of the grain and silver was done and witnessed in Adab, so accountability was completed. The IB’s witnessed the carrying-off of the grain in Adab, and they also witnessed the release of the silver to the woman in U. This was not called receipt because that had already been done at Adab, when the silver left the buyer’s hands. The release took place later than the act recorded in the first part, but was still formally part of the transaction. Be this as it may, the reader is grateful for Foxvog’s edition of an intriguing, enigmatic text.

The politics of death include two essays, one by Artzi on the diplomacy of death (pp. 161ff, difficult to read!), and one by Perlov on the politics of the funerary cult at Lagash (pp. 77ff). Skaist (pp. 23ff) weighs the possibility that family funerary cult may have had a formal connection with inheritance. Birot (pp. 39ff) publishes a tantalizing text having to do with Šamši-Adad’s observance of the cult of the Sargonic kings, a cult known in the Ur III period as well (Pinches, JRAS 1920, 21ff).

Forced departure from Mesopotamian society by means of execution attracted no papers, though the subject has been treated amply elsewhere.¹⁶⁾ The sometimes impractical penalties of CH often leave us wondering if the penalty shall or should be,¹⁷⁾ but Rim-Sin’s incineration of a murderer shows us that, indeed, it could be.¹⁸⁾ The death

¹⁶⁾ For literature and general discussion, see Renger, JESHO 20 (1977), 65ff; van den Driessche, Akkadica 19 (1980), 1ff. The death penalty among the Hittites was discussed in this volume by Korošec, pp. 199ff.

¹⁷⁾ Kraus, CRR 1 9 (1960), 288ff.

¹⁸⁾ BIN 7 10; cf Driver, AJO 18 (1957/58), 129.

penalty is known from all periods, though “death for default” has been reinterpreted as tablet-breaking.¹⁹⁾

Death as a medical matter attracted a paper by Adamson (pp. 187ff). Vanstiphout’s remarks on possible references to plague in Sumerian poetry (83ff) carry only slight conviction as presented, so one hopes for the larger study he promises in order to be convinced. Dandamayev looks at death from natural causes as traceable through prosopography (pp. 183ff).

Murder drew a splendid paper by Parpola (pp. 171ff), who solves brilliantly an old mystery: who killed Sennacherib? The clues point to the culprit beyond reasonable doubt, and show us once again how long-known texts can hold as many surprises as newly published ones. Cooper takes a fresh look at the controversial “historical content” of the omen series (pp. 99ff). Taking a skeptical view of their historiographical usability, he seems to me a bit severe. Need one doubt that the events referred to actually occurred, including the death of Amar-Sin by anthrax (?) or blood-poisoning (?) from a shoe? Strange deaths in ruling families have perennial interest, and many a ruler, like the king felled by a soap dish, is widely remembered for the way he died. Cooper’s question as to why these data “intrude” in the omen collections seems well answered by Jeyes’ remarkable paper (especially p. 110), the modest presentation of which belies much labor. Granting her point that the historical omens were symbolic, or translations (of actual events!), it is easier on the whole to imagine such events assuming symbolic significance if they actually occurred rather than if they were entirely without a basis in fact. Discarding, if we must, the historiographical impulse so eloquently argued by Finkelstein,²⁰⁾ we may preserve their historicity, even if, like Reiner, some consider it anecdotal.²¹⁾

Death as a religious issue engaged the attention of several contributors, especially W. G. Lambert (pp. 53ff). He discusses concisely the geography, architecture, social, and political organization of the underworld and the kingdom of the dead.²²⁾ While the pictorial portions of Mesopotamian triumphal inscriptions give ample representation of dead and dying, identifiable iconography of death itself is hard to find, though Porada offers examples and discussion (pp. 259ff).

Death and the Poets. Mesopotamian poetic essays on the nature of death sometimes took a cynical tack (here we may see our “Letters”) but, in such cases, tended to be cast in the form of dreams and visions, cachets which perhaps lent them a greater authenticity for the ancient reader than our own apposite tastes would assign.²³⁾ Granting that a dream is more “true” than a narration of individual personal experience, we find Enkidu’s dream of the underworld, for example, to present major literary

¹⁹⁾ For imposition of the death penalty, see Durand, RA 71 (1977), 125ff; for “death for default” see most recently Lieberman, JCS 30 (1978), 91ff.

²⁰⁾ PAPS 107 (1963), 461ff.

²¹⁾ *Anatolian Studies Presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock* (Istanbul, 1974), 257ff: “historiettes,” not history.” The most reasonable view of the whole question is taken by Grayson, OrNS 49 (1980), 190 note 219.

²²⁾ See also Astour, pp. 227ff; Healey, pp. 239ff.

²³⁾ For sheer terror, the crown prince’s “Underworld Vision” may claim pride of place, von Soden, ZA 43 (1936), 1ff.

and interpretive problems. The poet’s intent seems clear enough, however, for when we glance at the royal crowns piled up among the other dusty lumber of hell, our poet tells us explicitly that these belonged to those who served up roasts and libations to the great gods.²⁴⁾ Similar skepticism finds us on the tells surveying the skulls of good and evil alike.²⁵⁾

W. G. Lambert edits and interprets (with the sure touch of a master) Gilgamesh X vi 4ff. Using his understanding of the passage, one finds less reason than Jacobsen (p. 20) to posit a “later insert” in Uta-napištim’s speech of six(!) lines. Since Uta-napištim’s speech was presumably the most carefully wrought rhetorically of the whole poem, I would hesitate to snip out five lines using a striking rhetorical device (all five beginning with the same word), for the device was a rare one in Akkadian poetry and was perhaps used to mark a particularly important thought.²⁶⁾ The massive alliteration on /m/ in this passage further suggests its compositional unity. I wonder why *amelu* in lū-u₁₈-lu-ū *amelu* is translated as a vocative (? Jacobsen) or as an explanatory apposition (Lambert). Surely we have here another of the well-known noun+*amelu* complexes spread like a leit-motif throughout the poem.²⁷⁾ I would render line (2) “But lullū-man is locked in!”²⁸⁾ Lambert has more surprises: a stunning interpretation of Atrahasis III vi 47ff, which he deprecates as “an obvious restoration” (p. 58). He leaves us with much to ponder.

We can scarcely leave this rich topic without a word about another image of death in Akkadian poetry. The Akkadian poets, like many others, sometimes saw realization of potentiality to be a kind of death, a limitation or locking-in, no matter how well formed, that sadly meant the end of something. Enuma Eliš tells us that unlimited reproduction of the gods created an unbearable situation, the solution to which was order, which, though beautiful, meant death for uncontrolled, unnamed potentiality. Realization, the poet tells us, is a kind of mortality in that it represents a compromise. The peculiar triumph of Marduk’s realization of order, leaving aside its tyrannical glamor and awful discipline, is the moment of naming: names are superior to things because specific things are but transitory, even random, realizations of their names. It is naming that the poet would celebrate, for this was only one remove, as it were, from infinite potentiality and beautiful in itself. Yet is not naming the very intersection of life and death, so the poet would have it, in that what was infinite is now limited, but, being limited, can now begin to live (and die)?

Somewhat the same theme is touched on in Atrahasis. The first part of the poem deals directly with death as creation: the inspiration (*tēmu*) of the revolt as the spirit

²⁴⁾ Gilgamesh, Nineveh VII iv 41ff.

²⁵⁾ “Dialogue of Pessimism” 76ff (= BWL, 148).

²⁶⁾ Compare, for example, Ludlul I 43ff (= BWL, 32), where, emphasizing the abruptness of the disaster that befell him, the poet begins five succeeding lines with a preterite verb, a pattern which does not reappear in the preserved text until the speaker’s redemption, IV 1ff. There, at least four lines begin with *bēli* + present/future (= BWL, 58).

²⁷⁾ Oppenheim, OrNS 17 (1948), 25 note 4, 19 (1950), 129 note 1.

²⁸⁾ Jacobsen (p. 21) has man locked out, but the usual imagery of death in Akkadian poetry seems to have him locked in, as in the Descent of Ishtar (CT 15 45.11 etc), where dust lies on the doorstep of the dead.

(*eṭemmu*) of the dead god throbbed on as the pulse of new-created man. Later, the solution to unlimited reproduction of mankind was institution of death for all men, sooner or later. This created a viable, if individually some times unfair social order. Yet attempts, successful or not, to suborn or escape the trammels of this order could arouse poets’ applause, as such attempts represented man dissatisfied with his generally mediocre lot.²⁹⁾

To all the contributors to this fine volume, to the organizers and subvenerers of the conference, to the editor of the proceedings, go our warmest thanks for some very interesting reading.

Yale University,
February 1981

BENJAMIN R. FOSTER

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Der neue Doppelband des CAD hat Anspruch auf alle lobenden Bemerkungen, die ich zu früheren Bänden in dieser Zeitschrift formuliert habe. Die beiden grossen Wörterbuchunternehmen unseres Jahrhunderts, das seit 1921 vorbereitete und seit 1956 erscheinende CAD (bislang 14 Bände) und von Soden’s seit 1952/3 vorbereitete, seit 1959 erscheinende AHW (bislang 15 Lieferungen, die Schlusslieferung ist für Mitte 1981 vorgesehen) haben unsere Disziplin durch und durch reformiert. In seinem Nachruf auf Friedrich Delitzsch hat Meissner (*Deutsches biographisches Jahrbuch* 4 [Stuttgart usw. 1929], S. 33) dessen HWB (1896) gelobt, weil es „endlich den schrecklichen wörterbuchlosen Zustand beseitigte“. Wer wie Rez. in den Jahren nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg sein Studium angefangen hat, weiss noch aus Erfahrung, dass damals solch ein Zustand praktisch erneut eingetreten war, und wagte es kaum, auf lexikographisch „fette“ Jahre zu hoffen. 1979 war es aber so weit, dass praktisch der ganze akkadische Wortschatz bearbeitet vorlag. Wir werden hoffentlich niemals vergessen, was wir unseren grossen Lexikographen verdanken. Beim Gebrauch des CAD wollen wir auch nicht vergessen, dass es sich hier zwar um Zusammenarbeit sehr vieler Gelehrter handelt, dass das CAD jedoch ohne den vollen Einsatz von Leo Oppenheim (1904-1974) niemals erschienen wäre. In den bisher erschienenen Bänden stammt weitaus der grösste Teil aus seiner Feder. Die diesmal zur Besprechung vorliegenden Bände M/I und M/II wurden noch von Oppenheim in Druck gegeben, aber ihr Erscheinen hat er nicht mehr erlebt. Im Laufe der Zeit hat er immer mehr Unter-

²⁹⁾ For discussion of this last point, see Kraus, *Vom Mesopotamischen Mensch der altbabylonischen Zeit und seiner Welt* (Amsterdam, 1973), 131ff.

stützung erfahren von Erica Reiner, die jetzt allein den Einsatz aufbringen muss, der früher von Oppenheim und ihr gemeinsam erbracht wurde. Unter ihrer Leitung sind inzwischen die Bände N/I und N/II fertig geworden, die Auslieferung steht unmittelbar bevor. Der Band Q ist bereits im Druck.

Ich möchte in diesem Zusammenhang kurz hinweisen auf den interessanten Bericht über Geschichte, Probleme und Möglichkeiten des CAD, die Frau Reiner in ihren Vortrag „Thirty Pieces of Silver“ (1980 Ryerson Lecture, Chicago 1980) eingearbeitet hat (S. 18-26).

Ich lasse nun wieder eine Reihe Einzelbemerkungen folgen.

Zu CAD M/I

17b und 18a s.v. *mādiš*. KAH 2 88:2 nicht *ḫi.A-diš*, sondern *ma'attu a°-[dük]*, wie ib. Z. 10.

31a *magallatu*. Nachtrag RA 72, 96.

32b. Füge ein: *magarrānu*, so statt CAD B, 28 *bagarrānu*, siehe jetzt Van Soldt, RA 74, 77f.

33a Z. 3-1 von unten. Siehe jetzt Stol, *On trees* ..., 90.

44f. *magirtu*. Cf. auch Walters, *Water for Larsa*, 45ff.

49b Z. 5. Lies *qa-du-tū* (Druckfehler).

49b Z. 15-8 v.u. Treaties Z. 609 eher *maḥāhu* N-Stamm, vgl. Z. 608 *iššarrapūni* (wegen der Duplikate 36 und 38A so zu lesen).

52a Z. 36. Lies *im-ḫu-ru-šu*; -ma im Duplikat.

52a Z. 39. Lies *amīl* (a-mi-il, nach Kollation ohne -šū) *im-ḫu-ru-šu*.

52b Z. 9. Lies *dšē.ri₅.da* (Šē = šē, nicht šē₁₀ = KU), siehe die vorsargonischen Belege in *Pantheon*¹, Nr. 3120, sowie Rosengarten, *Répertoire*, S. 104f.

52b Z. 15 v.u. Lies *gaba.nu.ru.g[ū]* (AHw korrekt).

77b Z. 17-19. Treaties Z. 50 und 230 lies *ta-ma-quit-a-ni* = bereit seid, (im Kampf) zu fallen.

81f. *mithušu* und CAD M/II, 200f. *mundahšu*. Nach welcher Regel wechseln hier -dah- und -tah-?

81b Z. 13. Nach von Soden, *Akkad. Syll.*, S. 25 *im₄-da-aḫ-ša-ma*. Es ist freilich ein Schönheitsfehler, dass dabei *im₄* und *em₄* verschiedene Zeichen wiedergeben. Das hat zur Folge, dass man bei Hunger, SpTU I, Nr. 49, 37, falls man für KA.ḫi die Aussprache *dimma*, *dimmu*, *dima*, *dimu* beibehalten will, die Glosse *di-[e]m₄-ma* (so AHw, 1385b unten) oder *di-[i]m₄-ma* lesen muss. Oder ist doch *dimma* usw. (= akkad. *tēmu*) durch *demma* usw. zu ersetzen? Das Wort *dimmakurū* o.ä. (Farber, BID, 74f., Reiner, *Šurpu*, 58a) wäre dann besser *demmakurū* o.ä. zu lesen, vgl. auch die Glosse bei Landsberger und Gurney, AfO 18, 85 zu Z. 170(a). Labat, *Manuel*¹⁻⁴, S. 55 und 258 hat den Lautwert *im₄* = EME gebucht, im Prinzip richtig, aber doch wohl ohne Belegmaterial zur Verfügung gehabt zu haben.

85ff. *māhāzu*. Zur möglichen Ableitung von *aḫāzu* siehe jetzt Hallo und Moran, JCS 31, 80 III 2: *ma-ḫa-za i-ta-ḫa-a[ḫ]*.

88f. Weitere Literatur zu *māhāzu*: R. Kutscher, Lěšonenu 34, 267ff. und Cooper, OrNS 43, 83ff.

99a letzte Zeile. Lies *ḫul.lu.bi*.

109b Z. 31f. Haupttext (Stele) und Variante vertauscht, Var. [mārū].

133b Z. 15-17. Statt *ma-ak-ku-ri* (!) lies *ma-ak-ku-ru* (Haupt, BA 1, 631 und Bezold, ZA 6, 185), statt

[mu.u]n.gar lies — auch gegen MSL 4, 30, 34 — [mu.u]n.gār. Vgl. auch Kraus, *Staatliche Viehhaltung*, 10ff. Danach statt *nig.ga* = *makkūru* besser *nig.GA* zu lesen. Dementsprechend Emesal besser *mu.un.GA* statt *mu.un.ga*. Vgl. weiter die Emesal-Formen in V R 52 Nr. 1, I 14 mit Duplikaten: *mu.un.ga.ra*, *ma.gu.ra*, *ma.an.g[a.ra]*.

133f. Für BA 5, 617, 10 erscheint die Emendation *it-bal* gewagt; einfacher wäre *ub(? GAG)-bal*.

139a-b. Lesung nach *Fs. von Soden*, 6.

140b Z. 3 v.u. Lies *KUŠ.ÜSAN*.

170a Z. 11-8 v.u. Mit CAD B, 137b *bašimma* von *bašāmu* abzuleiten, nicht etwa von *bašū*.

171a Z. 8-6 v.u. Lieber *mal-sūt* (BÂN) zu umschreiben.

176a Z. 5f. BRM 4 9:43 etwa statt *sa ba.ná* vielmehr *sa.ma.ná* zu lesen?

195a Z. 33-35. Statt *búr.búr* lies *du₉.du₉*.

198b Z. 3f. CAD L, 126a liest, offenbar besser, statt *na.a* vielmehr *na.me*.

202a Z. 22-24. „Broken context“ nicht mehr zutreffend, siehe ZA 61, 78, 60.

208a Z. 13f. Lies wohl [uzu.sa.umbin], siehe Hunger, SpTU I, Nr. 171, 3', offenbar Duplikat zu CT 17, 25, 25. Z. 15f. sowie MSL 9, 23 unten, Z. „26“ dementsprechend zu ergänzen.

221b Z. 13-10 v.u. = JNES 33, 290, 24.

222f. *ana lā manē* wohl auch bei Rost, *Tigl. III*, S. 52, 32 (*am-ḫaš-ma* [ana ḫa ma-nē-e]; im Glossar bei Rost, S. 96 unten an *ušmānu* gedacht).

228a, Z. 18-22. Gibt es dazu wirklich weitere Duplikate? Ich kenne nur ein (an dieser Stelle nicht weiterführendes) Duplikat aus Khorsabad, das von Parpola identifiziert und mir mitgeteilt wurde.

228a Z. 22-25. Demnächst Lambert in der Festschrift Kraus; dort statt [inū]ma vielmehr *mu-tūm-ma* gelesen.

253a *maqgaru*. urudu BULUG = *maqgaru* auch Meissner, SAI, Nr. 254 (ŠL 11,51)!

258 *mār damqi. Die Lesung bleibt unsicher, vgl. auch ABZ, S. 199f. und ABZ², S. 436.

277f. *mardatu*. Vgl. jetzt auch Pardee, BiOr 34, 13f. und Walter Mayer, UF 9, 273ff.

285b Z. 13-11 v.u. Ortsname *Bāb-marrati*. Bei Parpola, NAT, 58 nachzutragen. In ABL 418, Rs. 5 ist, gegen ABL (und Delitzsch, AL⁵, 146) und mit den älteren Kopien (Winckler's Umschrift nach einer Kopie von Peiser, S.A. Smith, unpublizierte Kopie von Bezold), statt *UB šā* vielmehr *KÁ* (ohne folgendes *šā*) zu lesen. Ausser CAD M/I, 285b Z. 12-11 v.u. ist auch CAD B, 24a Z. 7-10 dementsprechend zu berichtigen.

291ff. *maršu*. Ein bisher übersehener Beleg bei Lackenbacher, RA 65, 135, 26' (lies statt *e-nin* vielmehr *mar-šu*, vgl. das Photo auf S. 133 rechts unten).

300 *martū*. Logographisch *šis.ma.nu.TUR.TUR* in K 3457+, 3 (unpubl. Kriegeritual, Publikation durch M. Elat vor-gesehen).

308ff. *māru*. Ein weiterer Beleg für *mār šarri* findet sich bei Macmillan, BA 5, 642, 7f. CAD E, 157b liest (mit Macmillan) *DUMU.KUM la.a.ni.šē* = *DUMU.KUM* usw. Bereits Pinches, PSBA 28, 210 hat hier *dumu.lugal.la a.ni.šē* = *DUMU LUGAL* usw. gelesen, was durch Kollation bestätigt wird. Auch ŠL 144,36 zu berichtigen.

327b Z. 4f. Mit AHw, 631a nicht hierhergehörig.

330f. *maḫātu*. Auch KAR Nr. 101, 13f. hierhergehörig,

lies [z]i.ma.ad.gá = [MIJN. OECT 6, S. 55 demnach zu berichtigen, die Gottheit Maḫunga zu streichen.

350b Z. 8. Lies *nu.dun₅.dun₅*.

402a oben. Die Übersetzung der Sinšarriškun-Stellen schwerlich befriedigend.

407a Mitte. Vgl. auch Tallqvist, APN, 136a *Mati-ilāa* (westsemitisch).

412b Z. 19-22. Cf. Borger, BiOr 22, 166b Mitte.

Zu CAD M/II

2b Z. 7-6 v.u. Cf. ZA 61, 81f.

23b Z. 34-38. Ungenau zitiert.

31a Z. 6-8. In *u.me.ni.ḫu.luḫ.ḫa* ist mit dem Duplikat CT 16, 50 das Zeichen *ḫu* zu streichen.

35 *mēsū*. Auch Kodex Hammurapi IV 63 Variante (BAL², 10 Mitte).

62 *miḫšu* 9b. Logographisch Postgate, GPA, S. 28 (uḫSIG)!

89a *minšu* = warum? (wie *minsu* und *miššum*) s.v. *minu* notiert (S. 91).

94 *ammin* auch Kümmel, FBAU, 55 Anm. 59 = *Akkad. Syll.*³ Nr. 300.

100a Z. 3-7. Siehe jetzt Brinkman, RA 73, 189.

103a Z. 29-31 Haupttypen 95:14. Sm 1580 jetzt mit K 5111, Sm 28+ und Sm 1580 gejoint. BiOr 26, 77 BM 128027 = CT 51 Nr. 182. Textrekonstruktion verbesserungsbedürftig.

105a Z. 7-11. Hier wie in CAD A/II, 268b Z. 4-7 *ḫiḫ.BAR a-ri-ri* natürlich (wie in CAD A/II, 268b Z. 1-4) *ḫiḫ a-ri-ri* oder *ḫiḫri a-ri-ri* zu lesen.

105a Z. 11f. Bei Rost, *Tigl. III*, S. 38, 236 eher mit Rost *ina mi-qiṭ* [tēmi] (vgl. CAD M/II, 104b Z. 3ff.) zu ergänzen?

108b Z. 22f. Statt [šī]-ri-su eher [a]r-su zu lesen. En.el. III 135 ist *ar-sa* zu lesen, siehe die Kopie in CT 13, 9. Das nach AHw, 1050a nur einmal belegte und mit *si/erāšu* gleichzusetzende *širisu* ist zu streichen. *arsu* ist zu CAD A/II nachzutragen.

113a Z. 23 und 114b Z. 9 v.u. Statt *ZAG* lies *BULUG* (richtig bereits Ungnad).

126a *mišūtu*. Das Wort ist zu streichen, die richtige Lesung *mi-rit* wurde bereits in CAD S, 244a vorgeschlagen.

139f. *mitru* A. Zu berichtigen nach BAL², 136. *mitru* ist im Kontext nicht belegt.

144f. *miḫirtu*. Das Verhältnis zu CAD B, 206f. *berātu* bleibt schwierig. Die CAD B, 206b Z. 13 v.u. zitierte Variante *bi-ra-a-ti* (nach I R 36, 11, vgl. auch Borger, Asarh., S. 91) beruht nach meiner Kollation des Originals K 1681 auf einem Kopierfehler, der Text hat deutlich *BAD-ra-a-te*.

147f. *miḫtu*. Auch bei Strong, PSBA 20, 157, 20 anzusetzen? Von Soden hat hier vor langer Zeit die Lesung *šisTUKUL.DINGIR* erwogen. Nicht kollationiert.

149ff. *mū* A. Eine bislang verkannte Stelle bei King, AKA, 354, III 29: *a-na rēš idPu-rat-te mē* (A) *aš-bat*. Bedeutung: sich auf dem Wasserwege begeben nach. Zu CAD S, 28b nachzutragen.

154b Z. 12ff. Cf. Donner, OrAnt 8, 92 mit Anm. 23.

157a *mu'āru*. Für *BUBULU* an die Lesung *mušte'ū* gedacht (vgl. ŠL 371, 95c)? CAD K, 467a Mitte jedenfalls falsch (BiOr 32, 72a).

163a *mudrū*. Statt *mu.sir.ra* eher *mu.dur₇.ra* zu lesen? Vgl. Jacobsen, JNES 12, 164f.

164a Z. 37. Statt *im.zu* lies *in.zu*.

168a *mudū*. Vgl. jetzt Wilcke, AfO 25, 93.

191a Z. 3. Statt *šen.ta.b.ba* lies *dur₁₀.ta.b.ba*.

194b *mulūtu*. Emesal *mu.LU* = *bēlu*, *bēltu* ist gut belegt.

Demnach *MU.LU-ti* etwa *bēlu-ti* zu lesen?

197a Mitte *mumma*. Schott, *Vorarbeiten*, S. 101 Anm. 2 schlägt für die Salmanassar-Stelle die Lesung *ia₅-um-ma* vor.

199a *muna'išu*. Bei Borger, Asarh., S. 114 § 80 I 10 ist offenbar *uA.Z[U.MEŠ]* zu lesen. Vgl. Sm 471 (Bezold, *Catalogue* IV, S. 1410), Z. 8 und Johns, ADD II, Nr. 851 II 16 (dort *A.Z[U].MEŠ*, gegen Oppenheim, Centaurus 14 [1969], 100).

216b *murabbūtu*. Die Stelle CH § 158:27 ist zu streichen, cf. BiOr 26, 75b und CAD A/I, 290b Mitte.

223b *murruru* B und *murruru* v. Cf. Borger, WO 5, 169 (dort auch das Derivat *tamrirtu*).

230a Mitte. *ANŠE.NITA* = *imēru* ist sicher belegt, siehe ZA 66, 277.

230 *mur(u)dū*. Ein Hinweis auf CAD H, 250a *ḫurdu* A wäre praktisch gewesen.

237ff. *musukkannu*. Warum wird die m.E. vollkommen überzeugende Identifizierung durch Gershevitch, BSOAS 19, 317ff. hier ohne Begründung abgelehnt?

239b Z. 4-9. Statt *ū.zuḫ* lies *ū-zūg(KA)*. Richtig CAD A/I, 83a oben.

276a *muškēnūtu*. Cf. CAD A/II, 212a zu *uKI.ZA.ZA-ū-tū* (AHw, 1288b liest dafür *šusāmūtu*).

282f. *muštābiltu*. Cf. Kümmel, AfO 25, 82.

301a Z. 29. Statt *dim₄.gá* lies *būlug.gá* (cf. Van Dijk, UVB 18, 48b).

308a *muttapḫu*. Für *mut-tap-ḫu-tum* spricht die Gleichung *bu* = *napāḫu*.

Frau Reiner hat mir freundlicherweise eine Liste mit Corrigenda zu CAD M/I und M/II zukommen lassen. Die meisten dort verzeichneten Druckfehler dürften vom Benutzer praktisch automatisch vorgenommen werden und ihn weniger stören als die Autoren. Erwähnenswert:

CAD M/I, 81b Z. 22f. Statt *hcf.* lies *cf.*, das *h* gehört in die nächste Zeile (fight).

M/I, 113b Z. 15 v.u. *ki maḫ-ri-ma*.

M/I, 122a Z. 4 v.u. *Šf*.

M/I, 209b Z. 8. Lies *man-di-ti*.

M/I, 227a Z. 16. Streiche 145:11 und 20.

M/I, 257a Z. 8 v.u. Lies *mār-banūtu*.

M/II, 180a Z. 19. Statt Lautner lies Walther.

Göttingen, März 1981

R. BORGER

* * *

M. STOL, *On Trees, Mountains, and Millstones in the Ancient Near East*; with a chapter by K. van LERBERGHE. Leiden, Ex Oriente Lux, 1979 (27 cm., xii + 104 pp., 1 map) = Medelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux" / Mémoires de la Société d'Études Orientales "Ex Oriente Lux", 21. Price: Fl. 40.-.

This monograph deals with a variety of trees, resins, and stones mentioned in cuneiform texts, i.e., topics which

are rarely discussed among Assyriologists, much to the detriment of our knowledge of realia.

The first chapter discusses *buṭnu* and related forms. Arabic *buṭm* "terebinth" and Hebrew *boṭnim*, supposedly "pistachio", had led to the assumption that Akkadian *buṭnu* meant both "terebinth" and "pistachio". M. Stol now quotes the findings of V. Hehn on the subject. The latter argued that the translation "pistachio" for *boṭnim* in Gen. 43, 11 contradicts the early translations of the biblical texts all of which equate it with the terebinth. The translation "pistachio" was simply based on the disbelief that the modest terebinth nut could not have made a worthy present for the Egyptian pharaoh. Hehn goes on to show that the West came to know the pistachio only through the opening of the East by Alexander. M. Stol deepens the first argument by noting that "the gifts of Joseph's brothers were modest indeed ... A famine was scorching the land, after all" (p. 8). In addition, he brings evidence for the ubiquity of the terebinth in northern Mesopotamia and the eating of its nut into fairly recent times. The terebinth is used for its nuts, the oil of the nuts, the resin, the galls, and the wood. Cuneiform sources attest the use of nuts and wood; possibly also the oil of the nuts. One should expect that the ancients also used its resin, the famous turpentine. M. Stol notes that *ḫil buṭumti* is not found, and, expecting a special word for it, investigates *kukrum* and *šumlālum* as possible candidates. *Buṭum/tum* does not always refer to the terebinth. It also designates a cereal made of emmer and possibly other grains. Following a suggestion of K. Butz, M. Stol identifies it with "Grünkernmehl", i.e., flour made of grain whose husks have not been removed.

The second chapter proposes the identification of Jebel Abd-el-Aziz with KUR *di/da-bar*. Both mountains were famous for their stands of terebinths. Modern travelers can still find pitiful remains of original forests in the higher elevations of the former mountain in northeast Syria. M. Stol connects this characteristic feature with a rumour reported by Theophrastus about a "large mountain" in Syria covered with terebinths, and with an entry in the Lipšur Litanies according to which KUR *di/da-bar* is a mountain of terebinths. If we accept his evidence for the ubiquity of the terebinth in ancient northern Mesopotamia, we can see that this identification stands on a rather slim base.

In chapter three, K. van Lerberghe discusses the long-standing equation of the *uṣū* wood with ebony. The starting point is a limestone cylinder of the Speleers collection. It bears an inscription which the author collated. The inscription mentions *buṭumtum* and *uṣūm*. The connection between these two trees in the inscription remains obscure, as does the inscription as a whole. Regarding the identity of *uṣūm*, van Lerberghe confirms the equation with ebony. It was imported from Meluhha into Mesopotamia. According to the theory of Landsberger, that this geographical name referred to India in the periods up to the Old Babylonian time, and to Ethiopia later on, the author concludes that the early ebony derives from the northwest Indian *Diospyros melanoxylon*, and the later ebony from the Ethiopian *Dalbergia melanoxylon*.

Chapters four and five are only of marginal interest for the Assyriologist. M. Stol discusses a group of remedies for wounds, i.e., balsam and opopanax. The former was a rather rare article exported from the area of the Dead

Sea. It is called *šorī* in the Old Testament. He goes on to propose that the latter was used as a cheaper substitute. This he connects with *in-ZA-ru-u* which, in turn, he derives from *šorī* and accordingly reads *inšarū*. The word explains *šim-ḫab* = *ṭurū* in the medical commentary BRM 4, 32, 14: "The Assyrians and Babylonians used *ṭurū*, opopanax (cf. one paragraph earlier: "*ṭurū*, probably opopanax") as a remedy against wounds, etc. The increasingly Aramaic-speaking population compared this product with *šarū* "balsam", a product which, one may assume, was rather familiar to them as Westerners". (p. 73). He concludes the discussion with a welcome note of self-criticism: "It should be perfectly clear that the ideas proposed here are only suggestions". (l.c.).

Chapters six and seven describe the point of departure for all the investigations in this monograph, namely, the idea that the pronunciation *sag-gar* makes it possible to equate etymologically the "mountain of the god HAR (i.e., *Saggar*)" with the Jebel Sinjar. This combination makes, at first sight, a lot of sense. After all, the Jebel Sinjar is an outstanding feature of northern Iraq and should be mentioned in cuneiform sources. The contexts in which KUR(RA) ⁴HAR appears are few, and most come from the general vicinity of the Jebel Sinjar: Mari and Tell Rimah. In Assyrian sources it occurs under the name *Singara*, a form of the word which stands neatly between *Saggar* and Sinjar. M. Stol believes that the city-name *Saggaratum* contains again the same word. He notes that while this city is located away from the mountain itself, the latter can still be seen from that site on clear days.

The remaining chapters deal with the questions which arise from the characterization of KUR *sag-gar* as "mountain of millstones". The author starts out with a discussion of the words for basalt since "most millstones are made of basalt". Next, he provides evidence for the non-occurrence of basalt in the Jebel Sinjar. This seeming contradiction to the identification of the Jebel with "Mount *Saggar*" is circumvented in assuming that the upper millstone rather than the lower one is referred to in the designation "mountain of millstones". The upper millstone was plausibly made of a softer stone. After discussing the terminology of upper and lower millstones, he comes to the conclusion that *na₄-sag-gar*, and even ⁴*Sa-an-ga-ar*, denote in fact the upper millstone. This opens the way to a search of the specific stone used for that purpose. The author identifies it with *šum* which he etymologizes as "red stone" and identifies with red sandstone. The question whether red sandstone is found on the Jebel Sinjar is left open.

M. Stol (and also K. van Lerberghe) has a broad outlook on the problems discussed in this very interesting monograph. He uses many non-Assyriological tools, especially those of Old Testament and Greek studies. It gives depth to the investigations described here. On the other hand, Sumerian and archaeological sources are not used as much as the topic demands. The discussion of millstones is in bad need of thorough archaeological documentation. If upper millstones were derived from the Jebel Sinjar, we need to know what material they were made of, and whether this material does in fact occur there. We also need to know exactly the look of lower millstones in order to evaluate his interpretation of the element *šu* in the term *na₄-šu-gul-gul*: "The element *šu* in this ideogram may simply mean "hand". If we visualize a hand,

we can imagine that the grooves on the millstone look like the fingers of a hand". (p. 90f.). Textual evidence indicates that *šu* was a designation for the upper millstone. According to the Ur III text BM 17741 (I. J. Gelb, RA 66 [1972] 12ff.) millstones were presented as gifts (*a-ru-a*) to temples. They are called *na₄-HAR-šu-sè-ga* and *na₄-HAR-šu-nu-tuk*. The former means "(lower) millstone fitted with an upper millstone" (cf. note 359). If grooves were indeed necessary on the lower millstone as M. Stol implies in his interpretation of UET III 272 IV 38-39 (p. 91) we cannot expect such useless objects as gifts. *na₄-HAR-šu-nu-tuk* means obviously "(lower millstone) without upper millstone". On page 94 one reads about the "mysterious na-stone". This stone is, for example, known from a passage in the Gudea inscriptions which is quoted on page 87. The full context of this passage reveals that the na-stone was used by Gudea to fashion statues. The known fragments of Gudea statues are made of limestone. The black stones which Maništušus quarries (cf. the quote on page 85) should be diorite, according to the material used by this ruler for his monuments.

Insufficient use of Sumerian sources is indicated by the discussion of *kukrum* (p. 16ff.). The author does not want "to dissociate *šim-GAM.GAM* from the two other aromatics, *šim-gam-gam-ma* and *šim-gam-ma*". He quotes R. Biggs on the difference between the first and the second word. Yet his preoccupation with the possibility that the element *gam*, way be related etymologically to "gum" prevents him from taking Biggs seriously. In texts of the Old Akkadian and the Ur III periods *gùk-ru-um*, resp. *gu₄-ku-ru* is relatively frequently mentioned, and usually precedes *šim-gam-gam-ma*. (AOS 32 S 23 is quoted; not quoted is the interpretation of L. Oppenheim of the description of *kukrum* in BRM 4, 32, 14, which is less complicated than that of M. Stol on page 17; note that in MVN IV 61, *gu₄-ku-ru* is one of the many ingredients of *i-du₁₀-ga*); price, according to TUT 122 V, is 50 *silà* for one shekel of silver). There can be no doubt that the words have to be dissociated. The etymology of *gam* = gum is quite interesting, but the author goes too far when he suggests that the element *šum* in *šumlālu* is "just a phonetic variant of *gam* (palatalized g)" (p. 18).

While style and representation are usually straightforward and logical, things get rather confused in the chapter on upper and lower millstones. M. Stol starts the discussion with a quote from MSL X on Lugal-e which leads him to believe that *na₄-gul-gul*, *na₄-sag-gar*, *šum* and *kašurrūm* are "grouped together". MSL X 53f relies on the unpublished edition of E. Bergmann. Yet this particular passage is preserved in published texts. They group *na₄-sag-kal* and *na₄-gul-gul* (BE 29, 6 rev. II last three lines; 7, 1-13; 8 rev. II 1-3; SEM 32 II 31-33). *Šum* (*na₄-šu-u*) and *kašurrūm* (*na₄-ka-šur-ra*) build a separate group which precedes that of *na₄-sag-kal* and *na₄-gul-gul*. I agree with the author that the latter pair may mean the upper and lower millstone (cf. his note 357). I find this idea particularly attractive for the pair *na₄-HAR* and *na₄-gul-gul* in the disputation SLTNi 131 and dupl. However, the identification of *na₄-HAR* with *na₄-sag-gar* stands on a weak foundation at best, if we regard E. Gordon, Proverbs 2.29 é-*na₄-kín* (*HAR-na*). More problematic is the fact that *NA₄.HAR* is the Sumerogram for *erū*. The latter is, as M. Stol observes, a designa-

tion of the lower millstone (cf. also the quote from UET III 272 on p. 91 for Sumerian *na₄.HAR*). KUR *sag-gar* is KUR.NA₄.HAR.MEŠ in the Lipšur Litanies, "Most (lower) millstones are made of basalt" (p. 83), and, according to D. Oates, "there is no basalt in Jebel Sinjar" (p. 88). These statements amount to a serious argument against the identification of Mount *Saggar* with Jebel Sinjar.

The monograph contains a host of ideas which I think are worthy of being kept in mind for future corroboration or rejection. I list a choice of them in the following:

- ḫm.bḫm* Assyrian: Babylonian (p. 10)
- giš-lam-tur* = *tur'azum* = *šerḫazum* = Pistacia khinjuk (note 37)
- ašūhu* is not fir, but Calabrian pine (p. 18)
- **luddu* = *duqdu* = *šiqdu* (note 51)
- gloss *zu-ur-wa* for DUG *riq-qu* *zrw* in Ugaritic and *šorī* in Hebrew (p. 53)
- turū* = *ṭūrā* (Aramaic) = opopanax (p. 72)
- /in/ is a prosthetic in Akkadian (p. 73)
- Third entries in explanatory lists are often of Western origin (p. 72f.)

U.C. Berkeley, Februar 1981

W. HEIMPEL

* * *

H. KLENGEL, *Hammurapi von Babylon und seine Zeit*. Berlin, VEB, Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2^e Auflage 1977 (8vo, 235 S.). Preis: 9.80 M.

Ce petit livre, réimpression d'une édition de 1976, ne s'adresse pas exclusivement au cercle restreint des assyriologues, il vise un public aussi large que possible. Dans le passé déjà, l'auteur a prouvé, par plusieurs autres publications, qu'il possédait le don d'écrire sur l'assyriologie des livres qui se lisent agréablement, et sont susceptibles d'attirer à cette science de nombreux curieux.

L'auteur lui-même est historien et philologue; cela se voit au fait qu'il utilise des sources d'information, telles les tablettes publiées en copie, qui ne sont guère accessibles aux autres historiens. Par ailleurs, il ne perd pas de vue qu'il doit fournir d'amples commentaires sur de nombreuses notions qui font partie intégrante du langage professionnel de l'assyriologie.

Le livre ne se limite pas strictement à la période d'Hammurapi proprement dite (± 18^e siècle a.n.è.), mais il nous donne également une idée des événements qui se sont déroulés avant et après son règne.

L'auteur s'est soucié également de l'environnement naturel, par exemple du climat de la Mésopotamie, des problèmes d'irrigation, de la présence, sur place ou non, de matériaux de construction tels que l'argile ou la glaise, le bois, la pierre etc.

Dans l'introduction il souligne qu'il n'avait nullement l'intention de présenter une biographie d'Hammurapi en tant que «héros», de décrire le cours de sa vie ou de faire une esquisse de sa personnalité, mais plutôt de faire une étude socio-économique de son époque. A cette fin, Klengel a fait usage de données provenant de milliers de textes se rapportant au droit et au système administratif de cette période; ainsi, pour ne citer que quelques exemples, les archives de la famille d'Iddin-Lagamal de Dilbat, de

l'esclavagiste Balmunamhe, du président des commerçants Shēp-Sin, les lettres de Shamash-hāzir et de Sin-iddinam, les archives du soldat Ubarrum.

En ce qui concerne la soi-disant institution «*ilku*» (etwa *Pflichtsleistung für Landzuteilung*, p. 123), Klengel fait une comparaison avec la production agraire contemporaine en Irak.

Un ouvrage sur Hammurapi ne peut omettre de parler du fameux codex de ce monarque; l'auteur s'y attarde donc longuement (pp. 155-216) en essayant à plusieurs reprises de mettre en relief les analogies et les divergences entre les documents juridiques et le codex en question; il met ainsi l'accent sur la complexité de la jurisprudence en vigueur. En complément à ce qui précède, l'auteur mentionne d'autres *codices* (entre autres celui de Lipit-Ishtar) et édits (Samsu-iluna, Ammi-šaduqa).

Ce que nous regrettons un peu, c'est que la bibliographie finale du livre ne soit pas un peu mieux étoffée pour venir en aide aux lecteurs qui ne sont pas spécialisés en la matière et désirent approfondir leurs connaissances.

Klengel nous fait don d'une description très claire de la période paléo-babylonienne et nous sommes convaincus que son livre sera lu et consulté avec grand intérêt par les savants qui, pour diverses raisons, auraient besoin de plus amples informations sur la période d'Hammurapi.

Oud-Heverlee, mars 1981

K. VAN LERBERGHE

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Bustenay ODED, *Mass deportations and deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire*. Wiesbaden, Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1979 (24 cm., xiii + 142 pp., 1 map, 8 plates). ISBN 3 88226 043 2. Preis: 54 DM.

The policy of deportation was not only a major tool of the Assyrians in the formation of their empire, but also must have been one of the major influences on its composition. B. Oded's study of the subject is therefore welcome, as other recent work, in particular that of J. Zabłocka, has been angled towards one aspect only.

In the Preface the author explains that he had originally intended to confine himself to the factual aspects: his Chapter II: "Facts" and figures, and Chapter III: The implementation of mass deportation. Subsequently, he found it necessary to discuss also "the method employed in studying the subject" (Chapter I), and added two further chapters (Chapter IV: Aims and objectives of mass deportation, and V: Observations on the position of deportees).

As far as the reviewer can judge without controlling the sources in detail, the data have been collected and presented fully and accurately, although there will inevitably be minor quibbles here and there. This means that the "factual aspects" treated in Chapters II and III seem to give a very satisfactory picture of what we know. As with all studies on Neo-Assyrian topics, it is when we move away from the emphatic (if biased) information afforded by the royal inscriptions that opinions begin to diverge. In this case the situation is typical: there is historical evidence for the conquest and deportation of populations, and we sometimes find the process of deportation reflected

in the letters and administrative documents found at the Assyrian capitals. But once the deportees have been firmly settled in their new habitat, they sink below our threshold of awareness, and all speculation has to be based on guesswork. Hence it will be no surprise to find that the reviewer's differences with the author concentrate on the last two chapters of the book, and especially the fifth.

Chapter IV: Aims and objectives is not particularly controversial, but a few additional comments could be made. The motives we can impute to the Assyrian kings in their policy of deportation are divided by Oded into several headings: 1. as a form of punishment, 2. liquidation of rival powers, 3. deported minority groups and their tendency to be loyal to the empire, 4. military conscription as a means of enlarging the Assyrian army, 5. as a source for craftsmen and unskilled labourers, 6. populating urban centres and strategic sites in Assyria proper and in the Assyrian Empire, 7. repopulating abandoned or desolate regions and making them fit for agriculture. These are all motives which may reasonably be deduced, and are sometimes explicitly described by the Assyrian kings, but it would have been helpful to hear the author's assessment of their relative importance, and whether this changed in the course of time. One could suggest, for example, that under Assur-našir-apli the principal motive was to supply cheap agricultural labour in Assyria, while by the time of Tiglath-pileser the kings were more interested in specialist craftsmen or types of soldier. The reviewer is not maintaining that this particular example is indeed the case, but it is a historical point which could profitably have been considered. Some light could probably be thrown on the motives for deportation by observing where, in each reign, the deportees were eventually settled.

It might also have been instructive to read something in this chapter about the policy of deportation under other empires. It is true that on pp. 42-3 mention is made of earlier practices, but a glance forward in time could have proved informative, especially on the more intangible aspects such as the attitudes of the people involved. One might have compared the case of the Hamawand tribe, which was exiled by the Ottomans from Kurdistan, "half to Tripoli and half to Adana; their fighting return with their women and children from North Africa to Bazyan in 1896, seven years later, is among the epics of Kurdish tribal history" (C.J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs* [Oxford 1957] 40). This instance may indeed be an exception to the general rule, but a comparison with the better documented more recent attitudes of deporters and deportees might have supported, or even have contradicted, the writer's opinions. Dr. Oded seems almost to claim to know the frame of mind of the deportees, and their hosts: obviously, as he writes "the indigenous population ... looked upon these newcomers as usurpers, who had taken possession of their compatriots' property, not by right, but by order of the conquering king", but do we really have any grounds for claiming that this provoked hostility between the deportees and the local populations, which "increased, whenever the national sentiment of the local population, and their desire to cast off the Assyrian yoke, grew" (p. 46)? This *might* be true, but since one could quite plausibly propound the converse, and maintain that a bond of sympathy joined the hosts and the deportees, some justification for the writer's opinion is needed.

Chapter V deals with the fate of the deportees once they have settled in their newly assigned homes, and it is here that two major problems still seem to require comment. Once is the perennial question of the social and juridical status of the deportee. Oded is probably well-advised to insist on the "non-uniformity" of their status (pp. 77ff.), but all the same, the majority were probably at all times resettled in an agricultural way of life, and whatever their juridical status, their social status must have been close to that of the *glebae adscripti* who still constitute a thorny problem. We cannot hope to understand the status of the deportees until we have understood that of those already present, but there are two fresh considerations to be taken into account which may throw some light. One is that a new Neo-Assyrian letter makes a clear juridical distinction between "an Assyrian", "a slave of an Assyrian" (*urdu ša aššurāyi*) and "a slave of the king" (*urdu ša šarri*; cf. RA 74 [1980] 180-2 on CT 53, 78+426). It is clear that a "slave of the king" was not simply any subject of the Assyrian king, but specifically an employee within the administrative cadre of the government, which was based on the organization of the army, with *šaknu* and *rab kišri* as its officials, but was extended in the 7th century to cover civilian employments as well (cf. *Anatolian Studies* 30 [1980] 71ff.). Probably the tied agricultural workers on royal or 'government' lands were therefore also *urdu*, and equally the *glebae adscripti* on private lands "slaves of an Assyrian", although it is generally recognized that as villagers they hardly lived a "life of slavery".

Turning our attention now to the deportee, the first question which has to be settled, and cannot be, is whether the deportee was *ipso facto* a slave (*urdu*). Certainly, as Oded notes, some deportees were treated as slaves, and distributed "like flocks" among the urban population of Assyria, as well as the temples and palace. But this may have been an exception. We do not know whether the status of deportees necessarily differed from that of the population left behind; as pointed out by Oded (p. 89) the phrase *itti niše māt Aššur amnu-šunuti* "I reckoned them as the people of Assyria" does not figure in the inscriptions from Sennacherib onwards, and this is unlikely to be accidental. Without expanding this review unduly, we would like to suggest the hypothesis that until about the reign of Sennacherib or Esarhaddon deportees were considered juridically free men, not *urdu*, although obviously they must have been subject to certain administrative constraints keeping them settled where they were put. Only subsequently, with the great expansion of military organization into the civilian spheres of government administration, in particular under Esarhaddon, did the deportees become members of that organization, and "slaves of the king". What juridical disabilities this may have entailed, one can only speculate; but by forming part of the administrative cadre, they would automatically fall under military discipline, which would be sufficient constraint of itself, making legal curtailment of their status superfluous.

The other point with which we would take issue is Oded's bland assumption that anyone with a foreign name can be treated for his discussion as a deportee or comparable to a deportee. To be fair, he is of course conscious that this is not so: "Certainly, not all the foreign merchants

mentioned above arrived in Mesopotamia as deportees" (p. 104). Unfortunately, he has not really taken his own advice (e.g. "only the following cases should, on the basis of onomastic and linguistic criteria, be regarded as providing reliable evidence for deportation and deportees ...", p. 14), and his accumulations of examples in Chapter V draw indiscriminately on virtually all foreign names. This is hardly acceptable: the topic under discussion is specifically the status of *deportees*, and it is precisely the difference between their status and that of other foreigners which is at issue. Light can only be thrown on this by taking exclusively those cases where we *know* that deportees are involved. This is not a mere methodological quibble: in the nature of things one would expect those foreigners who had found a place in the higher echelons of Assyrian society in the Assyrian capital — the provenance of the great majority of Oded's examples — to have been specially favoured, and even if they were deportees, to have been exceptionally privileged or lucky ones. Equally, if deportees had an inferior juridical status — one of the points under consideration — then those foreigners appearing e.g. as witnesses to legal documents would not be deportees and are therefore irrelevant and misleading. In fact, it is possible, if not probable, that most of the persons listed were neither deportees nor descended from deportees. In the case of Aramaic names, when we know that by the 9th century B.C. large tracts of 'Assyria' were settled by Aramaeans, the procedure is little short of absurd: it is a useful collection, but it bears no relevance to the real problems concerning deportees.

Cambridge, May 1981

J. N. POSTGATE

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Jan van DIJK, Werner R. MAYER, *Texte aus dem Res-Heiligtum in Uruk-Warka*. Kopien von Jan van Dijk zur Veröffentlichung vorbereitet und eingeleitet von Werner R. Mayer. Berlin, Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1980 (29 cm., 31 S., 52 Tafeln) = Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Baghdad, Beiheft 2. Price: DM 69.—. ISBN 3 7861 1282 7.

The present volume, the second in the series of *Beihefte* to the *Baghdader Mitteilungen*, is given over to the publication of the texts found in the 1959/60 season of excavations at Warka in the Rēš temple complex. A summary of the contents of the archive was given by van Dijk in *AfO* XX (1963) and UVB 18 (1962). In the latter publication the same author also gave editions of three of the more interesting texts (Nos. 88, 89 and 96 in the present edition).

Although a number of the texts had already been copied by van Dijk during the 1959/60 season, final copies and collations of tablets baked after the excavation were not completed until August 1978. The copies, as one would expect, are exemplarily done and elicit a grateful response for the care taken in their execution. Several fragments, either too small or in too poor condition to repay copying were omitted.

Van Dijk's work is ably complemented by that of Mayer, who was responsible for the arrangement and cataloguing of the texts and the introduction. The same author had

earlier edited some of the more important rituals from the archive in an article in the latest Festschrift for von Soden¹⁾.

As far as the tablets themselves are concerned, the great majority were found in the debris of a room near the south-west outer wall of the Rēš temple. Eight of the tablets were found *in situ*, that is they were found on a ledge in a wall niche (W. 20030/1-8)²⁾. Although Lenzen was somewhat hesitant to associate these tablets with those found in the debris of the room, a cursory glance at the colophons and contents of the tablets is enough to show that virtually all belonged to the same archive, viz. that of the *kalû*-priest, Anu-bēšunu, son of Nidintu-Anu, descendant of Sin-leqe-unni³⁾.

The fact that the archive is that of a *kalû*-priest can be seen in the genre represented in the archive. Nearly one half of the texts (Nos. 1-60) are concerned with rituals associated with the *kalû* or with cultic hymns. Texts of the latter genre are otherwise ill-attested among the texts from Seleucid Uruk published heretofore⁴⁾, and are consequently a welcome addition to our store of such texts despite their, for the most part, fragmentary condition.

The wide variety of other genres found in the archive provides an interesting commentary on the scholarly activity of Anu-bēšunu, who, we might assume, represents a typical example of the priest-scholar of the period. The fact that a letter (No. 113) is included among the texts of this archive is of particular interest inasmuch as it is the only one yet known from Seleucid Uruk, and the fact that legal documents are included indicates that the archive is probably a private rather than a temple one.

If this is so how does one account for a private archive being found inside the temple complex. The answer is perhaps that the room in which the archive was found may have been a *bīt qāti*, which was a room within the temple precincts owned by members of the priesthood⁵⁾. If so this would give us some idea of the function of the *bīt qāti*, which would then seem to have been a private priestly study.

A few remarks on individual texts are presented here.

No. 5 — The text is a variant of the *lilissu*-ritual given in *Racc.* 10-14 and 20f. It duplicates neither of the previous versions fully, but rather it represents a separate redaction of the ritual, which interestingly enough is closer to the Assur version than to the other Uruk version.

line 11 — [7 DINGIR^{MES} DUMU⁴E]N-ME-ŠĀR-RA qēm

¹⁾ Seleukidische Rituale aus Warka mit Emesal-Gebeten, OrNS 47 (1978) 431-458.

²⁾ Lenzen, UVB 18 p. 17, cf. ibid. Tafel 33.

³⁾ Lenzen, loc. cit. and van Dijk, UVB 18 p. 43f. Van Dijk's statement there "daß die von F. Thureau-Dangin veröffentlichten 'Tablettes d'Uruk' mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit von dieser Stelle stammen" seems to be only partially true. For the texts in TU seem to come from at least two separate archives. Only the astronomical texts, Nos. 12, 25-28, 32 and 33; the *kalû*-ritual texts, Nos. 44-48 and the cultic hymns, Nos. 56 and 57 can be said with certainty to come from this archive. The bulk of the remainder of the texts in TU belong to the archive of the *āšipu*, Nidintu-Anu, son of Anu-bēšunu, descendant of Ekur-zakir.

⁴⁾ See Krecher, SKL p. 19 Anm. 6.

⁵⁾ See Doty, *Cuneiform Archives from Hellenistic Uruk*, Yale Dissertation, 1977 p. 142 and Leventon, *Studien zur keilschriftlichen Rechtspraxis Babyloniens in hellenistischer Zeit* p. 92 with previous literature.

serqi^{MES} (Zİ.DUB.DUB.BU^{MES}) *tu-sar-raq* "The seven children of Enmešarra, the flour offerings, you pour out". For the restoration of the initial portion of the line cf. *Racc.* 26,6 and for Zİ.DUB.DUB.BU = *qēm serqi* see AHW 1037b s.v. *serqu*. The phrase *serqa sarāqu* is well attested and the present occurrence raises the possibility that at least some of the occurrences of Zİ.DUB.DUB.BU are to be read thus rather than *zidubdubbū*.

line 22f. — *ina IGI LIL.LIS*. The parallel *Racc.* 20,14f. has *ina IGI LUMHA* (BALAG). Note the label LILIS (ĀBxBALAG) for the representation of the *lilissu*-drum in TU 47.

No. 12 — The introductory prayer formula *ina a-mat* ⁴⁶⁰ *u 'An'-tum* ⁴ *Enlil u* ⁴ *Ea u ilāni*^{MES} *biti-šū gab-bi liš-lim* "At the command of Anu and Antu, Enlil and Ea and all the gods of their (text "his") temples may it go well" is as Mayer has already noted unparalleled in this form⁶⁾. This sequence of deities, however, is frequently met with in prebend sales from Seleucid Uruk in the phrase *isqu* ... *ina pān DN₁ DN₂ (etc.)* ... *u ilāni bitišunu gabbi* "A prebend before DN₁ DN₂ 2 etc. and all the gods of their temples"⁷⁾.

No. 14 — The fragment is almost certainly a ritual, cf. [t]u^š-za-za in line 5'. In lines 2'f. restore perhaps [qaqqara tu-šab]-bit mē^{MES} K[ū?] *tasallah* ... [muḫ]-hi a-gur-ru kasp[i ...] "... you sweep the ground and sprinkle pure water ..." "... upon the silver brick ..."

No. 28 — is either a duplicate of or parallel to SBP 226/8, 19ff.

No. 30 — Read perhaps KUR-GAL ⁴MU-[UL-LİL ...] in line 1' and [... ⁴NUN-BAR]-ŠE-GU-NU-RA at the beginning of line 2'.

No. 28 — This seems to be a hymn to Šarpanitu or at least to the gods of Babylon. Note É-GL₄-A-ENGUR-RA-ĀM in line 6' and cf. *BMisc.* 13,39f. ⁴URUDU DUMU-SAG-URÚ-ZÉ[-ĒB-BA] in line 7' probably refers to Marduk although ⁴URUDU is elsewhere associated with Ea⁸⁾. Parallel to lines 6'-8' are lines 6, 10 and 14 in SBH No 84.

No. 44 — For the initial line compare the final line in the Akkadian lament SBP No. XXV *ha-mi-ru mūt la-li-e i-te-<ek>-ma-ni* ⁴Bēl "Bēl has stolen my spouse from me, the husband of my desire". It is possible that the present text and the SBP lament stand in a relation to one another similar to that of a balag hymn and its accompanying eršemma⁹⁾. From the Sumerian I-BÍL-LA-MU in line 1 one would expect Akkadian *nīs inija* instead of *mūt lalē*. In this regard note the equation in Malku VIII 94f. *mi-nu-u = la-lu-u* || *mi-nu-u = ni-iš i-ni*.

No. 54 — Lines 5'-7' seem to be roughly parallel to or a conflation of SBH 5, 4-14¹⁰⁾. Perhaps to be restored [⁴NIN-LİL N]A-ĀM-KI-ŪR-RA-[ŠĒ] [GAŠAN-G]Ā-GL₄-A [N]A-ĀM-Ē-MAḫ-[ŠĒ] [GAŠAN-JAN-NA NA-[Ā]M-Ē-AN-[NA-ŠĒ].

No. 57 — The text is noteworthy for its water and storm similes. Note *a-gi-i šug-šu-ri-ka* "your overpowering flood wave" in line 4'. *šugšuru*, a Š-intensive adjective from *gašru* seems to be otherwise unattested, but judging

⁶⁾ Mayer, OrNS 47 (1978) 440.

⁷⁾ Cf. Schroeder, SPAW XLIX (1916) 1182.

⁸⁾ CT XXIV 49 E5 and cf. NA₄ URUDU = ⁴Ē-a, UM X PLIC i 12.

⁹⁾ For an explication of the formal relationship between the two see Krecher *op. cit.* 23.

¹⁰⁾ Ibid. 199f. with a discussion of the parallels.

by it Sumerian equivalent ŠUR in line 3' it would be synonymous with *šamru* "wild", cf. *šamru agū*, AHW 1158a.

No. 58 — Despite the fact that a masculine suffix is used in line 6' we can not be certain that a masculine deity is being addressed. Masculine suffixes occur frequently in place of feminine ones in the contracts of the Seleucid period and occasionally also in literary texts¹¹⁾. The phrase AN-NA-TA-TU-TU-DA || ⁴A-num-ū-tū *ina e-re-b[i]* "Upon entering into Anu-ship" in lines 7'f. is reminiscent of *L'exaltation d'Ištar* (TU 51), which recounts the elevation of Ištar to the supreme position in the pantheon with Anu, and it is not impossible that this text refers to the same theme.

No. 88 — To the bibliography add Grayson, RIA VI 97f. s.v. *Königlisten und Chroniken*.

No. 98 — ^{1M}šī-šī-ik-tum is probably a loanword from Sumerian IM-SI-SI-IG "(storm)wind", cf. Civil, *Atr.* 171 ad 201 and MSL V 74f., 306-310.

No. 110 — This would seem to be a contract. Cf. [zī]tta-šū *gab-bi ina rēhti* (IB.TAG₄) in obv. 2' and [zizāti]^{MES}-šū-nu *ina* ^{1M}šā-t[ā]-ri-^e^{MES} in line 1' of the reverse.

No. 113 — In addition to the fact that this is the sole letter known from the corpus of material from Seleucid Uruk this text is of interest in that it mentions an otherwise unattested toponym ^{URU}kap-ri *Su-qa-a* (lines 10 and 14). Moreover in line 8f. we find the Babylonian, Bēl-ubalissu mentioned. This is one of the rare instances during the Hellenistic period of evidence of contact between Uruk and Babylon. The (in all likelihood) Greek PN ^mHe-ru-tu-(ū)-su (lines 16f. and 114,3') is also found in a document from Babylon dated to year 151 of the Seleucid Era. There, however, it appears in the form ^mE-ru-tu-us. This shows, as Sarkisian has already noticed¹²⁾, that the Greek *spiritus asper* is occasionally represented by *h* in Akkadian transcriptions rather than always by *ø* as Röhlig states¹³⁾.

No. 115 — The neck was the traditional portion of meat for the *kalû* prebend¹⁴⁾, and the present text with its heading *šā-tar šā šir ti-ik-ka*^{MES} *šā* ^{LU}kal^{MES} "Document concerning the neck cuts of the *kalû*-priests" gives us a good example of the cultic continuity between the Seleucid and earlier periods. For the PN *ana*^m *šā-ḫi-il-la-a* in line 28, which is not listed in the name index, cf. *bīt* ^mšā-ḫi-la-a, VS XV 27, 13.

No. 116 — For ^mQé-ep-lu-ū-nu in lines 3'f. see McEwan, ZA 70 (1980) 67 and Sarkisian, *Drevnij Vostok* 2, 194ff.

No. 117 — In line 7 read 2 (PI) BANEŠ *ultu muḫ-ḫi a-gur-r[u]* "two and one-half litres (barley?) from the *agurru*. The *agurru* was an impost, which during the Seleucid period formed part of the income of certain prebends, cf. CAD A¹ 163a.

No. 131 — The name in line 2 is perhaps to be restored as ^mNa-zi-[*murū-taš*] rather than ^mNa-zi-[*ia*] as in the name index, since the name Nazia is not otherwise attested in Seleucid texts, while the former was the name of a scribe attested in several documents from Uruk, see Doty, *op. cit.* 195.

¹¹⁾ E.g. *i-di-ka* and *e-diš-ši-ka* used for Ištar in TU 51, 36.

¹²⁾ Sarkisian, FB 16 (1975) 19.

¹³⁾ Röhlig, OrNS 29 (1960) 382.

¹⁴⁾ E.g. SVAT 19 i 16 and OECT I Pl. XX 12.

In conclusion we would express our gratitude to the editors for their careful presentation of these interesting texts and stress the importance of the texts. For, in addition to the intrinsic historical and literary value of the individual texts, these texts represent the first sizable archive of texts from the Hellenistic period found *in situ* during a controlled archaeological excavation. Thus they provide us with the means of making a critical assessment of the remainder of the corpus of published Seleucid material most of which came to light as a result of illicit digging.

Tübingen, May 1981

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HETHITOLOGIE

STUDIA MEDITERRANEA PIERO MERIGGI DICATA.
Band I,1-2, Hrsg. von O. Carruba. Pavia, Aurora
Edizione, 1979 (25 cm., 633 S.).

Mit der Festschrift für Professor Dr. P. Meriggi eröffnet O. Carruba die neue Reihe *Studia Mediterranea*. Der zweiteilige Band enthält über vierzig Beiträge aus den Bereichen der Altorientalistik und der Archäologie mit dem Schwerpunkt des alten Kleinasien.

Segenswünsche für den Jubilar überbringt A. Archi mit seinem Beitrag, „Auguri per il Labarna“ (S. 27-57). Archi bietet eine Belegsammlung einschlägiger Segensformeln, die großenteils auf uralten mittel- und nordanatolischen Glaubensvorstellungen beruhen, auch wenn die Texte verschiedenen Epochen zuzuordnen sind (S. 39). Der Beitrag ist als Vorarbeit und Anregung zu einer immer dringender werdenden Untersuchung zum hethitischen Königtum zu betrachten.

Begrüßenswert ist die durch S. Erdem ermöglichte Publikation einiger hieroglyphen-luwischer Bleistreifen aus Kululu bei Kayseri (S. 143-164), die Erdem im Jahre 1967 den Händen der Bauern entrissen und gezeichnet hatte. Auf Wunsch von P. Meriggi übergab er sie als Beitrag für die Festschrift. Eine modernisierte Transkription ist durch die Redaktion erfolgt. Die beigegebenen Photographien hat T. Özgüç in *Kultepe and its Vicinity*, Ankara 1971, erstmals veröffentlicht.

M. Forlanini knüpft mit „Appunti di Geografia Etea“ (S. 165-185) an seinen Aufsatz „L'Anatolia Nordoccidentale nell'Impero Eteo“¹⁾ an. Forlanini geht von den jüngst in KUB XLVIII 12, 48, 81 und 105 publizierten hethitischen Texten aus. Nachzutragen im *Rép. Géogr.*²⁾ sind die Ortsnamen Kalašmitta, Katašera, Taḫišama (wohl identisch mit Taḫiša), Uwalma und Zihaluša (identisch mit Zihluša). Auch diese seine Untersuchung zur hethi-

¹⁾ SMEA 18, 1977, 199-225. An neueren Beiträgen zur hethitischen Geographie sind erschienen: J. Yakar, „Recent Contributions to the Historical Geography of the Hittite Empire“, MDOG 112, 1980, 75-94; J. G. Macqueen, „Nerik and its „Weather-God““, *AnSt* 30, 1980, 179-184.

²⁾ G. F. del Monte und J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte: Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes*, Wiesbaden 1978.

tischen Geographie ist sehr zu begrüßen, zumal sich das *Rép. Géogr.* primär als Bestandsaufnahme des bekannten Belegmaterials und der bisherigen Forschung versteht. Fraglich erscheint mir Forlaninis neue Lokalisierung der kaškäischen Stadt Turmitta nördlich des Tuz Gölü am Halys³⁾, plausibler scheint der alte Vorschlag, die Stadt zwischen Alışar und Sivas zu suchen⁴⁾. Auch würde ich Şamuha nicht bei Sivas (S. 182), sondern den Argumenten von A. Goetze und anderen⁵⁾ folgend, am oberen Euphrat lokalisieren. Die Lage des Berglandes (mit dem hurritischen Namen) KUR.Kuwarri⁶⁾ etwa 100 km östlich von Hattuša (S. 183) erscheint mir im Hinblick auf den hurritischen Text 192/w(+)190/w+193/w (Dupl. 1574/c) 8'-9' ku-wa-ar-[(ri-pa)] am-ma-ri-ik-ki-i[n] kaum haltbar, denn das Gebirge Ammarikki ist mit einiger Sicherheit im Lande Mukiš gelegen⁷⁾. Die Lage von Kuššar ist wahrscheinlich zu weit südlich von Sivas angegeben (S. 172 und 185). Für eine Identifizierung Kuššars käme am ehesten jener gewaltige mit ausschließlich althethitischen Scherben versehene Tell Kuşab oder Kuşable in Betracht, der in dem über 2000 Meter hohen Plateau im Distrikt Ulaş, 4 km vom Dorf Alaca entfernt, gelegen ist. Bemerkenswert sind auch die nahe gelegenen (2 km vom Dorf Boğazdere entfernten) Befestigungsanlagen Kanteris Kalesi aus frühislamischer Zeit, da der dortige Schutt ebenfalls althethitische Scherben enthält, sowie der wiederum in der Nähe befindliche Tell Akkuzulu.

Weiterführend für die Rekonstruktion der hethitischen Geschichte ist der Beitrag von O.R. Gurney, „The Anointing of Tudhaliya“ (S. 213-223). Gurneys Analyse der Urkunde KUB XXXVI 119, zuletzt von O. Carruba diskutiert⁸⁾, führt zu einer nunmehr überzeugenden Königsfolge der mittelhethitischen Epoche: Tudhaliya I., Hattušili II., Tudhaliya II., Arnuwanda I., Tudhaliya III. Die gleiche Abfolge, jedoch ohne nähere Erläuterungen, bietet neuerdings auch A. Kammenhuber⁹⁾. Schwierigkeiten bereitet Gurneys Gleichsetzung des Tudhaliya III. mit Tašmišarri, dessen Mitregentin Tatuhepa, die später noch an der Seite Šuppiluliumas regiert (S. 220f.), ist. Der Prinz Tulpi-Teššub — und damit auch Kantuzili, Pariyawatra und Manninni¹⁰⁾ — sind nach Gurney Söhne des Tudhaliya II.¹¹⁾, und Tulpi-Teššub eventuell sogar identisch mit Arnuwanda I. (S. 220). Hierbei möchte ich zu Bedenken geben, daß in KUB XXVII 43 Tulpi-Teššub als *putkiš*

³⁾ In SMEA 18, 1977, 203 geht Forlanini noch von einer Lage der Stadt am Devrez Çay aus.

⁴⁾ L. L. Orlin, *Assyrian Colonies in Cappadocia*, Paris, 1970, 38, 77.

⁵⁾ Zuletzt I. Wegner, *Gestalt und Kult der Ištar-Šawuška in Kleinasien*. HurrSt III, AOAT 36, 1981, 159f. mit ausführlicher Literatur.

⁶⁾ Zugrunde liegt *kurwari-ni* (entsprechend *zi-bi-ir-ri* < *zibiri-ni* KUB XLVII 19 7'). Das Element *-ari* bildet gelegentlich Nomina loci, z.B. *kuntari* „Göttergemach“, *awari* „Steppe, Feld“, vgl. ferner auch Ortsnamen wie Kumar, Kullar oder Nawar(i).

⁷⁾ KUB XIX 27 Vs. 3'-8', vgl. auch V. Haas, „Zwei Gottheiten aus Ebla in hethitischer Überlieferung“, OA 20, i. Dr.

⁸⁾ O. Carruba, „Beiträge zur mittelhethitischen Geschichte I. Die Tudhaliyas und die Arnuwandas“, SMEA 18, 1977, 137-195, s. 181, 192.

⁹⁾ A. Kammenhuber, „Historische und kulturhistorische Ergebnisse aus der Arbeit am hethitischen Wörterbuch“, VIII. *Türk Tarih Kongresi*, Ankara 1979, 223.

¹⁰⁾ Siehe S. Košak, „Dating of Hittite Texts: A Test“, *AnSt.* 30, 1980, 37.

¹¹⁾ So auch A. Kammenhuber, *Orakelpraxis, Träume und Vorzeichen-schau bei den Hethitern*, THeth 7, 1976, 183 und F. Imparati in: *Florilegium Anatolicum*, Paris 1979, 173.

(im Ergativ) „Sohn, Prinz“ zusammen mit Halpa-LÜ-e (Halpatahe, 8', 15') genannt ist¹²⁾, Halpatahe und Duwa aber in dem Ritual des Tašmišarri KUB XXXII 19+ erscheinen¹³⁾. Dafür jedoch, daß diese Prinzen in die Zeit des Arnuwanda I. gehören, spricht die auf Arnuwanda I. zu datierende Landschenkungsurkunde KBo V 7¹⁴⁾, in der Duwa und Halpa-ziti (luwisch *ziti* „Mann“ entspricht hurritisch *tahe*) als Zeugen fungieren (Rs. 51ff.)¹⁵⁾. Ich möchte deshalb an der von A. Kammenhuber vertretenen Gleichsetzung des Tašmišarri mit Arnuwanda I. festhalten¹⁶⁾, zumal Tašmišarri und Tatuhepa, die Tawananna neben Arnuwanda, in vier hurritischen kathartischen Ritualen gemeinsam als Opfermandanten erscheinen¹⁷⁾.

F. Imparati widmet sich in Ihrer Studie „Il Culto della Dea Ningal presso gli Ittiti“ (S. 293-324) dem Kult der seit der mittelhethitischen Epoche im Pantheon von Hattuša verehrten Göttin Ningal > Nikkal¹⁸⁾. Imparati beschränkt sich vielleicht zu sehr auf das hethitische Textmaterial, so daß die Frage auf welchem Wege dieser Kult über Syrien nach Kleinasien gelangt sein könnte, zu wenig berücksichtigt wird. Daß dabei Mari eine Rolle gespielt haben mag, verdeutlicht das Stadtpantheon dieser Stadt, in dem eine Göttin Ningal seit der Ur III-Zeit vertreten ist¹⁹⁾. Die von Imparati hervorgehobene enge Beziehung der Göttin zum Mond in Hattuša und in Ugarit, ist für die altbabylonische Zeit auch in Sippar, der eigentlichen Kultstadt des Sonnengottes, zu belegen²⁰⁾. Interessanterweise steht denn auch nach Aussage eines hurritischen Textes aus Boğazköy der Mondkult in Hattuša noch in Verbindung mit Sippar (hurritisch *Zibir*²¹⁾: KUB XLVII 40 Vs.?

16' [] še-el-pa ta-kab- [] zi-bi-ir-ni ki-x[

17' [] ^DXXX-uh zi-bi-ir-ni [?] zum-har bu-u-ri-bu-t(a-al.

Da Nikkal (Ningal) stets zusammen mit dem Mondgott Umbu, nie aber mit dem hurritischen Kušuh, erscheint, betrachtet Imparati Umbu als eine Art Appellativum bzw. Epitheton zu Ningal (S. 302). Wäre hier nicht zu fragen, wie sich Umbu und Kušuh unterscheiden? Soviel zumindest scheint sicher, daß Umbu im westhurritischen Raum,

¹²⁾ KUB XXVII 43 4' 'ku-lu'-ša „er hat gesagt“, 7' *h*ju-u-ta-u „ich habe bestimmt“, 10' *te-eb-ša-ri* „Königswort“, *mi-l-pi* ^DU-pa-aš pu-ut-ki-iš „Tulpi-Teššub, der Sohn (Prinz)“.

¹³⁾ Rs. III 34 *iš-ti tu-u-ni-ša na-bi-ša ha-i-ša-an-na* ^{ma}aš-me-šar-re-ēš *u-mi-in-na* / (35) *mi-ni-im-ma ma-a-ra* // *ze-e-ri* ^{ma}du-wa-a-bi *mi-e-ni* ^{ma}hal-pa-LÜ-e-bi //.

¹⁴⁾ O. Carruba, SMEA 18, 1977, 155 d.

¹⁵⁾ A. Kammenhuber, l.c. 223. In ähnlicher Funktion erscheinen Duda, Maḥhuzi und Halwa-LÜ auch in KBo XVI 24+25, nach O. Carruba, SMEA 18, 1977, 155 f-g zwischen Arnuwanda I. und Šuppiluliuma I. zu datieren. Zur Funktion der Prinzen als Zeugen siehe auch den Beitrag von L. Mascheroni in diesem Band.

¹⁶⁾ A. Kammenhuber, *op. cit.* 167 und diess. l.c., 222f. Vgl. auch meine Stellungnahme in OA 17, 1978, 302 mit Anm. 6.

¹⁷⁾ KUB XXVII 24+, KBo XX 127, KUB XLV 19 und KBo XV 74, vgl. V. Haas, l.c., 301ff.

¹⁸⁾ Vgl. auch F. Imparati, „Une reine de Hatti vénère la déesse Ningal“, *Florilegium Anatolicum*, 196ff.

¹⁹⁾ D.O. Edzard, „Pantheon und Kult in Mari“, *XV^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, Paris 1967, 57, 70.

²⁰⁾ Vgl. R. Harris, *Ancient Sippar. A demographic study of an Old Babylonian city* (1894-1595 B.C.), Istanbul 1975, 145, 153.

²¹⁾ E. Laroche, *Glossaire de la Langue Hourrite*, Paris 1980, 305. Zur Bedeutung von Sippar in der hurritischen Tradition vgl. V. Haas, „Substratgottheiten des westhurritischen Pantheons“, RHA 36, 1978, 60 Anm. 6.

z.B. in Alalah²²⁾, nicht aber im osthurritischen Raum, also östlich des Euphrat²³⁾, bekannt gewesen ist. Dann aber ist Umbu kaum ein hurritisches Wort, sondern ein alter nordsyrischer Name für den Mond²⁴⁾, der der Göttin Ningal in Syrien und in Kleinasien zugeordnet worden ist²⁵⁾.

Hervorzuheben ist auch der Beitrag von L. Mascheroni, „Un'interpretazione dell'inventario KBo XVI 83+26 e i processi per malversazione alla Corte di Hattuša“ (S. 353-371). Mascheroni analysiert den Text als aus zwei verschiedenen Formularen bestehend. Vs. II befaßt sich mit der Wiederverteilung von Kultgegenständen seitens der Zentralverwaltung. Rs. III registriert Votivgaben für die Göttin Ištar. Der Vermerk *I-DI* „hat geschrieben“ weist auf eine Kontrollpraxis der hethitischen Kanzlei hin, wie sie ähnlich auch in Dokumenten der Ur III Dynastie zu beobachten ist. Sie stellt einen Zusammenhang mit Quitungen her, die in den hethitischen Gerichtsprotokollen erwähnt werden und gelangt so zu einer Datierung der Urkunde auf Hattušili III. und Tudhaliya als Kronprinz.

G. Neumann, „Zum Namen Kilikien“ (S. 430-437), versucht plausibel die Namen heth. *Hilikka*, hierogl. *Hirika*, nb. Kirku mit dem seit langem mit Kilikien zu verbindenden assyrischen Namen *Hilakku* gleichzusetzen. Zu dem postulierten Lautwechsel *l* und *r* sei auch auf die Varianten Karašmitta/Kalašmitta²⁶⁾ hingewiesen²⁷⁾.

Zu der von Neumann unentschiedenen Frage, ob die auf *-kk-* endigenden Ortsnamen als hethitisch-luwisch oder als vorhethitisch anzusehen seien, möchte ich auf den in den Texten aus Ebla belegten Bergnamen Amarikku (mit Varianten)²⁸⁾ verweisen. Der Name des nach hethitischen Texten im Lande Mukiš gelegenen Berges (s.o.) ist sicherlich nicht semitischer Herkunft.

Zu dem Beitrag von H. Otten, „Zu einigen mittelhethitischen *-šk-*Formen“ (S. 439-443), sei auf unsere Bearbeitung der diskutierten Texte KUB XXIV 13 und KBo XXIII 23 hingewiesen²⁹⁾.

A.M. Rizzi Mellini bietet in ihrem Beitrag, „Un'Istruzione' Etea di Interesse Storico: KBo XVI 24+25“

²²⁾ Alalah 454 IV 10 (= StBoT 5, 1968, 193): ^Dum-bu-uš-wa GÍR URUDU *ú-ēš-ta* „Umbu ist mit einem Kupferdolch versehen“. Möglicherweise war Umbu auch im Pantheon von Halap vertreten: In dem Vereidigungsritual militärischer Würdenträger KUB XLIII 38, bearbeitet von N. Oettinger, *Die militärischen Eide der Hethiter*, StBoT 22, 1976, 18ff., sind Umbu (Umpa) und Šarruma aufgerufen, die Eidbrüchigen zu vernichten. Dieses Ritual aber möchte ich in historischen Zusammenhang mit der Einsetzung des Telipinu zum Vizekönig in Halap durch Šuppiluliuma I. sehen.

²³⁾ V. Haas, l.c.

²⁴⁾ Der gelegentlich noch vertretenen Meinung Umbu könnte mit *akk. inbu(m)*, *enbu*, *imbu* „Frucht, Geschlechtskraft“ zu verbinden sein, stehen meines Erachtens hurritische Schreibungen wie *ú-um-wu_{pu}* KBo XXIII 67 Rs. III 16, ^Dú-um-wu_u 2333/c+2369/c Rs. 9, ^Du-ú-um-bi 647/z r. Kol. 10' usw. entgegen. Als Vergleich entfällt ebenfalls „prototigridisch“ ^DAmba „Sonnengott“, da Amba erstmals in Ešnuna belegt ist.

²⁵⁾ Vgl. die hurritische Genitivverbindung ^Dum-bu ^Dni-kal-[u]-ú-e „Umbu der Nikkal“, KBo XX 129+ Vs. II 8'.

²⁶⁾ G.F. del Monte und J. Tischler, *op. cit.*, 164.

²⁷⁾ Zu weiteren Beispielen des Wechsels *l* und *r* in Ortsnamen siehe E. von Schuler, *Die Kašäer*, Berlin 1965, 101.

²⁸⁾ Siehe Anm. 7.

²⁹⁾ V. Haas-H.J. Thiel, *Die Beschwörungsrituale der Allaiturah(h)i und verwandte Texte*. HurrSt II, AOAT 31, 1978, KUB XXIV 13 ist Text 2 und KBo XXIII 23 ist Text 4,1; 4,1 § 2':4' *ija-al-lu-hu-ul-li-wi*, ist nach Otten zu verbessern.

(S. 509-553), eine Bearbeitung dieses schwierigen mittelhethitischen Textes, dem sich zuletzt O. Carruba gewidmet hatte³⁰⁾. So begrüßenswert die gebotene Transkription und Übersetzung auch ist, so läßt sich doch vielfach ein besseres Textverständnis erzielen, z.B. Vs. I 34-37: [Als] ihr im vorigen Jahr nach Kilimun[a] gingt, da [...] *te[il]tet* ihr den einfachen Soldaten mit: „Eure Soldatenbrote esset [schleu]nigst auf, das (militärische) Werk aber führt [nic]ht aus. [Schnellst]ens entläßt man sie [...]“ Vs. I 41-45: [und] die Angelegenheit der Truppenverpflegung soll zu solchem Zeitpunkt vertraglich geregelt sein! [Wenn] man Soldaten für die Schlacht aufbietet, so soll er vom Hauptmann³²⁾ sein Soldatenbrot (und) sein Mehl erwarten. Wer aber sein Soldatenbrot [hat] und nicht beginnt zu handeln — [den Vertr]ag des Kämpfens kennt ihr wohl, ...³³⁾ Vs. I 55-58: [Fer]ner [legte ich] euch Hattuša zu euren Häupten. Ich aber werde leiten! Und jedem [werde ich] die Feindesangelegenheit [mitteilen]. [Dann] soll [aber] jedem Eile sein. Die Majestät [...] wird jeden am Leben erhalten. Vs. I 62-64: [Wile] Hat[tuša] eure Häupter (schützt), so sollt [ihr], die Aristokratie von Hattuša, das Haupt der Majestät [schützen]. Wünscht das Leben der Majestät!³⁴⁾

Der Aufsatz von M. Salvini, „Una „Bilingue“ Assiro-Urartea“ (S. 575-593), bereichert das urartäische Lexikon um die folgenden Wortbedeutungen: *susi* entspricht assyrisch *isitu* „Turm“; damit ist der urartäische Tempeltypus nunmehr als Turmtempel erwiesen. Urartäisch *badusi-e* entspricht assyrisch *adi limitišu* „bis zu seinen Grenzen“, d.h. „bis zur Vollkommenheit“. Zu den Wortbedeutungen, bzw. zu einer Quasibilingue gelangte Salvini dadurch, daß er in den ersten drei assyrischen Zeilen der von ihm bearbeiteten Bauinschrift eine (assyrische) Übersetzung eines bekannten urartäischen Formulars erkannte. Bei den letzten drei Zeilen dieser Inschrift handelt es sich um eine urartäische Segensformel für den regierenden König Menua und dessen Vater Išpuini, der also noch als Mitregent fungiert hat.

Der vorliegende Band enthält auch über die besprochenen Beiträge hinaus manch wichtige Ergebnisse, auf die gebührend einzugehen, den Rahmen einer Rezension überschritte.

Berlin, Mai 1981

VOLKERT HAAS

* * *

³⁰⁾ SMEA 18, 1977, 176, 180, 182ff., 155 f-g.

³¹⁾ Vs. I 36 *[hu-u-da]-a-ak' e-ez-za-te-en* KIN-a[n-ma-wa le]-e ... 37 *[ar-ha' hu-u-da]-a-ak' ...*

³²⁾ Wörtl. „Tausendschaftsaufseher“, auch in Alalah belegt: *Al.T.* 222,25; 172, 38.

³³⁾ Vs. I 42 ... *nu-za TA ... 44 ... Ū-UL* [KIN]-ia-an-na 45 *[iš-hi-u]-ul ...*

³⁴⁾ Vs. I 62 ... ^{URU}ha-at-[tu-ša-aš *nu-wa-ra-a]*n 63 *[šū-me-ēš] pa-an-ku-uš* ^{URU}ha-at-tu-ša-aš SAG.DU ^DUTU^{ŠI} *[pa-ha-aš-du-ma-a]*t 64 *[^DUTU^{ŠI}]-aš ...*

Mirjo SALVINI, *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* (KUB) Heft XLVII: *Texte des hurrischen Kreises*. Berlin, Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Zentralinstitut für Geschichte und Archäologie, Akademie Verlag, 1977 (4to, XII S., 50 Tafeln). Price: M 48.—. Bestellnummer 752 960 6 (2046/13), LSV 0876.

This volume of texts from ancient Hattuša, containing sections in the Hurrian language, represents a welcome continuation of the publications of C.-G. von Brandenstein (KUB 27), H. Ehelolf (KUB 32) and Salvini himself (KUB 45).

Although the reviewer has not had the opportunity to check Salvini's copies against the originals in Berlin, one can see from an inspection of the copies themselves that he is a careful and conscientious copyist and that he has a neat and precise handwriting. According to the author's Vorwort he has completed with this volume the publication in copy of the Boğazköy texts composed in the Hurrian language presently in the Berlin collection.

The author subdivides the material as (1) Mythisch-epische Texte, (2) Entsöhnungsrituale, (3) Hethitisch-hurrische Festräume, (4) Rituale mit Opfertermini, (5) Mantische Texte, and (6) Texte unsicherer Zuordnung.

The following additions or corrections should be made to the index of divine names: add ⁴NIN.É.GAL 72 ii 11, ⁴Pišanuḫi 73 iii 1, ⁴Takidu 59 with joins, 72 iv? 15, Lulahi 73 iii 2, and add to Liluri the reference 73 iii 7, and to ⁴U manuḫi 73 iii 7. Šimegi is written ⁴UTU-gi in 72 i 8.

Texts copied in this volume whose script seems to be pre-NS, i.e., probably "Middle Script", are 19, 21, 22, 25, 26, 36, 45, and 47. Hurrian religious influence may be traced back in Hatti at least to the Middle Kingdom, when Hittite kings and queens bore Hurrian personal names.

There follow comments on individual texts in this volume.

31 — The plural of the Hittite word *watar*, spelled ú-i-da-a-ar, and preceded by a numeral can be found in many places in the Hurrian-influenced religious texts. Cf. the following examples: 1-NU-TUM ú-i-da-a-ar-ma KBo 23.27 ii 12, 18, iii 21, 2 TA-PAL ú-i-da-a-ar-ma KBo 23.27 iii 25, 3 TA-PAL ú-i-da-a-ar-ma iii 15, 7 TA-PAL ú-i-da-a-ar-ma iii 1, 5, 7 ú-i-da-a-ar KUB 7.52 obv. 10, KUB 27.23+ ii 9, KBo 20.131 iii 23, IŠTU 7 TUL.HIA šehilliya ú-e-da-a-ar KBo 9.115+ obv. 3, 14 TA-PAL šehilliya ú-i-da-a-ar KBo 24.45 obv. 32.

35 — The obv. is similar to the evocatio type, cf. KUB 15.34 i 1-17.

36 — NINDA.IB in 14, 15, 16 seems to be peculiar to this text. No such Sumerian word is known in the existing glossaries. Could this simply be this scribe's way of writing NINDA.SIG?

39 — [šu-ul-pa-uš SİR.HIA S[IR-RU] "They sing sacred songs"; This is the first attestation of the adj. *šuppi*-modifying "song". Other qualifications for "song(s)" are: SİR li-la-u-wa-aš KUB 30.42 i 1, ŠA KILAM SİR.HIA; KUB 30.68 obv. 4, SİR.GAL; KUB 8.68 iii 9, SİR.HIA zinzapuššiy[aš] ŠA ⁴IŠTAR. URU Ninuwa; KUB 8.69 iii 1-2, SİR URU Ti[ššaruliya]; KBo 14.117 iv 7, šarraššiyaš [(SİR)]; KBo 8.88 obv. 8 with dupl. 8.86 obv. 5-6, tiyarraš SİR; KUB 45.49 iv 12, ka[ruliyaš] DINGIR.MEŠ-aš ḫalziyawaš SİR; KBo 23.7 i 12-13, [ŠA SAL.MEŠK]AR.KID SİR.HIA; KBo

23.97 rev. 19, [ŠA A.AB.BA SİR; KUB 44.7 i 11, ŠA GU.MAḫ.HIA SİR; KUB 20.10 iv 10, [ŠA?] DINGIR-LIM GİR.MEŠ-aš arrumaš SİR-in; KUB 45.5 ii 22, [...] ziuš SİR.HIA-uš; KUB 36.95 ii 1, ŠA ⁴U SİR; KBo 23.15 iii 18, DINGIR.MEŠ-ašša SİR.HIA-uš; Bo 2650 i 13 (StBoT 19:8f.). The verb ḫar-nu-z[i] in obv. 12 is new.

42 — What appears to be [... a?-p]é-el a-pé-el-la QATAM-MA in iv 10 is unique.

43 — One can restore much of KUB 45.3(+47.43 obv. i 32-39 from KBo 23.12+ iv 10-15, which is not a duplicate, but quite similar in phraseology. Compare ZAG-an pár-ta-a-u-wa-ar a[r-ḫa dāi nat INA KIN]E wa-at-ku-nu-uz-z[i] of KUB 45.3(+47.43 i 34-35 with ku-un[-na-an] / [UZU]pát-tar dāi na-at za-nu-zi KBo 23.12+ iv 12-13. If correctly restored and compared, the two passages indicate that the idiom "make something to leap on the stove" denotes a form of cooking. Another similar passage is KBo 19.136 i 7-12.

45 — This text shows an interesting scribal hand. The scribe often writes his A as "2", i.e., with two unbroken verticals, even when the A is a component of a more complex sign (YA iii 8, DUG iii 5, but differently in iii 17). Simple A in iii 6, 9, 11, 13 drawn as "2". In iii 9 it seems strange to write 1/2 NINDA.SIG.HIA, although I do not question the copy.

46 — There is a similarity between this fragment and KBo 7.60. Both texts mention the SAL.MEŠ^{entanniyaš}. Both have the *ḫumantiya aku*-formula.

47 — Read in right col. 6: gul-za[-a-i-ma ...] (cf. KUB 45.6:5)?

59 — For KUB 45.28+47.59+39.97 cf. now Otten and Rüster, ZA 68 (1978) 154f. The title *amumekkuni*- in this text is not (contra HW² 69) with Hurrian but with Hitt. inflection, just as in KBo 5.6 ii 117 (DŠ). It here describes ⁴Dakituš.

62 — Similar to KUB 25.44 ii 29-32 and KUB 27.34 i 16-18. The combination *šarā ḫāniš[k-...]* in line 10 does not occur elsewhere in texts published to date.

69-70 — Not just festival for IŠTAR of Hattina, but more specifically CTH 615, days 22-25 of ANTAḫŠUM festival for this deity.

71 — I NINDA^{pa-an-ku} (line 7). Cf. AlHeth 175 and KUB 42.85:10, VBoT 128 ii 4, Bo 2823 iii 14 with dupl. IBoT 3.148 iv 46-47, KBo 19.142 iii 5.

72 — Read iv 19: attaš DINGIR.MEŠ-aš DINGIR.MEŠ SAL.MEŠ-ia and cf. KBo 21.34 iii 63.

73 — Col. ii has a dupl. in KUB 42.90 rev. 3-13; col. iii has dupl. KUB 20.23 iv 5-12.

83 — Is col. iii really Hurrian? Could it not be Hattic? The [LU.MEŠ]zi-pu-ri-ia-t[a-al-...] ii 4 normally occur in festivals with a Hattic background.

89 — Joins directly KUB 45.79. Cf. reviewer's forthcoming edition.

90 — Identified by Otten (ZA 65:300) as dupl. of IBoT 3.148, on which cf. Haas, AOATS 3:220f.

Oriental institute of the
Univ. of Chicago, March 1981

HARRY A. HOFFNER, Jr.

* *

Howard BERMAN und Horst KLENGEL, *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, Heft XLVIII. *Texte des hattischen Kreises und verschiedenen Inhalts*. Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1977 (34 cm., XIII + 50 S.). Price: 48 M.

The first half of this volume of copies of cuneiform tablets from Boğazköy presently in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in East Berlin, comprising text numbers 1-70, represents previously unpublished fragments which contain sections in the Hattic language. These copies were made by Howard Berman, who has not previously published copies of cuneiform texts.

In the second half of the volume (texts 71-126) the copies are the work of Horst Klengel. This half of the volume contains miscellaneous fragments in the Hittite language which do not fall within the category of rituals or festival descriptions. These latter categories are being published in a series of volumes represented hitherto by KUB 41, 44 and 46, and to be continued.

In only one instance does it appear that a ritual text has been included in numbers 71-126. Text 86 contains parts of two rituals having to do with troops. The copy was originally planned for this volume, because it appeared to be a narrative about military activities in North Syria.

There follow detailed comments on some of the texts included in KUB 48. I have not seen other reviews of KUB 48, so I cannot determine if identifications made by me here have already been noted by others.

7 — Now transliterated in Singer, *The KILAM Festival* (Diss. Tel Aviv) 405. The verb *zappier* (iii 3, 8, 12) describes an activity of the men of Labarna (iii 13-14): "They brought (*uter*) and they ... -ed (*zappier*)" (iii 3f., 7f.). It is difficult to see how this can be the same verb as *zappi(ya)*- "to drip, exude, run, leak" (HW 259). But it is possible that a usage close to that of this passage is found in KUB 39.52 iii 27-29: EN É-TI-kā[n ...] / *pa-ra-a pa-iz-z[i] ...* / *za-ap-pi-ia-zi* "The lord of the house [...] / goes forth, [...] *zappi*'s". The *apelpat* of iii 9 implies *Labarnaš* (iii 13).

8 — The Akkadian KI-NU-NE (gen.) of obv. 1 is a peculiar spelling with NE instead of expected NI. Akk. *kinūnu* "stove, brazier" has the logogram KINE (i.e., GUNNI), which appears in rev. 7. By Hittitologists it is usually translated "hearth". At Boghazköy the lexical evidence is: [KINE] = [KI-NU]U-NU = *ḫa-aš-ša-aš* KBo 26.19:8'. *na-ta-an* (rev. 6) without immediately preceding context could be the noun *nata/i*- "reed, arrow" or *na-at-an* with the Old Hittite sentence particle *-an*. Cf. [...] *na-ta-an an-da* / [...] KBo 13.99 rev. 2-3, Otten OLZ 1955:392 and Friedrich HW Erg. 1, 14.

9 — Cf. now Singer, *KILAM Festival* 400, where parallel or dupl. KBo 25.180 (1166/u) is edited as an outline tablet for the KILAM festival. Note that *iḫi-an-zi* and j2 DUG.GE[ŠTIN ...] there should be moved further to the right, as they should occupy the ends of their lines. From KUB 48.9 ii it is clear that *kalti*- is not always an "Abort(?)" (HW 96). Cf. discussion in Singer 144. Omitted by Singer: [I G]AL ZABAR | *kal-ti* ZABAR | GUNNI ZABAR KBo 22.142:5. This vessel could be made from gold, silver, bronze or wood. The urinal(?) *DUGkalti* in IBoT 1.36 i 36 may have been made of earthenware. What appears from the copy to be *ki-ia-pát* (iii 5) is from the dupls. *ki-i A-N[A ...]*.

What on the copy resembles AMAR-an[(iii 6) is from dupl. KUB 10.13 iii 12-13 to be read *pi!-an[-zi ...]*.

10 — For *kalwišanitt[a]*, the LÜ.⁴U, and spells (*ḫukkešk [izzi]*) in another context cf. HT 17:6-17. KUB 48.10 ii 7-8 should be collated to see if in line 8 a reading [*ḫu-uk-ki iḫ-ki-iz-zi*] is possible.

13 — obv. 11' was cited as Bo 3138 obv. 10' by Forrer, ZDMG NF 1:191 and Ehelolf, KIF (1930) 399 in discussion of *duddumili*. Restore obv. 15' [... *inniriḫt la-ap-li-pi-it ... šu-wa-ya*, cf. KUB 9.34 iii 40f., 46f., HT 55:6'-8' (all CTH 760). The similarity of rev. 9-14 to IBoT 1.30:1-8 has been noted here. But note too that rev. 9-14 is also similar to HT 67 rev. and the DUMU.É.GAL (KUB 48.13 obv. 1) and GİS.GUB (48.13 obv. 6) remind of HT 67 obv.

15 — To Otten's (StBoT 8:95) text citations for *ḫantez-zumna*- besides KUB 48.15 obv. 4, can be added: *ḫa-an-di-zum-ni* [i? ...] IBoT 2.121 rev. 17, *ḫa-an-di-zum-ni* KBo 22.172:5', *ḫa-an-te-az-zum-ni* [...] KBo 22.213 iv 4'.

19 — With regard to nu SAL ŠU.GI 1 NINDA.KUR. RA *iš-ḫ[a-ni] kat-ta-an e-ep-zi* (ii 7-8) see KUB 43.56 iii 12-13 (CTH 330), KUB 10.11 vi 5-6 (CTH 660.3), KBo 24.18 i 5 (CTH 692).

21 — Bo 7949 was quoted as an unpublished join piece on the authority of Schuster (*Die hatt.-heth. Bilinguen* 20-21), who quotes only the parts of Bo 7949 which join KUB 48.21:3'-5'. Berman told me that the fragment in question could not be found in Berlin, so that it could not be copied. According to Schuster, the join to line 6 gave "eighth song of ascending Mt. Taḫa", identifying lines 3-5. Therefore line 2 must have had "seventh song of ...".

28 — According to Lebrun, *Hymnes* 132, this piece joins KUB 31.124 (CTH 375), but on page 141 of his edition (IV 3-9), where it belongs, he does not use it.

29 — obv. 3' [*nam*]-ma ta-ma-i-[iḫ] *ḫikzi* ^{LU}ALAN.ZU_x *memai*, and therefore to CTH 591 (EZEN ITU)? EGIR-TIM *ar-ku-an-zi* rev. 3, 5, (7), 9, 11 is unusual. The usual wording of the response is *apēmašši kattan arkuanzi* KBo 23.103 i 11, 14, KBo 14.117 i 4-5, KUB 28.107 i passim, and with added *QATAMMA-pat* KBo 20.26 25.34 obv. 14f., 16f. EGIR-TIM (*ina w*)*arkātim* "afterwards, later" cf. CAD A/2 282.

47 — What is meant by the 9 SA[G.DU] of the song of the sungod in line 5? Akkad. *rēšu* can be used of the beginning of a song (AHw 975b sub D, 4). Or are these "nine persons" (SAG.DU) who chant?

56 — Not clearly Hattic. Note *ū nī.TE* [...] [right col. 3'.

70 — Since the Hittite in rev. 8' ff. seems to be identical to KBo 24.63 + 23.43 iii 8 ff. (called to my attention by Berman), and the latter text contains Hurrian sections alternating with Hittite ones, there is no reason to consider the material in rev. 1-7 an "unknown language". Like the material on the obv., these lines probably contain Hurrian. Indeed, it may be that KUB 48.70 is a duplicate of KBo 24.63 + 23.43. On that text and its other duplicates cf. Otten, ZA 68:276.

80 — Probably to be dated, as by Güterbock ZA 43:326f. to Hatt. III, although Carruba SMEA 14:83, 88 preferred Hatt. II (Middle Hitt.). In some points Güterbock's copy in ZA 43:322 differs from Klengel's, but no explanation was given in the Inhaltsübersicht. Güterbock indicated the visibility of certain traces in obv. 3 and rev. 1,

which do not appear on 48.80. In rev. 1 the Güterbock copy showed a vertical unbroken wedge before UGU, which would eliminate KU]R.UGU. rev. 8 *ka-n[* might indicate a form of the verb *kaniš-*, which Hatt. III liked to use in accounts of his exploits — cf. Hatt. I 29, 31, 67, 70, etc.

81 — The occurrences of *ša-aš* and *ša-an* give this fragment a linguistically archaic touch, but the ductus is late.

82 — The attribution to Deeds of Šupp. is plausible. Line one probably read: [a]r-*ha u-i-i[*a-at ...], cf. KBo 5.6 (DŠ frag. 28A). i 44-45. KBo 5.6 i 40-50 also contains mention of the cities of Ištaḫara and Kalimuna, but it doesn't seem possible to make KUB 48.82 a dupl. of this. PA-NI ZAG (line 7) is an unusual combination.

83 — In line 5 restore: [... ^mAranḫap]i-li-zi-iš EN.KUR-T[...], in line 6 read: [... ^sA]A? É GAL.^LNA.GADA GÜB[-laš ...], cf. KUB 26.43 rev. 31.

86 — As I communicated to Klengel, and as Otten (ZA 67:59f.) independently noted, col. IV is dupl. of KUB 4.1 iii 8-14. But I now observe that 84 i 3-13 and 86 i 11-21 are also duplicates of each other. 86 is therefore a Sammeltafel with several rituals concerning troops. Reconstruction of the wording of the ritual in col. 1 through use of the duplicates shows *mahḫan ... QATAMMA* analogic spells with imperatives in the *QATAMMA* clauses.

88 — For obv. 4-5 cf. CHD *lalukkima-* sub 1.

89 — Some grammatical forms such as *ša-aš* (obv. 7) and some sign forms (E) are older, but total paleographic and orthographic picture is of a New Script copy of OH prototype.

90 — Joins KUB 19.55 (CTH 182), cf. this reviewer's RAI 1981 (Vienna) paper.

92 — The Tudḫaliya in 6' is probably Tudḫaliya IV. Late orthography exemplified in *MA-MIT* (8). Read: [... *nan kē* DINGIR.MEŠ] *MA-MIT QADU ... [ḫarninkandu]*.

93 — Of the options given by Klengel, AoF II 62 n. 76, [ŠA ^{d...} URUP]i-*ša-nu-ḫi iwar ašišanumi* (6') is more likely with the verb *ašišanu-*. Cf. line 12 with GIM-an *ašanza*.

96 — Probably [aped]ani MU[KAM-ti ...] (2'), *a-ar-aš-k[*i?-it ...] (6').

104 — *BEL MADGALTI* (CTH 261), joins KUB 31.86 (von Schuler's D2), col. II at top. KUB 31.86 ii 2' KUB 48.104:11 reads: [*nam-ma-aš* ^{GIS}*hé-ia-wa-a[*]-li-it ^{GIS}*ma-ri-ia-wa-an-ni-it* (H.H. join confirmed by Klengel). The lines KUB 48.104:1-10 give welcome upward extension into the gap before KUB 31.86 ii 1 not recoverable from duplicates. Further treatment pending by reviewer.

119 — *A-NA DINGIR-LIM EZEN dam-me-li-in ku-in-ki te-eḫ-ḫi* "I will establish some new (lit., unused, *dammeli-*) festival for the god" (obv. ? 4).

123 — Joins to KUB 15.28 IBoT 3.125 given by Otten and Rüster, ZA 68:156.

All Hittitologists express their gratitude to Dr. Berman and Prof. Klengel for their efforts which have provided us with many new and exciting fragments of Hattic and Hittite texts.

Chicago, February 1981

HARRY A. HOFFNER, Jr.

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Erich NEU, *Althethitische Ritualtexte in Umschrift*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1980 (24 cm, xxiii + 251 pp., plates I-II) = Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten. Heft 25. ISBN 3 447 02042 3. Price: 80 DM.

Erich Neu is one of the leading specialists in Old Hittite, having edited the Old Hittite thunderstorm ritual (StBoT 12) and the Anitta text (StBoT 18). In the work under review he has transliterated most of the Hittite rituals and festivals which are in old handwriting, in part to make them accessible to those who do not read cuneiform¹⁾. The goal of StBoT 25 is thus similar to that of Otten's *Luvische Texte in Umschrift* (Berlin 1953) and Laroche's *Textes mythologiques hittites en transcription* (Paris 1965, 1968). Neu has produced a useful work which will be of value to those who are interested in Old Hittite. His familiarity with these texts has enabled him to read broken passages and to find duplicates and parallels which would otherwise have been missed.

Neu arranges his transliterations in an unusual way which is similar to that used by Haase in *Die Fragmente der hethitischen Gesetze* (Wiesbaden, 1968). In the standard method of transliteration, when there are duplicates one text is chosen as the main text. Restorations from the other texts are given in parentheses and variants are given in footnotes. Neu adopts a different procedure. When there are duplicates he transliterates each text in succession, usually without making restorations or citing variants. To make clear the difference between the standard format and Neu's arrangement, I give here a brief passage from one of the texts in StBoT 25 as it would appear in the standard format followed by the same passage as it actually appears in StBoT 25:

- A. KBo 25.31 rev. iii 1'-4'
B. Bo 2599 obv. ii 11'-18'
C. Bo 7521 1'-4'
D. KBo 20.9 6'-9'
E. KBo 25.49 r. col. 14'-18'
KBo 25.31 rev. iii 1'-4':

- 1' [(DUMU.NITA *ta-hé-ya-la-aš ha-lu-kán t)ar-na-an-z[i* t[(a-aš-t)]a *nam[(-ma GÜB-li-ya)]*
2' [(I-ŠU *wa-ha-an-zi* DUMU.NITA *ta-hi-ya-la-aš* ^DI-na-*ra-aš* *ha-lu-kán tar-na-an-z[i* ³(NIN.DINGIR-aš)]
3' [(LÜ ^{GIS}PA-aš *pi-ra)-an* (*hu-u-wa-i ha-aš-š*)]*a-an-kán* I-ŠU *hu-ya-an-zi*⁴ *ma-a[(-na-aš-t)]a*⁵ (*ha-an-te-ez-zi-aš-še-me-iš*)]
4' [(LUGAL-i *ha-an-da-a-it-ta*⁶ *p)é-e-di-iš-mi-pát*⁷ ZAG-ni I-ŠU *wa-ha[(-an-zi*⁸ DUMU.NITA)]
(paragraph continues)

¹⁾ Most of these texts are festivals rather than rituals. I have found only a few Hittite religious texts in old handwriting which are not transliterated in StBoT 25, all of them small: KBo 16.76, KBo 17.49, KBo 20.50, KBo 25.21, and KUB 32.18. The last of these is cited by Neu on p. 224 as a duplicate of Nr. 138 (KBo 17.25) but is not given in transliteration.

²⁾ B 13' omits.

³⁾ B 14': *tar-na-i*

⁴⁾ B 15': *hu-u-a[n-zi]* followed by a paragraph divider. C also has a paragraph divider here.

⁵⁾ Restored following C 1'. B 16': *ma-a-an*.

⁶⁾ B 17': *ha-an-ta-it-ta*. C 3' inserts *ta*.

⁷⁾ D 9': *pé-te[-*.

⁸⁾ E 17' has a paragraph divider here.

KBo 25.31 rev. iii (p. 80):

- x+1 -z]i t[a-aš-t]a *nam[-ma*
2' ^DI-na-*ra-aš ha-lu-kán tar-na-an-z[i*
3' *ha-a-aš-š)a-an-kán* I-ŠU *hu-ya-an-zi ma-a[(-na-aš-ta*
4' *p)é-e-di-iš-mi-pát* ZAG-ni I-ŠU *wa-ha[(-an-zi*
DUMU.NTA]

Bo 2599 obv. ii 11' (p. 86):

- 11' DUMU.NITA *ta-hé-ya-la-aš ha-lu-kán t[ar-na-i]*⁹

Bo 2599 obv. ii 12'-18' (p. 84):

- 12' *ta-aš-ta nam-ma* GÜB-li-ya I-ŠU [
13' *wa-ha-an-zi* DUMU.NITA *ta-hi-ya-la-aš ha[lu-kán]*
14' *tar-na-i* NIN.DINGIR-aš LÜ ^{GIS}PA-aš *pé-ra[-an*
15' *hu-u-wa-i ha-aš-ša-an-kán* I-ŠU *hu-u-a[n-*

- 16' *ma-a-an ha-an-te-ez-zi-aš-še-me-iš* LUGAL[-i]
17' *ha-an-ta-it-ta pé-e-di-iš-mi-pát* [
18' [*wa-ha-an-zi* DUMU.NITA *ta-hé-ya-la-aš* ^DI-na-*ra-aš*]

Bo 7521 1'-4' (p. 84):

- x+1 *ma-a-na-aš-t[a*
2' LUGAL-i *ha-an-d[t[a-*
3' *ta pé-e-di-iš-mi-*
4' I-ŠU *wa-ha-an-z[i*

KBo 20.9 6'-9' (p. 86):

- 6' *tar-na-an-z[i* *ta-aš-ta nam-ma* G[ÜB-li-ya I-ŠU
7' ^DI-na-*ra-aš* *ha-lu-kán tar-na-an-z[i*
8' *ha-a-aš-š)a-an-kán* I-ŠU *hu-ya[(-an-zi*
9' *ha[(-an-da-a-it-ta pé-te[-*

KBo 25.49 is not transliterated in StBoT 25.

Neu explains that he transliterated the texts as he did "in order to provide the transliterations with the highest degree of objectivity" ("die Umschriften mit einem Höchstmaß an Objektivität auszustatten", p. xiii). It is not entirely clear to me what he means by this. The virtue of his arrangement is that one can easily see what is actually in each copy. In the standard transliteration this is possible only for the text chosen as the main copy. The drawback of his arrangement is that the burden of filling in the restorations and finding the variants falls on the reader. I believe that this should be the job of the editor and consequently I find Neu's arrangement unsatisfactory. It is especially unfortunate in a work intended for non-Hittitologists. Perhaps a better procedure would have been to give first the best preserved copy in transliteration with variants and restorations and then to give the other copies only in transliteration.

Neu has divided the handwriting of these texts into three groups: type I, type II, and type I/II. Type I and type II correspond to what have been called "typical old handwriting" and "old handwriting" respectively. Type I/II handwriting shows characteristics of both type I and type II and so cannot be securely assigned to either. Neu and others have claimed that type I handwriting is older than type II. The orthographic evidence from these texts, however, does not support this. Consider the following:

⁹⁾ Restored following Bo 2599 obv. ii 19'.

When the Hittites learned to write in cuneiform their language must have distinguished *e* and *i*. In most Old Hittite texts the choice of *e* or *i* is consistent, unlike in later Hittite where they are often used interchangeably. There is a high degree of correlation between Old Hittite *e* and *i* and Proto-Indo-European **e* and **i*. Cf. Hittite *i-it* 'go!', Greek *ĩthi* 'go!' but Hittite *e-et-mi* 'I eat', Greek *ẽdomei* 'I will eat'. There is a similar degree of correlation between Old Hittite *e* and *i* and Luwian *a* and *i*¹⁰⁾.

Some time after the Hittites learned to write, *e* and *i* merged. There are several texts in type I old handwriting ("typical old script") which show the beginning of this process. Note the following examples from StBoT 25 in which *e* and *i* are used interchangeably:

Nr. 3 (KBo 17.1+): Cf. *pé-e-tu-mi-ni* in obv. i 27' and *pé-e-tu-me-ni* in obv. i 32'. Cf. also *te-eš-šu-um-m[*e-i]n in obv. i 29' and *te-eš-š[u-u]m-mi-in* in obv. ii 13'.

Nr. 6 (KBo 17.6): Cf. *te-eš-šum-me-uš-ša* in obv. ii 6', *te-eš-šum-mi-uš!* in obv. ii 19', and *te-eš-šum-mi-uš!* in rev. iii 15'.

Nr. 13 (KBo 20.16+): Cf. *šu-up-pa-aš-mi-it* in rev! iv 18' (3') and *šu-up-pa-aš!-me-et* in rev! iv 20' (5'), with *me-et* written over an erasure.

Nr. 23 (KBo 25.23): Cf. *te-e-pu-uš* in rev. 6' and *t[i-e-pu* in rev. 7'.

Examples from other texts in typical old handwriting (according to Starke, StBoT 23, 10):

KBo 6.2+: Cf. *ha-an-ne-iš-ni* in obv. ii 13' and *ha-an-ne-eš-na-aš* in obv. ii 14'.

KUB 29.30+: Cf. *wa-ar-aš-še* in rev. iii 4' and *wa-ar-ši* in rev. iii 8'.

In all of the texts just cited *e* and *i* interchange only rarely. They are still consistently distinguished most of the time. Therefore it appears that when these texts were copied down *e* and *i* were just starting to merge. Perhaps their ranges of pronunciation overlapped.

All of the texts I have just cited are in type I or "typical old" script according to Neu or Starke. I have not found any examples of the interchange between *e* and *i* in the type I/II or type II old script texts in StBoT 25. This certainly does not support the conclusion that type I is older than type II. Since there is no reason to assume that Hittite handwriting was uniform at any period, I suggest that type I, type I/II, and type II script were all in use concurrently during the Old Hittite period and that type I was still in use when *e* and *i* began to merge. It would be interesting to know if a larger corpus of texts in type I/II and type II script would reveal any interchange between *e* and *i*.

A number of unpublished duplicates and parallels to the texts in StBoT 25 are cited but are not transliterated. This is regrettable, since they are not available for the reader to refer to. These unpublished texts include Bo 2816 (p. 44), Bo 3695 (p. 37), Bo 3991 (p. 76), Bo 6548 (p. 100), 487/w (p. 29), and 526/z (p. 37).

I have found a rather large number of corrections:
Nr. 3 (KBo 17.1+) rev. iv 16: should read [I] ^{SIG}G₇.^{SIG}G₇ ^UI ^{SIG}ZA.GIN.

Nr. 4 (KBo 17.3 + KBo 20.15+) rev. iii 31: *ha-li-i-na-aš* should read *ha-li-i-na-«na»-aš* as in Otten's hand copy of

¹⁰⁾ Otten and Souček, StBoT 8, 56f., have argued on internal evidence that the earliest Hittite texts distinguished between *e* and *i*.

KBo 20.15¹¹). This was also transliterated wrong in StBoT 15, 30.

Nr. 6 (KBo 17.6) obv. ii 16': ŠUKUR is a variant of ^{GIS}ŠUKUR in KBo 17.1+ obv. ii 22' which was not noted in StBoT 8.

Nr. 11 (KUB 43.24) is not a parallel to KBo 16.67 as Neu says but is a duplicate to that text and to KBo 16.69 + KBo 20.54 as noted by Laroche in the supplement to CTH, RHA XXX (1972) 111.

Page 29: Line 21 should read "Rs. III 1-3" rather than "Rs. II 1-3".

Nr. 12 (KBo 25.12+) obv. i 15': The *un*-sign at the end of the line should not be moved out to the right.

Nr. 13 (KBo 20.16 + KBo 17.14 + KBo 20.4 + KBo 16.71+) ¹² obv. i 23': The x at the end of the line is apparently from KBo 16.71 obv. i. Where is the other trace that appears in KBo 16.71 obv. i? In rev. iii the paragraph divider at the beginning of the column in KBo 16.71 was omitted. In rev. iii 4' the traces from KBo 20.24 rev. iii! 1' on the right side of the line are not indicated. In footnote 136 (p. 41) the reference to Nr. 22 should be to Nr. 23. -/a-aš at the end of KBo 20.4 + KBo 16.71+ rev. iv 9 would be dative-locative plural, which is strange because the other personnel in the list are all in the singular. Could -/i at the end of line 8 (from KBo 16.71 rev. iv 1') belong at the end of line 9 instead and -/a-aš be moved to the end of line 10? In KBo 20.16+ rev! iv the paragraph divider between lines 17' (2') and 18' (3') has been omitted. Line 31' (16') should read NINDA.KUR₄.RA GAL ^{LU}MUHALDIM DINGIR^{LIM} da-a[-i].

Nr. 14 (KBo 20.3) obv. ii: The paragraph divider at the beginning of the column was omitted. At the beginning of line 11' the restoration should read ^{URU}Kar-da-ba-ha. Cf. ^{URU}Kar-da-ba-h[u-u-me-né-eš in line 3'.

Nr. 18 (KBo 20.21) obv? 2': The reading *wā* is against the traces. Where is the vertical of the *wa*-sign?

Nr. 19 (KBo 20.33 + KBo 17.21 + 46 + KBo 25.19) lower edge 42: The reading *pa-ah-hur* is against the traces in KBo 17.46 18'. In rev. 65 (KBo 20.33 rev. 6') after *e-ku-zi* the signs look like SANGA-eš.

Nr. 25 (KBo 17.11 + KBo 20.12 + KUB 43.26) obv. i 47' should probably read [nam-ma I GUD.MAH (X ^{LU}MES ŠUKUR ZABAR kar-pa-an-z)]i tu-uš an-da^hha-le-en-ti-u. This line corresponds to KUB 43.26 obv. i 5'.

Nr. 26 (KBo 20.8) obv? i: Lines 9' and 10' should read ar-ki-i-ū-az pa-ū-wa-a-an-zi me[- and ^{LU}MES^{ALAM}.ZU pa-ū-wa-an-zi te ma-q[-. In rev? iv 1 the first word should be [^{GIS}]ki-iš-tu-un as in Nr. 68 (KBo 25.68 + KBo 17.13) ¹³ obv. i 3', 4', and KBo 10.28 rev. v 8.

Nr. 30 (KUB 43.30): KBo 21.88 obv. iii 2-7 + KBo 20.70 obv. iii 1'-6' is a duplicate of Nr. 30 obv. ii 1'-11'. In Nr. 30 obv. ii 1' restore [UGULA ^{LU}MES^{MUHALDIM} GEŠTIN-aš iš]. In rev. iii 20' the restoration KAŠ 'beer' is unlikely because of šī-e-eš-šar 'beer' in line 19'.

Nr. 31 (KBo 25.31) obv. ii 4': At the beginning of the line the reading *q-nu* is unlikely since it would require the line to be indented, whereas the other lines begin right at the column divider.

¹¹) I wish to thank Hans Güterbock for permitting me to collate this tablet from a photograph in his possession.

¹²) The obverse and reverse of KBo 20.4 and KBo 20.16 as indicated in the hand copies are to be inverted.

Nr. 32 (KBo 20.9): KBo 25.49 r. col. shows more than just "große Ähnlichkeit" to KBo 20.85 rev. iv and is in fact a duplicate to that text as well as to Bo 2599 obv. ii 1'-23', KBo 20.9 1'-12', KBo 25.31 rev. iii 1'-7', and Bo 7521. A portion of this text was transliterated above.

Nr. 33 (KBo 20.14 + KBo 25.33) obv. (I) 4': Near the beginning of the line the traces should read ha-aš-š[a-n-kán. Cf. the duplicate Nr. 31 (KBo 25.31) obv. ii 17': ha-aš-ša-a-an-k[án.

Nr. 37 (KBo 25.37) obv. i 4': The reading SJA₅ is against the traces.

Nr. 42 (KBo 17.18) obv. ii 12: The traces at the end of the line look like -ma-za.

p. 103: Bo 4869 obv. ii 1'ff. is a duplicate of Nr. 42 (KBo 17.18) obv. ii 16ff. rather than 15ff. Nr. 42 (KBo 17.18) obv. ii 16 is to be restored [^{LU}har-ta-ga-aš ^{LU}MES^{ALAM}.ZU-an GİR^{HIA}.ŠU-N]U še-er-hi-it šar-ta-i ta nam-ma following the duplicates KBo 17.99 obv. i 5', KBo 17.42+ 3'-4', and KBo 17.43 obv. i 14'.

Nr. 43 (KBo 17.43) rev. iv 1': The sign after ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG is KA with an inscribed sign that has been lost. In rev. iv 5', šī<R> ^{RU} should be corrected to šīR^{RU} (collated; see CHD under *lahma*-).

Nr. 57 (KBo 17.12) obv! i 8': The trace should probably be read h[u-hu-pa-al as in the duplicate Nr. 54 (KBo 25.54+) obv. i 19.

Nr. 61 (KBo 25.61) rev? 3': The end of the line should probably be t[a-pu-uš-za as in the duplicate Nr. 62 (KBo 25.62) 10'. The beginning of rev? 6' should be EM-š[A as in obv? 6' and rev? 14' and 22'.

Nr. 62 (KBo 25.62) 13': The beginning of the line should be ú-d[a-i as in the duplicate Nr. 61 (KBo 25.61) rev? 6'.

Nr. 64 (KBo 17.16): Neu has misnumbered the lines. In Otten's hand copy line 1' has the trace of one sign. Neu has omitted this line and has renumbered lines 2'-9' as lines 1'-8'.

Nr. 65 (KBo 25.65 + KBo 20.18) obv? i 6': The last word is probably šī[-p[a-an-t[i]. In obv? i 9' the restoration -p[a-az] is unlikely, since only one sign is regularly moved to the right at the end of a line in this text. In KBo 20.18 rev. 4' the reading t[a- is against the traces.

Nr. 68 (KBo 17.13 + KBo 25.68) ¹³ rev. 12: The first signs look like ^{LU}MES^{SANGA}MES. In rev. 18 (KBo 17.13 rev! 10') the first sign looks like -a[- rather than šīR.

Nr. 71 (KBo 20.11) obv. ii 2': At the end of the line the traces look like DINGIR^{LIM}.

p. 160: *zi-im-mi-ta-a-ti* in KBo 11.41 obv. i 3' and 5' and *zi-ku-ki* in i 7' are Akkadian, not Hittite. Cf. AHw *samidu(m)* 'ein Mehl', *isqūqu(m)* 'eine Art Mehl', and CAD *isqūqu* '(a kind of flour)'. The ideogram for *isqūqu* is ZI.KUM, which is probably the source of the spelling with an initial *zi*-sign. *zimmitāti* also occurs in Bo 3123 rev. iv 1' (p. 159), KUB 42.107 obv? iii? 4', 5' (p. 160), and KUB 35.126 obv? 4' (p. 233). *zikuki* also occurs in IBoT 2.93 rev! 14' (p. 158), KUB 42.107 obv? iii? 10' (p. 160), KBo 21.89 rev? iii 24', and KUB 20.11 obv. ii 11'. Also on p. 160, in KUB 42.107 obv? iii? 13' the first word is *za-ar-zu-úr*. Cf. *za-ar-zu-u-ur* in KUB 31.57 rev. iv 18

¹³) The obverse and reverse of KBo 17.13 as indicated in the hand copy are to be inverted.

and *za-ar-zu-úr* in KUB 34.89 obv. 6. In KUB 42.107 obv? iii? 14' at the end of the line the traces and context favor the reading 4 pJA.

Nr. 109 (KUB 8.41) rev. iii 13: The last word should be *pa-i-wa-ni-w[a* as in Nr. 110 (KUB 31.143) obv. ii 36. A trace of the *wa*-sign is visible in the hand copy. In rev. iii 17 the traces in the hand copy look like *zi-ik[* rather than *hu-ek-z[i*. Cf. Laroche, JCS 1 (1947) 190, who reads these signs *zi-ik!*.

Nr. 122 (KBo 25.122) rev. iii 5' and 6': In the cuneiform copy the first sign of *SU-GUL-LI* is SU, not SÚ (ZU).

Nr. 137 (KBo 19.156 + KBo 8.74 + KUB 32.117+) ¹⁴ obv. ii 10: The beginning of the line should probably be restored *nu A-NA* [DINGIR^{L1}]^M as in Nr. 138 (KBo 17.25) obv? 7'.

In some CV and VC signs in cuneiform the vowel is ambiguous and can be either *e* or *i*. This phenomenon is independent of the merger of *e* and *i* in Hittite which was described above. Sometimes the Hittites disambiguated the sign value by adding an extra *e* or *i* as in *pé-e-ra-an* or *hal-ma-aš-šu-i-iz*. On p. XIII Neu says that he writes *pé-ra-an* even when the plene vowel is not present, but he is inconsistent in applying this principle. For example, compare his transliteration of *u-ē-ēz-zi* in Nr. 3 (KBo 17.1+) rev. iii 13 with *ú-iz-zi* in Nr. 3 obv i 40' or *ak-ku-uš-ke-e-ši* in Nr. 110 (KUB 31.143) obv. ii 16 with *ak-ku-uš-ki-ši* in Nr. 110 obv. ii 9. Clearly the ambiguous spellings should have been transliterated *ú-ez-zi* and *ak-ku-uš-ke-ši*.

A glossary to these texts has been announced as forthcoming.

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IRAN

Elizabeth N. von VOIGTLANDER, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great, Babylonian Version*. London, Lund Humphries, 1978 (4to, xvi, 73 pp. and 4 figures) = Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, part I: Inscriptions of Ancient Iran, vol. II: The Babylonian Versions of the Achaemenian Inscriptions, Texts 1. ISBN 085 33 14 08 X. Price: £ 20.00.

This publication inaugurates the reedition of the Babylonian versions of the Achaemenian inscriptions. The longest Achaemenian inscription is that of Darius I in Bisitun (*recte* Bisutūn), the Babylonian version of which is the subject of von Voigtlander's book ¹).

The book starts with a brief introduction (pp. 1-9) describing the physical features of the rock on which the inscription was engraved, possibly by eight engravers

¹⁴) The obverse and reverse of KUB 32.117 as indicated in the hand copy are to be inverted.

¹) Abbreviations as in AHw. and CAD with the following additions: ASN = W. Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen* (Wiesbaden 1975); GMS = I. Gershevitch, *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian* (Oxford 1954); IOS = *Israel Oriental Studies*; OIran. = Old Iranian; TPS = *Transactions of the Philological Society*.

(cf. Table II, p. 73) 2500 years ago, as well as general features of the Babylonian text. Then follows a transliteration (55 sections = 112 lines = 9494 signs) of the large inscription (DBa, pp. 11-48) and the nine small inscriptions (DBb-j, pp. 49-51). Each line (which includes between 55 and 112 signs, see Table I, pp. 70-72) is followed by short textual notes. The Table of Contents of the Babylonian Text and its English translation are given on pp. 52-53 and 54-62 respectively. Appendix A (pp. 63-66) is a transliteration and textual discussion of the two fragmentary duplicates (of DBa) from Babylon, whereas Appendix B (p. 67) deals briefly with the Aramaic version found on papyrus at Elephantine. Appendix C (pp. 68-69) explains how the squeezes were read. The book ends in two tables (pp. 70-73; cf. above). On the whole, Dr. von Voigtlander has executed her difficult task with utmost care and has formulated the discussion in the clearest and most undisguised way. The following remarks are confined to various details.

P. 11, line 1f. The Babylonian scribe rendered the nom. sg. of OPers. *Aršāma-* and *Aryāramna-*. *A-ša-ma-ni-iš-* looks like the LB rendering of the gentilic OPers. *Haxāmanišiya-* rather than that of the PN *Haxāmaniš-*; yet, the -' could be "parasitic" (cf. *ad* lines 41, 81).

P. 12, line 6. *KUR Hu-ma-ri-iz-mu* (Choresmia) was under Cyrus II's control at least from 534/3 B.C. onwards. This may be inferred from the occurrence of a certain *Da-da-a-pa-ar-na-* [¹⁰hur]-zi-(im-)ma-a-a²) ('Choresmian', cf. *BiOr* 33, 1976, p. 214b) who acted as messenger, in two Babylonian documents. Both documents (UCP 9/2, 38 and 39) were found in Uruk according to their editor. However, Uruk is not mentioned in any of them. The former, which mentions the elders of the place *Bit-Sapsap* (otherwise unknown, but probably a West Semitic toponym referring to a settlement in Babylonia³)) is dated to 28.IX.534/3 B.C. The name of the Choresmian (OIran. **Dātā-farna(h)-*, see W. Eilers, *ZDMG* 90, 1936, p. 176 n.; W. Hinz, *ASN*, p. 85 with lit.; cf. R. Zadok, *IOS* 7, 1977, p. 101: 1.3.46) is interesting. Like the name of the Persian *Viⁿdafarnah-* (see R. G. Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 208a), the Choresmian's name ends in *-farnah-* 'fortune'. This shows that as early as the middle of the 6th century B.C., *farnah-*, a loanword from Median (see W. B. Henning *apud* I. Gershevitch, *GMS*, p. 36, § 224)⁴), replaced the Eastern Iranian equivalent with initial *hv-* (cf. Avest. *xvarānah-*), as it did in Old Persian names (cf. also Τισ(σ)αφερνης = OPers. **Čiça-farna(h)-*, F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*,

²) [*Da-da-a-pa-ar-na-* [¹⁰hur]-zi-(im-)ma-a-a (UCP 9/2, 39, 6f.); *Da-da-a-pa-ar-na-* [¹⁰hur]-zi-(im-)ma-a-a (UCP 9/2, 38, 7). For the plausible restoration of the gentilic cf. the material on the Choresmians in Achaemenian Babylonia which is discussed by me in *IOS* 7 (1977), p. 113: 2.3. He is mentioned after the royal official *Ra-mi-ia*. The latter's name is — if not West Semitic **Rāmiy* (a hypocoristicon to **rām* 'exalted') — either an *-i/ya-* patronymic of OIran. **Rāma-* (an Indo-Iranian mythological hero) or the Old Iranian equivalent of Ved. *ramyā-* 'beautiful, nice, fine' (cf. R. Schmitt, *GGA* 226, 1974, p. 104, bottom).

³) *Sap-sap* could represent an old West Semitic cognate of *šapsāpāh* (late Biblical Heb. [only in Ezekiel] and Mid. Heb.), Arab. *šafšaf* 'a kind of willow'.

⁴) Words which go back to this Median form are documented in Middle and New Persian, Sogdian, Khotanese and Ossetic (see H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in Ninth Century Books*, Oxford 1943, pp. 1ff., esp. p. 1f., n. 3; V. I. Abaev, *Istoriko-etimologičeskij Slovar' Osetinskogo Jazyka*, 1, Moscow 1958, p. 421f. with lit.).

Marburg 1895, p. 164; W. Hinz, *ASN*, p. 72.74; **Čira-farna(h)*-, **Viθ-farna(h)*-, see I. Gershevitch, *Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro Oblata* 2, Rome 1969, pp. 230.210 respectively). Otherwise old *hv*- appears as *xw*- in Choresmian (cf., e.g., *xw'h'wc* 'permission' from *xwāh*- 'to wish', see W.B. Henning *apud* I. Gershevitch, *GMS*, p. 164, § 1080). *Da-da-a-* is a *plene* spelling like, e.g., N/LB *Ba-ga-a-pa-na* (*Camb.* 316, 3.7.11), OIran. **Baga-pāna-* (see W. Hinz, *ASN*, p. 57 with lit.) and *Ba-ga'-a-mir-ri* (*BE* 9, 106, 4.9), OIran. **Baga-vira-* (see W. Eilers, *Beamtennamen*, p. 114). For OIran. intervocalic /t/ rendered as <d> in LB see *BiOr* 33 (1976), p. 217b: 1.51. For *VtV* > *VdV* cf. Choresmian *prmdk* 'calamity, affliction, accident, misfortune' (<OIran. **pari-mātākā-*, see W.B. Henning, *A Fragment of a Khwarezmian Dictionary* Edited by D.N. MacKenzie, London 1971, p. 45b; cf. I. Gershevitch, *GMS*, p. 42f., § 268f.).

P. 13, line 12. Cambyzes II is designated here as "king of Persia, king of lands"; his title in economic documents from Babylonia is "king of Babylon, king of lands".

P. 14, line 14. *ū-qu* is normalized as *ūqu* by von Soden (*AHW.*, 1427). Except for a single occurrence in a Neo-Babylonian letter from Esarhaddon's time (E.F. Weidner, *AfO* 17, 1954/6, p. 8:9, cf. pp. 7.9 *ad a.*), all the documentation is Achaemenian and post-Achaemenian (cf. also F. Delitzsch, *HWB*, p. 33f. In *DBa* it renders OPers. *kāra*- 'people, army' and Aram. *hyl'*)⁵. The etymology is not known⁶).

⁵) Aram. *hyl'* renders OPers. *kāra*- in the Bisutūn Inscription even when the latter denotes 'people'. Therefore, one may understand the words *wā-gālūt hā-hēl haz-ze' li-banē Yisrā'el* (LXX καὶ τῆς μετοικεσίας ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτῆς τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραήλ) (Obadiah 20) neither as "the captivity of this fortress..." (E. Robinson, F. Brown, S.R. Driver and Ch.A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament ... Based on the Lexicon of W. Gesenius*, Oxford, 1907, repr. 1974, p. 298, s.v. *hēl*, *hēl*) nor as "the captivity of this army..." (Authorized Version, Revised Version and several commentaries, cf. E. Robinson *et al.*, l.c.), but rather as "the captivity of this people..." being an apposition of the following "children of Israel". The text of Obadiah 19-21 is possibly not earlier to the 5th century B.C. when Hebrew was strongly influenced by Aramaic (cf. J.A. Bewer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Obadiah and Joel*, Edinburgh 1911, pp. 6f.31f.44f.; W. Kornfeld, *Mélanges A. Robert*, Paris 1957, p. 180ff. with lit.). In addition, *gālūt* is an Aramaic word which has been borrowed by Hebrew in an earlier period; its genuine Hebrew equivalent is *gōlāh* (see E. Ebeling, *RLA* 3, p. 136a; von Soden, *Or.* 35, 1966, p. 8, No. 21; 46, 1977, p. 186, No. 21; K. Deller, *Or.* 35, 1966, p. 194).

⁶) The late attestation of the word and the fact that it is always written phonetically would favour an assumption that it has been borrowed from a West Semitic dialect. The following reconstruction is purely tentative as long as the assumed West Semitic source of *ūqu* is undocumented. Regarding morphology, *ūqu* may reflect **wuqh*, i.e. a *qu*l formation of *W-Q-H*, Arab. *waqha* (like *wus* from *wasī'a*; cf. also *wa/ysl*; for irregular retention of initial *w* in Northwest Semitic see C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* 1, Berlin 1908, p. 139, § 49ff.). Several *qu*l abstract nouns are formed from *i*-perfects like *waqha* (cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 341, § 125ba with Akkadian, Aramaic, Hebrew and Arabic examples). *Waqha* denotes 'be obedient, submissive to somebody's orders; hear (and answer)'. Biblical Hebrew has *yiqhāh* 'obedience'. The root *W-Q-H* is documented in most of the ancient Arabian dialects, as can be illustrated by the following personal names (references are to G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques* 1, Louvain 1934-1935): *Wqh'l* (226.402, Lihyanic and Thamudic), *Wqhmlk* (334, Sabeen), *Wqh* (81.334, Safaitic; GN in Sabeen), *Wq'yt* (226, Sabeen), *'mwqh* (226, Sabeen), *Mlwqh* (226.235.303.347.402, Sabeen), *Yqhmlk* (226, Sabeen), and *Mwqh* (81.294, Lihyanic). The Biblical Hebrew PN *Qhāt* may belong here as

P. 15, line 17. *mi-tu-tu ra-'ma'-ni-šū mi-i-ti* is a unique expression in Akkadian⁷).

P. 15, line 19. The Babylonian version adds "Babylon" (DIN.TIR^{ki}) not only because it was intended for the Babylonians, but also since it intends to be more detailed in this section. Therefore, the same version adds in lines 16-17 not only "Babylon" (E^{ki}) but also "Elam" (KUR ELAM.MA^{ki}), and in line 20 "not a Babylonian, no one in the (other) lands".

P. 16, line 23. Read *'Si-ku'-ū-ma-at-ti-*; OPers. /v/ of *Sikaya*⁸uvati- is rendered by LB <VmV>; N/LB BA and MA have the same shape.

P. 17, line 26. GU₄.HIA and UDU.HIA, i.e. 'the herds' and 'the flocks' render OPers. *gaiθā-* ('(living) personal property, cattle'); *bit(Ē)-qa-šā-a-tū* 'bow-fiefs' (the fiefs par excellence in Babylonia)⁹ renders OPers. *viθbišča*⁹; *lūHUN.GĀ*^{mes} is parallel to OPers. *māniya*- and Elam. *kur-taš* (<OPers. **grōa*- > LB *gar-du*¹⁰). OPers. *māniya*- probably means originally 'household slave(s)' (*kur-taš/gar-du* is always collective in economic documents). LB uses here *lūHUN.GĀ*^{mes} 'hired workers' possibly because in Babylonia hired workers were much more numerous than slaves thereby being the main body of the employed sector (cf. M.A. Dandamayev, *Rabstvo v Vavilonii*, Moscow 1974, *pass.*). The Babylonian version was intended for the Babylonians, and therefore did not render faithfully the Old Persian terms, but at this point adopted them to the social conditions in Babylonia; the case of *lūHUN.GĀ*^{mes} is analogous to that of *bit-qašātu*. It may be that the Babylonian version treated the enigmatic OPers. *abičariš* in the same manner, viz. by *eqlēti*(A.ŠĀ^{mes}) 'fields', although this Old Persian word may denote 'pastures' (see I. Gershevitch, *TPS* 1979, pp. 131.153 with n. 58). However, Akk. *eqlēti* denotes, *inter alia*, also pasture lands (sg. *bit-riti*)¹¹.

P. 19, line 30, *U'-pa-da-ar-am'-ma-*. The Old Persian and Elamite forms are identical as Elam <kb> renders OPers.

well according to J.C. de Moor (*BiOr* 26, 1969, p. 106). For the semantics cf. Bibl. Heb. *mišma'at* 'obedient band, body of subjects' (from *š-M'* 'hear').

⁷) It renders the Old Persian expression *uvāmaršiyuš amariyatā* which — as W. Schulze showed in an illuminating and exemplary study (*Sitzungsber. d. preuss. Ak. d. Wiss.* Berlin, hist.-phil. Kl., Jg. 1912, F. 2, pp. 685-703) — does not mean 'to commit suicide' (as *CAD*, M/2, 1977, p. 144a, still erroneously render), but rather refers to a natural death (cf. also the literature listed in J. Wiesehöfer, *Der Aufstand Gaumātas und die Anfänge Dareios I*, Bonn 1978, p. 59, n. 4; 60, n. 1). Note that Middle Heb. *mitat 'asman* (Heb. *'ešem* 'self' = Akk. *ramānu*) signifies 'their natural death' (see Jastrow, *Dict.*, p. 780a, s.v. *mitā*). The Akkadian expression for 'suicide', at least in Neo-Assyrian, is *mi-tu-ut qātē-šu i-mu-tu* "He died by his own hand" (C.J. Gadd, *Iraq* 16, 1954, p. 200, 24; see *AHW.*, p. 663b, s.v. *mitūtu(m)*, 3c, and *CAD* l.c.). O. Rössler (*Untersuchungen über die akkadische Fassung der Achämeniden-inschriften*, Berlin 1938, p. 30, s.v. *mw*) has for the expression in the Bisutūn Inscription "eigener, d.h. natürlicher Tod" and von Soden states (*AHW.*, l.c.) "(v. Tod durch Unfall?)".

⁸) For this odd type of plural (also *Ē^{mes}BAN^{mes}* in *PBS* 2/1, 62, 5; 107, 6; *TuM* 2/3, 181, 1) cf. sg. N/LB *bit-qāti*, pl. *bit(Ē)-Sū^{ff}mes* (*AHW.*, p. 134a: 21); and N/LB *lūEN-^{mes}BAN^{mes}šū-lu* (*BE* 10, 46, 4, cf. G. Cardascia, *Les archives des Murašū*, p. 53 n.).

⁹) See M.W. Stolper, *MPLAB* 1, p. 30, n. 47 and cf. R. Zadok, *IOS* 8 (1978), p. 278.

¹⁰) LB *gar-du* (with <d> and not the usual <z>) may prove that this Old Persian word has entered Babylonian via Elamite.

¹¹) Part of a field (*eqlu* [A.ŠĀ]) is defined as *bit-riti* in the N/LB document *BE* 9, 3 from 5th-century Nippur. Cf. also *AHW.*, 991a, s.v. *ritu*.

/p/ (see M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, Vienna 1973, p. 57, 2.425; 101, 5.2.101). OPers. *hū(v)jiya*- 'Elamite, Susian' is reflected by the PN *Hwzy* which appears on an Aramaic seal (cf. B. Aggoula *apud* P. Bordreuil-A. Lemaire, *Semitica* 29, 1979, p. 79, n. 1) from the end of the 6th century or the 5th century B.C. (it has nothing to do with *Hwzt*, i.e. OIran. **Hu-āzāta*- for which see M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für nordsemitische Epigraphik* 2, Giessen 1908, 400).

Line 31. As Dr. von Voigtlander indicates, one can restore here either [*lū*]za-'za'-ak-'ku' (as a title) or [*A^mlū*]za-'za'-ak-'ku' (as a surname). For the surname see Tallqvist, *NBN*, pp. 176a, 179a (Rimūt-bēl-ilāni, abbreviated as Rimūt-ilī or Rimūt; mentioned in documents from Babylon and its vicinity between 589/8 and 561/0 B.C., probably not identical with Rimūt [No. 5 below] as the latter is mentioned 21 years later). Six individuals bore the title *lūzazakku* (henceforth: z.) in Babylonia during the late Assyrian, Chaldean and perhaps early Achaemenian period, but none of them was named Kīn-zēra:

(1) Bēl-le' (sometime between 669/8 and 649/8 B.C., *ABL* 464 = *TCAE*, p. 277f., r. 4)¹², (2) Nabū-zēra-ibni (30.VI.554/3 B.C., *BE* 8, 42, 1), (3) Bēl-uballit son of Nabū-balassu-iqbi (16.XIIa.547/6-[.IX.545/4 B.C., *AnOr* 8, 25, 1; *Nbn.* 558, 8; *TCL* 9, 136, 6f.; *YOS* 6, 238, 17)¹³, (4) Nabū-zēra-ibni (24.II.540/39 B.C., *YOS* 6, 198, 10; identical with 2 above?¹⁴), (5) Rimūt¹⁵ ([.IX.539/8 B.C., *Nbn.* 1055, 11)¹⁶, and (6) Ina-ē-tuša (undated,

¹²) J.N. Postgate (*l.c.*) dates the letter to the end of Esarhaddon's reign or the beginning of Šamaš-šuma-ukin's reign. The letter contains, *inter alia*, a list of items for the renovation of the Esaggila Temple, as well as a list of offerings. The z. is requested to come from Babylon to the city of Assur (r. 7). Thereafter "the king of Babylon", which is Šamaš-šuma-ukin's title, is mentioned. For E. Unger (*Babylon*, p. 301) the renovation of Esaggila and its sacification which took place in 669/8 B.C. were a criterion for dating the letter. Yet, there is no conclusive evidence that the letter deals with the sacification. On the other hand, we are informed that the Assyrian king made some repairs — albeit not important ones — after 669/8 B.C., such as the renovation of Marduk's chariot; he also granted the 'small boat' (*maturru*) in 655/4 B.C.

¹³) He entered his office not before the end of 548/7 B.C., as he is mentioned without title on 8.III.548/7 (*Nbn.* 293, 12). His name and title appear in an undated letter (*TCL* 9, 136, lines 6-7) sent by the crown-prince Belshazzar to Nabū-šarra-ušur who was the official (*bēl-piqitti*) of Eanna in 553/2-544/3 B.C. (see M. San Nicolò, *Prosopographie*, pp. 18-19). Belshazzar fulfilled the functions of his father in 551/0-544/3 B.C. (see H. Tadmor, *AS* 16, p. 352, esp. n. 5). Therefore, the letter was sent at the beginning of 543 B.C. at the latest.

¹⁴) For a reappointment to the same office after a break see R. H. Sack, *ZA* 66 (1976), 289f. Or is it not incidental that the break is almost overlapping with the period of Nabonidus' absence from Babylonia?

¹⁵) He is also mentioned in the Verse Account of Nabonidus (*BHT*, p. 86, v, 24) which was probably composed at the beginning of the Achaemenian period. He appears there after Zērija, the *šatammu*. The latter cannot be the *šatammu* of Eanna, as that office was in the hands of Nabū-mukin-zēri (14.IV.539/8-8.VIII.538/7 B.C., see M. San Nicolò, *Prosopographie*, p. 16). It seems more likely that Zērija was the *šatammu* of Esaggila, the main temple of Babylon, the more so since Esaggila and Bēl are the subject of the whole passage of the Verse Account. Yet, there is some difficulty: a certain Zērija held the office of the inspector (*lūqipu*) of Esaggila on 5.VI.539/8 B.C., i.e. in the very end of Nabonidus' reign, just six weeks before Babylon fell to the Persian forces. There may be two possibilities: (1) that the *šatammu* of Esaggila bore the same name as the *qipu* of the temple; (2) that the *qipu* became a *šatammu* during the last days of Nabonidus. In the undated letter Pinches, *PSBA* 15, p. 417 (line 10), the z. appears after Bēl-uballit, the *šatammu* of Esaggila.

¹⁶) See R.A. Parker and W.H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology* (Providence 1956), p. 13f.

Pinches, *PSBA* 15, 1893, p. 417, 10 = M. San Nicolò, *ArOr* 7, 1935, pp. 26ff.)¹⁷).

We can get some information on the function of the z. in Late-Assyrian, Chaldean and Achaemenian Babylonia by analyzing the sources. The z. as a court official always appears in lists of witnesses of juridical documents before functionaries of temple cities and provincial functionaries. Yet, he is mentioned after courtiers (it is not clear exactly whom), the administrative director (*lūšatammu*) of Esaggila, the commander of the army and the overseer of the quay (*lūrab-kāri*)¹⁸. The functions of the z. — as far as we are informed by the sources — were: (1) Transfer of money from a certain place in order to finance a work in a temple which was located in another place. In a letter (*TCL* 9, 136) to Nabū-šarra-ušur the *bēl-piqitti* of Eanna Belshazzar refers to his former letter where he ordered him to assign a sum in gold for accomplishing a work in É.KUR. Belshazzar added that he sends the z. Bēl-uballit (No. 3 above) to Nabū-šarra-ušur. The latter has to deliver all the gold at his disposal for that work. R.P. Dougherty (*Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, p. 132f.) understood É.KUR here as an appellative (*ekurru*) 'temple' (in this case Eanna). He related this letter to a letter (*TCL* 9, 132) which Nabū-šarra-ušur addressed to the *šākin-tēmi* of Uruk (the rank of the *šākin-tēmi* is higher than that of the *bēl-piqitti*). In *TCL* 9, 132 Nabū-šarra-ušur quotes an order of Belshazzar stating that the *šākin-tēmi* has to assign 20 minas of gold for the work in Eanna. Nabū-šarra-ušur reminds the *šākin-tēmi* that he (Nabū-šarra-ušur) has already asked him once or twice that the *šākin-tēmi* would force a certain Kīnā¹⁹ to return his one mina of gold, his debt to Eanna. Nabū-šarra-ušur states that he wrote about it to the king, and he requests the *šākin-tēmi* to collect the debt and deliver it to the envoys of the *bēl-piqitti* who will give it to Eanna (It may be that the above-mentioned one mina formed part of the 20 minas assigned for the work in Eanna). The background and subject matter of the two letters (*TCL* 9, 132, 136) are not identical. *TCL* 9, 136 is an order of Belshazzar dealing with a work in É.KUR, whereas in *TCL* 9, 132 the citation from the king's order refers to a work in Eanna. Orders issued by Babylonian kings are generally accurate, as the royal administration inspected all the temples in Nabonidus' time. In fact, the citation in the second letter has "Eanna". Therefore, it seems reasonable to understand É.KUR here — with E. Ebeling (*Neubab. Briefe aus Uruk*, p. 287) as referring to Eanna, and not as a proper name which referred to the Enlil Temple in Nippur²⁰). *TCL* 9, 136

¹⁷) The z. is mentioned in broken context in this letter which refers to the investiture of an official (cf. n. 15 above).

¹⁸) This can be illustrated by the following table:

<i>AnOr</i> 8, 25.1f. (Uruk)	<i>YOS</i> 6, 238.17f. (Uruk)	<i>BE</i> 8, 42.1f. (Nippur)	<i>PSBA</i> 15, p. 417.10 (Babylon)
1 z.	z.	z.	PN (1) (function(s))
2 <i>šākin-tēmi</i> Uruk	<i>bēl-piqitti</i> Eanna	<i>rab-kāri</i>	PN (2) (unknown)
3 <i>qipu</i> ša Eanna	<i>qipu</i> ša Eanna	<i>rab-ummāni</i>	<i>šatammu</i> (?) Esaggila
4	<i>šākin-tēmi</i> Uruk		z.

¹⁹) It is not known whether he was identical with a scribe of Eanna bearing the same name (*YOS* 6, 198, 7, 540/39 B.C.).

²⁰) *CAD* (Z, p. 75b: 3') translate É.KUR of *TCL* 9, 136, 7 as "Ekur",

does not specify the sum of money which was assigned for the work (he had to assign all the gold at his disposal), whereas *TCL* 9, 132 specifies the sum as 20 minas of gold. The *z.* is mentioned only in *TCL* 9, 136. The reason may be that *TCL* 9, 136 deals with a transfer: Eanna is both the place of work and the financial source. The *bēl-piqitti* himself is responsible for the work and reports on it to the king. Therefore, there was no need to send the *z.* to Eanna. The *z.* had to transfer gold (and other financing means) in the king's mission from place to place.

2. Assessment of damages in temples. A letter from Uruk (*YOS* 3, 91) dealing with fire in the Nergal Temple in Udannu (not far from Uruk) informs of the arrival of the (unnamed) *z.* who was accompanied by a certain Nabū-nāšir. The latter's function is not clear. It is possible to assume that they came in order to estimate the damages of the fire (although the letter does not explicitly state it). Further support for this assumption may be the fact that the remainder of the letter is devoted to matters of cult and personnel in the temples of Nergal and Eanna, but the *z.* does not deal with these matters.

3. Collection of debts. According to *YOS* 6, 198 from 540/39 B.C., two high officials of Eanna will deliver 500 kors of barley to the *z.* on the king's quay of Uruk. A receipt from 539/8 B.C. (*Nbn.* 1055) records the payment of dues of Nabonidus' 17th year which Rīmūt, the *z.*, has delivered to his messenger. The staff of the *z.* has consisted of at least one messenger and no less than two *lamūtānu*-slaves (cf. *VAS* 3, 35), as well as, perhaps, Nabū-nāšir.

It seems clear that the *z.* has occupied a high position in the administration of the palace. His function included inspection of fiscal matters in the temples (cf. *CAD Z*, p. 75f. with lit.).

Regarding the N/LB toponym *Bit^mZa-za-ak-ku* (*BE* 8, 158, 2) near Nippur, the masculine personal determinative interchanges with *LÚ* (see W. Eilers, *ZDMG* 94, 1940, p. 204, n. 2 in fine). Alternatively, *mZa-za-ak-ku* may be a personal name here like *NA Za-za-ki* or *Za-za-(a-)ku* (same person as *Za-za-a-a*, *Za-za-ia*, *Za-zi-e*, see Tallqvist, *APN*, p. 247b). By the way, the name *A-ni-ri* appears in the N/LB document *Nbn.* 483. — p. 20, line 33. The addition '*mār(DUMU)*'-šip-ri is for clarity's sake, as *al-ta-par* means both 'sent' and 'wrote'. There is good reason for thinking that Darius I invaded Babylonia from Elam, seeing that he used the same route as several Elamite kings who had attacked Babylonia, viz. (Elam-)Tigris-Sippar²¹). *Zazana* was not far from Sippar. This can be argued from *Nbn.* 483 which deals with the delivery of the tithe from *Za-za-an-nu* to the Šamaš Temple of Sippar.

P. 21, line 35. LB has clearly 'boats made of skin' (possibly *keleks*) where OP uses more general terms.

P. 21f., line 36f. If the restoration is correct, then LB adds the information that all of Nidinti-Bēl's army were killed and no prisoners were taken. — Line 38 adds that Nidinti-Bēl fled on a horse to Babylon and that he was impaled together with 49 nobles.

whereas they (E, p. 72b: c) understand it as 'temple' in another N/LB letter (*CT* 22, 131, line 7).

²¹) Cf. W. Hinz, *Das Reich Elam* (Stuttgart 1964), p. 125, bottom. Sippar fell to Persian forces two days before Babylon according to the Nabonidus Chronicle (*TCS* 5, p. 109f., iii, 14-18).

P. 22, line 41. The spelling *KUR gi-mi-ri* is odd (possibly with a 'parasitic' -; cf. *ad* line 1f.; elsewhere always *KUR gi-mir*).

P. 24, line 47. LB '*Ka'am-pa-da*' causes one to suspect that the -n- of Elam. *Ka₄-um-pan-taš* is secondary and may serve as an indicator that the following dental is /d/ (not /t/), in which case the OPers. form is to be normalized as *Ka^mpada*. Note that LB has the determinative URU 'settlement' where OPers. has *dahyu* 'land, province, district'. Does OPers. *dahyu*, the forerunner of Middle Pers. *deh* 'land, country, district, village', denote 'village' as well?

P. 25, line 49. In view of LB URU *Zu-ū-zu*, Elam. *Su-iz-za*, OPers. *Zūzahya* is possibly gen. sg. of **Zūza* (due to confusion).

Line 53. LB *Ū-ia-a-ma* is the equivalent of Elam. *U-i-ia-ma*, Aram. *Hyw* and OPers. "*Uyamā*". Regarding the OPers. form, which was restored prior to G.G. Cameron's collation, R.G. Kent (s.v.) points out "all characters visible to Cameron". Nevertheless, I should normalize it as *Uyava* in view of the Aramaic form (cf. A. Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyri aus Elephantine*, Leipzig 1911, p. 84 *ad* 1.; C.P. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, p. 260 *ad* 1) which is not contradicted by the LB and Elamite forms.

P. 27ff., line 57ff. The war against Phraortes took a much longer time than the actions against *Čiθrantaxma*. This is probably due to the fact that the latter declared himself only as king of Sagartia, a small district in Western Media, whereas the former declared himself king of Media and was supported not only by the Medes who formed a sizable portion of Darius I's army which was stationed in Babylonia. Phraortes was also supported by the Parthians and Hyrcanians, and apparently by the inhabitants of Armenia (where several battles took place). It may be that the house of Cyaxares was still considered legitimate not only in Media, but also in Armenia which was a Median possession before the Achaemenian conquest. One may therefore infer that Parthia and Hyrcania also belonged to the Median empire (cf. A.T.E. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, Chicago 1948, pp. 33 with n. 91; 45f.).

P. 31, line 71. See now I. Gershevitch, *TPS* 1979, p. 148f, n. 57.

P. 33, line 74. -ia is omitted in *Ar-ta-mar-zi* as in *Kam-bu-zi* (*TCL* 13, 167, 13).

P. 34, line 78. LB *Ū-ma* (sic, rather than *ba*)²²) -*da-sa-ia* (or '-a-a') for OPers. *Uvādaīčaya* (Elam. *Ma-te-zi-iš*) is difficult, as OIran. /č/ is always rendered by N/LB <š> (for examples see *BiOr* 33, 1976, p. 216f.: 1.47). Therefore, -*sa*- may be either a scribal or an audial mistake. N/LB *Ĥu-ma-de-(e)-šū* renders the same Old Persian name (to be normalized as *Uvādaīčaya*, see R. Zadok, *Iran* 14, 1976, pp. 67ff.; with omission of the suffix as in LB *A-ku-pi-i-iš* for OPers. *Ākaufāciya* (Herzfeld, *API*, 32, 27).

P. 35f. line 81. Dr. von Voigtlander's suggestion to identify '*Gan-da-ta-[ma]-ki*' (-' may be 'parasitic', cf. *ad* line 1f.) with modern *Gandamak* would accord well with a localization of *θatagu* north of Arachosia and west of *Gandāra* (see J. Marquart, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte*

²²) For the identical shape of BA and MA see *ad* line 23 above.

von Eran 2, Leipzig 1905, p. 175; I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, Cambridge 1959, p. 175; cf. P. Daffinà, *L'immigrazione dei Sakā nella Drangiana*, Rome 1967, p. 20f.), in which case *Gandatamaki* would be located in the northeastern corner of *θatagu*. A localization of *θatagu* somewhere in Panjab (E. Herzfeld, *The Persian Empire*, Wiesbaden 1968, p. 342f.) is unlikely.

P. 37, line 85. LB Ur parallels OPers. *Dubāla* (Elam. *Du-ib-ba-[la]*). The latter may be the same as Aram. *Byt Dbl* in the Assur Ostrakon (Lidzbarski, *WVDOG* 38, 21, 21) which is probably located in southern Babylonia (*Byt/Bit* is frequently omitted in toponyms²³). Is it possible that LB has replaced *Dubāla* with the more famous name Ur?

P. 38, line 86. *Ū-mi-in-ta-pa-ar-na* for OPers. *Vīrādafarna(h)* is a hypercorrective spelling (cf. *BiOr* 33, 1976, p. 217b: 1.51).

P. 47f., line 111. The same N/LB sign has the value *ba* and *ma*. For the spelling <*a-ar*> cf. the rare N/LB spellings *e-eṭ-ti-ra*, *i-iš-me* and *ū-uš-šur* (see R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods*, Jerusalem 1977, p. 251, § 4124).

P. 51, *DBj* 3. Read *Mar-gu* (-' omitted by the printer).

P. 67, App. B. Regarding the Elam *har-ri-ia-ma* "in Aryan (Language)" (*DBa*, 70), note that Dar. Pers. g (*VAB* 3, p. 85) has (line 6f. 15) *KUR Par-su KUR Ma-da-a u māṭāti šā-ni-ti-ma li-šā-nu*, i.e. Persian and Median are still considered the same language (cf. I. M. D'jakonov, *Istorija Midii*, Moscow-Leningrad 1956, p. 149, n. 3).

This book is very useful for every scholar interested in the Achaemenian period.

Haifa, March 1981

R. ZADOK

* *

Manfred MAYRHOFER, *Supplement zur Sammlung der altpersischen Inschriften*¹). Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978 (24 cm., 51 pp.) = Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 338 Band, Veröffentlichungen der iranischen Kommission, Band 7. DM 25.-. ISBN 3 7001 0250 X.

In 1953 the second edition of the *Old Persian* by R.G. Kent was published. But a few small Old Persian inscriptions did not come to the attention of Kent and they were not included in the book. Besides, since 1953 a number of new inscriptions (among them important trilingual texts of Darius I from Susa), inscribed vases and seals as well as copies and fragments of some previously known inscriptions have been discovered and published. But until now there has been no general work on this material and therefore SSAI fills an important lacuna. The book under consideration contains a summary descrip-

²³) Compare such cases as *Bit-Girā* = *Girā*, *Bit-Taqbi-lišir* = *Taqbi-lišir* (see *IOS* 8, 1978, pp. 292f. 319: 2.2.7.1.1.18) and *Bit-Li-ta-mu* (*Dar.* 329, 3) = *GARIN Li-ta-mu* (*Dar.* 202, 3), as well as *Bēl-Labā'ōt* = *Labā'ōt* and *Bēt-Azmāwet* = *Azmāwet*.

¹) SSAI for further references.

tion of these new texts, with their special bibliography (in particular, *editiones principes*) and transliterations of Old Persian versions of inscriptions. Indexes of Old Persian words, personal names and concordance of the texts are given at the end of the book. A special section deals with "lost" inscriptions which are known from books of some European travellers of the 19th century and have disappeared by now. The author gives a particular attention to the onomastic material, linguistic peculiarities of some Old Persian words, corrects previous misreadings of several personal names and notices those cases when new copies and fragments differ from previously known ones of the same inscriptions.

According to the author, who refers to M.-J. Steve, the fragment *DSe* 12 is a portion of the inscription of Darius I from Susa on restoration of order in the Persian Empire (p. 14). Both Vallat suggested with full right that the fragment in question belonged to an inscription of Artaxerxes II known as *A2Sd*, and consequently *DSe* 12 does not exist at all²).

After SSAI appeared seven fragments of trilingual inscriptions of Artaxerxes II from Susa have been published³) as well as the Babylonian version of the Bisitun inscription of Darius I⁴). In many cases this version differs substantially from the Old Persian and Elamite texts of the inscription and provides some very interesting data which are not recorded in the other versions.

There has long been a need for an up-to-date edition of the trilingual Achaemenian inscriptions with transliterations and translations of all the versions, bibliography and indexes since famous book by F.H. Weissbach on this subject was published in 1911. SSAI will be of great help to create such a book, and students of the Ancient Near East must be grateful to Prof. Mayrhofer for his patient, thorough and very useful work.

Leningrad, January 1981

M.A. DANDAMAYEV

NOORDWEST-SEMITISCH

R. Y. EBIED and M. J. L. YOUNG (Ed.), *Oriental Studies presented to Benedikt S.J. Isserlin* by Friends and Colleagues on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday 25 February 1976. Leiden E.J. Brill 1980 (28 cm., ix + 209 S.) = Leeds University Oriental Society Near Eastern Researches II. Preis: Dfl. 84,-. ISBN 90 04 05966 0.

Eine (kurze) Biographie und eine Bibliographie des Jubilars eröffnen diese sehr schön ausgestattete Festschrift (S. 1-8). Die dann folgenden Studien sind in vier

²) F. Vallat, *Les inscriptions du palais d'Artaxerxès II*, — Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran, 10 (1979), p. 145, n. 2.

³) Ibid., pp. 145-149.

⁴) E.N. von Voigtlander, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great. Babylonian Version*. Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, part I, vol. II, London 1978.

Abschnitte eingeteilt: 1. Hebräisch und alter Orient; 2. Phönizische Studien; 3. Arabische und islamitische Studien; 4. Maltesische Studien. Auf all diesen Gebieten ist Isserlin tätig gewesen.

Ch. Rabin (Jerusalem) fängt mit einem Artikel an mit dem Titel: „Strength or Cheerfulness?” (S. 11-23). Hierin beschäftigt er sich gründlich mit der Wurzel *blg*, die sich im A.T. einige Male und nur im *hif'il* findet (Am. 5:9; Ps. 39:14; Hiob 9:27; 10:20; vgl. auch Jer. 8:18). Er betont u.a. den Wert der Arbeit des niederländischen Orientalisten Albert Schultens (1686-1750) und versucht zu zeigen, dass *blq*, *plq*, *plg* und *blg* phonetische Variante derselben Wurzel sind. „This suggests that the root complex was from the outset polysemic, with a wide range of meanings existing simultaneously in the minds of the speakers” (S. 22). A. D. Lowe (Leeds) betrachtet „Some Correct Renderings in Ancient Biblical Versions” (S. 24-38), u.a. Spr. 19:22. Zu einzelnen Wörtern macht er wichtige Beobachtungen, z.B. zu *hsdw*. J. MacDonald (Glasgow) schreibt über „The Supreme Warrior Caste in the Ancient Near East” (S. 39-71). Eingehend unterzieht er Wörter wie *mariyannu*, ugar. und hebr. *na'ar* und das in den Maritexten belegte *šuharum* einer Untersuchung. Nach ihm handelt es sich bei diesen Begriffen um eine Bezeichnung von „the role and status of a class of highborn people, men and women, more often than not young, obviously, who seem to have been highly educated, very knowledgeable about their „Sitz im Leben”, relied upon by kings, governors and feudal lords, having a distinguished part to play in war, in diplomacy, in the domestic life of palaces and great houses, in governmental communications, in the religious cult and in other spheres” (S. 68). Etwas gleichen sie dem Feudaladel des Mittelalters. Sie „belonged to the level of society immediately below the royal family and the senior aristocracy” (S. 71). Der jetzt verstorbene E. C. B. MacLauron (Sydney) verfasste „A Comparison of two Aspects of Ugaritic and Christian Theology” (S. 72-82). Er versucht zu zeigen, dass es Parallelen gibt zwischen bestimmten Gedanken, welche sich in den ugaritischen Texten finden und christlichen Theologoumena. So weist er z.B. darauf hin, dass Baal niemals versucht hat den Hauptgott El zu verdrängen. „The theological question of the status of Baal involves recognizing the fact that every act he did was on behalf of, or as a subordinate to, El, who was the source from which his authority originated... So Jesus claimed to receive his authority from God..., and his reply to Pilate indicates that human authority on earth is also delegated by God (Jn. XIX, 11)” (S. 75). Und solche Parallelen gibt es, der Ansicht des Verfassers nach, noch viele. Jedenfalls bietet der Artikel, obwohl man manchmal anderer Meinung sein wird, gute Ansätze zu weiterer Arbeit auf diesem Gebiet.

In der zweiten Abteilung, den phönizischen Studien, fängt W. Culican (Melbourne) mit einem Artikel über „Phoenician Incense Stands” an (S. 85-101), einem Artikel, der reich illustriert und dokumentiert ist. Er zeigt, wie wichtig der Weihrauch im alten phönizischen Bereich war und bereichert unsere Kenntnis der phönizischen Religion. J. Leclant (Paris) verfasste „A propos des étuis porte-amulettes égyptiens et puniques” (S. 102-107), auch illustriert. H. G. Niemeyer (Köln) schrieb „The Trayamar Medallion Reconsidered” (S. 108-113) und G. Garbini

(Pisa): „Gli „Annali di Tiro” e la storiografia fenicia” (S. 114-127). Letztgenannter beschäftigt sich mit Flavius Josephus' Zitaten aus den Arbeiten des Menander von Ephesos (Contr. Ap. I § 117ff.; Ant. Jud. VIII, 144ff.; 324; IX, 284ff.). Nach Josephus hat Menander die tyrischen Chroniken der Phönizier ins Griechische übersetzt (vgl. Ant. VIII § 144). Garbini bezweifelt diese Angabe: „questi non fu il traduttore degli archivi ufficiali di Tiro, ma soltanto un compilatore di un'opera sui re antichi...” (S. 125).

In dem arabischen und islamischen Teil dieser Studien schreibt T. M. Johnstone (London) über Geister und Gespenster: „Heads you Lose” (S. 131-135); R. Y. Ebied und M. J. L. Young (Leeds) über „An Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Commercial Phrase Book: Leeds Turkish Ms No. 3” (S. 136-145); dieselben Verfasser über „Some Arabic Legal Manuscripts in the Leeds Collection” (S. 146-155).

Die maltesischen Studien weisen drei Artikel auf: J. Aquilina (Malta) „The Problems of Maltese Lexicography” (S. 159-172); G. Wettinger (Malta) „The Place-names and the Personal Nomenclature of Gozo, 1372-1600” (S. 173-198) und E. Fenech (Malta) „Maltese Religious Terminology of Semitic Origin” (S. 199-209). An einschlägigen Beispielen im letztgenannten Artikel zeigt der Verfasser klar den semitischen Einfluss in der maltesischen Sprache.

Leider hat dieses sehr lesenswerte Buch keine Register.

Badhoevedorp-NL, April 1981

M. J. MULDER

UGARITICA

Jean-Michel de TARRAGON, O.P. *Le culte à Ugarit d'après les textes de la pratique en cunéiformes alphabétiques*. Paris, J. Gabalda et C^{ie}, 1980 (25 cm., 208 pp.) = Cahiers de la Revue Biblique. 19. ISBN 2 85021 001 3.

Jean-Michel de Tarragon, O.P., points to the fact that the myths in the Ras Shamra texts have been much more discussed than the documents and passages dedicated to a description of the religious practice. The texts are of different kinds, some of a ritual character, others are lists of sacrifices etc.

Some older works treating of these texts are not satisfying. Some of them tend to mix mythology and practice too much, others use biblical texts as analogies in an untenable way. Not few of these works were, however, as de Tarragon mentions, published very early, when sufficient material was not yet available.

He discusses first the cultic calendar in Ugarit, as it may be read out of the texts. In his next chapter he registers the sacrifices and offerings, first the animals, then the different parts of the animals, used in the offerings. He points out that only small quantities of animals are mentioned in the rituals. These quantities are in contrast with the ciphers mentioned in the mythological texts, but those great ciphers are more often used about the meals of the gods than of real sacrifices.

Agricultural offerings are mentioned, especially in economic texts: wine, oil, grain, bread. de Tarragon concludes his discussion of the cultic vocabulary in Ugarit in stating that there are few indications that there was a distinction between sacred and profane. The Ugaritic religion was more naturalistic than theological. The sacrifices and the offerings were part of the usual agricultural economy in a relatively harmonious community.

The purification rites for the king are examined, and a special attention is given to the text CTA 32 (UT 2), which gives a picture of the place the king occupied in the cult, and also indicates that the whole people, all social classes, took part in that royal rite. It may have been an expiatory rite, parallel to that on the Hebrew Yom Kippur, as suggested by A. Caquot.

de Tarragon finds no special indications that the idea of sacral kingship was dominant in Ugarit. The titles of the king, as used in the neighbouring countries at the same time, are not found in the Ras Shamra texts. Nevertheless, Ugarit was part of a socio-cultural world, where the idea of sacral kingship was usual, and it may also have coloured the ideology of Ugarit. The close connection between the rituals of transferring the divine statues, performed in the „royal house”, *bt.mlk.*, and the purification rites for the king may indicate something in the same line.

de Tarragon has fine observations of the cultic personnel mentioned in the texts, and he is, rightly, cautious in drawing on Hebrew parallels, which are very often coloured by the special features in the Yahwistic religion. He has also a brief discussion of the term *mrzḥ*, which designates either a cultic celebration, or a cultic association.

What pantheon, then, is found in the ritual texts? There are several lists, speaking about this. The gods expected to be found there, like El and Baal, are surely present. But other designations, of an apparently more general character, are also found, like *il ib*. The author joins J. C. de Moor, when he says: „In the genealogy of the gods, Ilu is preceded, however, by the ancestor-god *il ib*”. Baal, on the other side, is preceded by his father Dagan.

In the myths, the gods are types with a special function, but that is not so in the cultic pantheon. The gods there are practically never characterized through their functions. The cultic pantheon is not organized or structured. No traces are found of a conflict between El and Baal, as it may be seen in some of the mythological texts. Cult of Baal is mentioned in many cases, but curiously not in CTA 32 (UT 2).

In his conclusion de Tarragon mentions that his study needs to be completed by an analysis of the archaeological findings and a monography about the glyptics. The tombs of Ugarit may, e.g., yield rich material for the understanding of religious practice in the cult of the dead.

The glyptic shows influence from Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and Egypt. Both the glyptic and the ritual texts indicate clearly that Ugarit was open to influence from foreign religions, especially from Egypt.

This fact raises also another question: how was the relation between the myths and the cult in the ancient oriental religions? Did the myths influence the cult or vice versa? The answer is, according to de Tarragon, that there was an interrelation between myth and cult. In Ugarit

it is very difficult to be sure of the relation between them, as the myths seem to be part of ancient layers of traditions, while the ritual texts seem to be late, from the last period in Ugarit's history. The theories of a close connection between Myth and ritual, as suggested by J. Gray and J. C. de Moor (and for that matter: the present reviewer), may be right, but so far the supposed rites have not been documented in the ritual texts.

The last words of de Tarragon in his book are worth citing: „Le mythe inscrit en effet le rite dans le temps, dans la durée, dans une histoire reconstruite; la fonction symbolique du rite est le point de jonction entre l'effort de systématisation du mythe et l'effectuation ponctuelle du rite”.

de Tarragon's book is full of fine observations. It is well balanced, and he is cautious in his judgements. At the same time he is open for the points of view of other scholars and discusses them honestly. His book is a standard work, and in a worthy way he goes into the line of scholars who have written excellent works in the French language on Ugarit and its world: Schaeffer, Virolleaud, Dussaud, Herdner, Caquot.

Oslo, February 1980

ARVID S. KAPELRUD

* *

Svi and Shifra RIN, *Haṭṭūr haššēlīšī la'ālilōt ha'ēlīm* [The Third Column of the Acts of the Gods], Narberth, 'Inbal Publications, Philadelphia, 1979 (26 cm., P. 25 + 133 + VIII [= English preface]).

In this unusual volume the authors present a transliteration of the Ugaritic texts known as the Ba'al and 'Anat Myth, The Birth of the Gracious Gods, The Wedding of Nikkal and Ib, The Legend of Krt, and The Story of Aqhat. In this transliteration they have converted the Ugaritic cuneiform script into the square script of the Hebrew alphabet, to which diacritical marks have been added when the Hebrew letter does not correspond exactly to the Ugaritic sound. The transcription transmutes the Ugaritic form into one which a reader of Biblical Hebrew will readily recognize. It uses the final letters of the square script, adds *matres lectionis*, rarely used in Ugaritic, according to the grammatical Tiberian spelling, and adheres to the standard shifts of consonants in the Semitic languages.

What are the purposes of this transcription into Hebrew? The authors spell out their three aims as follows: to remove the psychological block created by the Ugaritic *scriptio defectiva*, to demonstrate the „etymological identity of the dialects of Ugarit and Jerusalem”, and finally, to put at the disposition of modern writers and poets a relatively unknown source of poetic motifs and inspiration. The authors seem to have fulfilled a real need here. Recent studies have shown that the structure of Ugaritic poetry is extremely refined and subtle, so that modern poets stand to learn much from these Canaanite poetic techniques which were largely adopted by Biblical poets, though this fact has not always been appreciated by later tradition.

For the philological underpinning of the Rin translation the reader must have recourse to their 1968 work, *Acts of the Gods: The Ugaritic Epic Poetry, Transliterated, Transcribed and Interpreted*. When it appeared this work raised hackles in certain quarters because it treated Hebrew poetry as a direct continuation of Ugaritic poetry and heavily dependent upon it for its vocabulary and techniques. While not accepting their comparisons in every detail, this reviewer was sympathetic to their approach.

To read Ugaritic phrases and cola in Hebrew transcription can prove suggestive and lead to a better understanding of the Ugaritic text itself. Thus UT, 68:9, *ht ibk tmḥs ht tšmt šrtk* becomes in transcription *hnh 'wybyk tmḥs hnh tšmyt šwrryk*, "Behold, you will smite your foes, behold, you will annihilate your adversaries". The non-specialist could scarcely recognize that the feminine abstract noun *šrtk*, "your adversity", bore a concrete meaning because of its parallelism with the concrete noun *ibk*, "your foes". The specialist, on the other hand, begins to wonder when looking at Ugaritic *tšmt* whether it too should not be vocalized as the causative *tšmīt*, as in Hebrew, since this is the regular Hebrew usage to express "annihilate". Hiphil forms are cropping up frequently in the Ebla tablets of circa 2,500 B.C., so that it appears Ugaritic employed in addition to the shaphel causatives the hiphil conjugation as well.

Throughout this volume the name of the artisan god is transcribed *kwšr*, "Koshar", in keeping with standard practice. However, Eblaite *ka-ša-lu/ru* (TM.75.G.2238 obv. VII 3) suggests that the name is a *nomen agentis*, to be normalized *kaššār*; who more than this patron of crafts and professions deserves such a vocalization? The second component of this double-barreled name *ktr whss* also appears in a bilingual vocabulary as *ha-si-su*, translating Sumerian *geštu*, "intelligent" (TM.75.G.1301 rev. II 2-3). Hence it is identical with Akkadian *hasisu*, whose second vowel is long; thus the compound name of the god should be transcribed *kšr whsys* instead of *kwšr whss* (p. 5 and elsewhere).

The authors have performed a very useful service in making available this transcription of the chief Ugaritic poems, and one hopes that this work will enjoy a wide readership especially in those areas where for various reasons the Ugaritic poems have not received the attention and sympathetic understanding they deserve.

Rome, March 1981

MITCHELL DAHOOD

HEBREEUWS-OUDE TESTAMENT

Rudolf MEYER, *Gegensinn und Mehrdeutigkeit in der althebräischen Wort- und Begriffsbildung*. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1979 (21,5 × 14,5 cm., 31 pp.) = Sitzungsberichte der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologische-historische Klasse, Band 120, Heft 5. Price: DM 3,50.

This brief study, which also appeared as an article in UF 11 (1979) 601-612, addresses itself to three specific

issues: 1, The problem of conceptual polarity; 2, Polarity in the use of prepositions in classical Hebrew; 3, the polar use of prepositions within the framework of classical Hebrew. Since the polarity of biblical prepositions elicits the most reactions among Hebraists today, I shall limit my observations to what Meyer has to say on this question.

As his point of departure Meyer cites the statement of C.H. Gordon, "The most interesting feature of Ugaritic prepositions is the meaning 'from' for both *b* and *l*. The ambiguity of *b* and *l* is troublesome in reading Ugaritic: *b* is either 'in(to)', 'by, with' or 'from', while *l* is either 'to, for' or 'from'".

The introduction into Hebrew of *min* at a later period did not deprive the prepositions *b* and *l* of their Canaanite meaning "from". As a result, all three prepositions can be found to be employed interchangeably, creating problems for future philologists. Thus Meyer cites (p. 17) the partitive force of *b^e*, *l^e* and *min* in Prov 9:5, Lam 4:5 and Gen 3:5, respectively. Equally interesting is his discussion of comparative *min* and *b^e* (pp. 17-19); the recognition of comparative *b^e* renders intelligible Prov 24:5 which in its transmitted form "kaum verständlich ist". Meyer proposes to read:

gābar (MT *geber*) *hākām b^eaz* (MT *ba'ōz*)

w^eš-da'at mē'ammīš (MT *m^e'ammes*)-*kōaḥ*

Stärker ist ein Weiser als ein Starker

und ein Verständiger als ein Kraftvoller.

I would take exception only to his repointing of MT *ba'ōz* to *b^eaz*. MT *ba'ōz* may be retained and rendered "than a fortress" when compared with Prov 21:22, "ir gibbōrīm 'ālāh hākām/wayyōred 'ōz mibteḥāh, "A wise man attacked a city of warriors/and pulled down the fortress in which they trusted".

In his review of W. Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, which on p. 101a lists Prov 24:5; Pss 89:3 and 119:89 as witnessing comparative *b^e*, J.A. Emerton, VT 22 (1972) 506-07, rejects comparative *beth* partly because it is not attested in Ugaritic. Emerton is technically correct because no clear instance of this usage is forthcoming from the Ras Shamra tablets, but how else would the *min*-less Ugaritians have expressed the comparative concept? They would have had to use either *b* or *l*; biblical Hebrew attests both *b^e* and *l^e* with comparative force, and one can reasonably assume that at Ugarit these prepositions fulfilled a similar function.

Of course there are many more examples of comparative *b^e* than the three examined by Meyer (Prov 24:5; 1 Chron 5:2; Ezek 26:17). One might cite Deut 1:28 where the parallelism with *mimmennū* is indicative: "am gādōl wārām mimmennū / 'ārīm g^edōlōt ūb^ešūrōt baššāmāyīm, "The people are stronger and taller than we / the cities are larger and more fortified than the heavens". Of the final phrase *b^ešūrōt baššāmāyīm* one finds a variety of versions, a clear indication that its syntactic function was not firmly grasped. The new translation uncovers the complete parallelism as well as the motif of heaven as a fortress, a *topos* encountered in Pss 8:2-3 and 31:22, *kī hiplī ḥasdō li b^eir māšōr*, "who showed me wonderful kindness from the fortified city". Cf. also Ps 78:26.

In this brief study Meyer has competently examined one of the crucial issues tormenting current Hebrew philology and biblical translation. The recent spate of articles concerning the ambivalence of the Hebrew pre-

positions revealed by the use of the prepositions in Ugaritic bespeaks the amount of interest the question elicits. In theory the ambiguity is acute, but in practice much of the ambivalence can be reduced by taking the context and literary style into consideration. In Prov 24:5 and Deut 1:28, for instance, the parallelism with unequivocal *min* reveals the precise comparative sense of ambivalent *b^e*.

Meyer fittingly closes his study with a citation from T. Nöldeke's essay of 1910 "Wörter mit Gegensinn (Aḏḏād)": "Die bunte Wirklichkeit des menschlichen Fühlens, Denkens und Redens spottet aller Versuche, sie in Formeln einzuzwängen". All of us participating in the current debate would do well to reflect on this sage observation of the great Nöldeke.

Roma, April 1981

MITCHELL DAHOOD

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John GRAY, *The Biblical Doctrine of the Reign of God*. Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1979 (23 cm., xiv + 401 pages). Prix: £ 10.95. ISBN 0 567 09300 X.

A l'inverse d'autres spécialistes qui se cantonnent dans de longues études de détails, J. Gray a osé aborder un thème aussi vaste que l'Écriture Sainte, puisqu'il est consacré à «la doctrine biblique du Règne de Dieu»; ce faisant il apporte sa contribution aux travaux en cours de théologie biblique, qui redevient une des préoccupations majeures de certains enseignants de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament.

La synthèse qu'il nous propose s'ouvre (pp. 7-38) par un chapitre particulièrement intéressant et décisif où l'auteur expose sa propre position en s'appuyant sur des savants dont les noms sont généralement bien connus, comme S. Mowinckel, H. Gunkel, W. Eichrodt, H.J. Kraus, G. von Rad, C.H. Dodd, etc., ou en discutant avec eux. — On pourra compléter sa bibliographie sur le sujet en recourant à un ouvrage qui traite de la même question et que J. Gray n'a pu utiliser puisqu'il n'a paru à Louvain qu'en 1979, celui de J. Coppens sur «La royauté, le règne, le royaume de Dieu. Cadre de la relève apocalyptique. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, tome L (cf. notamment les pages 67ss) — C'est en effet principalement sur S. Mowinckel et son travail sur la fête de l'intronisation de Yahvé et l'origine de l'eschatologie (1922) que J. Gray se fonde tout en insistant sans doute davantage sur le lien qui unit le thème de la royauté du Dieu d'Israël et celui de l'alliance avec Israël; il estime que les documents de Ras Shamra vérifient le bien-fondé des hypothèses que le savant norvégien formulait au lendemain de la première guerre mondiale. Pour lui la royauté divine repose sur une expérience sacramentelle, provoquée et entretenue par le rituel de la fête préexilique d'automne, dont l'un des éléments principaux est précisément l'affirmation de la suprématie de Yahvé sur les forces du chaos: *Yhwh mālak* signifie «Yahvé s'est manifesté comme le souverain», et ceci notamment dans le cadre d'un conflit cosmique. On notera que J. Gray préfère employer l'expression «la fête d'automne» à celle, de portée plus

restreinte, de «fête de Nouvel An»; il aurait pu cependant se référer aux pages nuancées que H. Cazelles a écrites à son propos dans le *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, tome VI, colonnes 620-645, paru en 1960.

J. Gray débute son enquête par un long chapitre (pp. 39-116) consacré, comme il se doit, au règne de Dieu dans les psaumes; il évoque à ce sujet non seulement les psaumes d'intronisation (comme les Ps. 93 et 95, qui sont habituellement compris dans cette catégorie, et encore les Ps. 24; 65; 68; 46; etc., que J. Gray range dans la même classe), mais également des prières qui, aux yeux de l'auteur, se situent dans la perspective de la fête automnale: ainsi les Psaumes royaux (Ps. 2; 110), les complaints collectives (Ps. 74; 89; etc.) et individuelles (Ps. 61; 118; 22; etc.), bref une bonne partie du psautier. J. Gray rattache aussi à l'idéologie de la célébration de l'automne le thème de la royauté davidique (pp. 77ss), l'expression *šub šebūt* (pp. 110ss), la notion de «Jour de Yahvé» (pp. 137ss) ... On le voit, il procède d'une manière englobante, ce qui lui permet d'attribuer une signification décisive à l'affirmation de la souveraineté de Yahvé, attestée et actualisée dans la liturgie, pour la tradition vétérotestamentaire: cette donnée remonterait à l'époque de l'installation des tribus israélites en Canaan, elle aurait plus d'importance que l'alliance elle-même et son influence se manifesterait jusque dans les textes prophétiques, apocalyptiques et évangéliques. J. Gray revient à plusieurs reprises sur ces points. (pp. 9; 109; 191s; 270; etc.)

D'une façon parfaitement cohérente avec ses prémisses, J. Gray retrouve en effet dans le prophétisme (pp. 117-224) comme dans l'apocalyptique (pp. 225ss) et le Nouveau Testament (pp. 317ss) des références évidentes au règne de Yahvé, et ceci dès les prophètes préexiliques: non seulement chez Esaïe, auquel on pense aussitôt (cf. Es. 6,1ss), et dont les déclarations s'expliquent en fonction du rituel d'automne (cf. Es. 7,10ss; 9,1ss; 11,1ss), mais déjà chez Amos, à cause notamment de son allusion au «Jour de Yahvé» (Am. 5,18-20: pp. 135ss), ou encore chez Nahum, Sophonie, etc. et plus tard le Second Esaïe, où ce thème joue un rôle central, contrairement au livre d'Ezéchiel, où il serait absent (pp. 160ss) ... J. Gray consacre ensuite deux chapitres, l'un à la présentation de l'apocalyptique (pp. 225-273), l'autre à l'examen de la terminologie relative à celui qui doit représenter en Israël la souveraineté de Yahvé, le Messie, le Serviteur, le Fils de l'homme (pp. 274-316) — ce qui lui permet de faire d'utiles mises au point —, avant d'en venir au message de Jésus sur le Royaume à la fois présent et à venir, selon le témoignage synoptique (pp. 317-357), et ses échos dans la prédication de l'Église. (pp. 358-373)

Ce bref résumé donne une idée incomplète de la richesse de l'étude de J. Gray et de son intérêt; sa thèse est à certains égards séduisante comme l'a déjà été, à son époque, l'ouvrage de S. Mowinckel; elle montre l'ancienneté, la permanence et l'importance d'une donnée qui se trouve attestée dans l'Ancien comme dans le Nouveau Testament. Mais on peut se demander, à la réflexion, si l'auteur ne fait pas la part trop belle à la notion de règne de Dieu dans les textes vétérotestamentaires. Il n'explique pas le silence quasi complet du Pentateuque à cet égard — ce que W. Eichrodt avait déjà relevé —, et les prophètes préexiliques ne paraissent pas tenir particulièrement compte de ce qu'implique le rituel de la fête d'automne dans leurs

interventions: Amos puise l'essentiel de son message à d'autres sources, et même Essaïe semble modifier la tradition jérusalémite dont il hérite. D'ailleurs les détails de la célébration automnale nous échappent malgré les reconstitutions des biblistes et les textes qui nous en parlent explicitement demeurent succints à ce propos. Il ne me semble donc pas que «la royauté de Yahvé», telle qu'elle aurait été proclamée dans le culte israélite, puisse être la clef de lecture des nombreux passages auxquels J. Gray se réfère; il est intéressant de noter à ce sujet que J. Coppens n'a évoqué celle-ci, dans la belle histoire du messianisme qu'il nous présente, que dans un ouvrage relatif à l'apocalypique! J. Gray ne paraît pas avoir suffisamment distinguer le «Sitz im Leben» du «Sitz in der Rede» pour reprendre une formule de G. Fohrer, entre l'un et l'autre la distance est souvent si grande que leurs relations sont parfois quasi nulles: il y a des données qui tombent ainsi dans «le domaine public» et n'appartiennent plus à leur milieu d'origine. Toute allusion à la royauté divine ne se fonde pas nécessairement sur l'idéologie impliquée dans les psaumes d'intronisation.

Mais il reste que J. Gray a eu le mérite de rouvrir un débat sur l'origine cultuelle de certains aspects de l'espérance biblique; il nous invite par ailleurs à établir les fondements vétérotestamentaires du message de Jésus sur le Royaume de Dieu et à évaluer de façon plus précise ce qui unit et ce qui distingue l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament à cet égard. Il est précieux de pouvoir dès maintenant comparer sa contribution à celle de J. Coppens parue la même année.

Genève, février 1981

ROBERT MARTIN-ACHARD

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S.T. KIMBROUGH Jr., *Israelite religion in sociological perspective. The work of Antonin Causse*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrasowitz, 1978 (24 cm., xvi + 154 pp.) = Studies in Oriental Religion 4. Prix: DM 48.-. ISBN 3 447 019670.

Le livre est l'édition révisée d'une thèse soutenue en 1966 au Princeton Theological Seminary. Le livre donne une excellente représentation et une importante évaluation de l'œuvre de Causse, professeur de l'Ancien Testament et de l'Histoire des Religions à la Faculté de Théologie (protestante) à l'Université de Strasbourg pendant la période de 1919 à 1940. Dans ce contexte, on y trouve à la fois un bon aperçu de l'histoire des études bibliques en France. L'auteur démontre combien Causse dépend, dans ses publications, des études ethnologiques et sociologiques d'Émile Durkheim qui prétendait que le groupe social était le seul élément indépendant dans l'histoire et dans la sociologie, et surtout de Lucien Lévy-Bruhl qui «provided a classification of human history which was eventually to serve as a model for Causse ... It was based on man's mental progress as reflected in his loftiest and religious achievement by contemporary analogies of primitive tribes and men of civilized countries» (p. 101 s.). Puis, il y a l'influence de l'École de Strasbourg (Ed. Reuss), et de Renan (*Histoire d'Israël*) qui signalait dans le

développement de la religion d'Israël «two rival forces vying for priority — progress toward civilisation, toward culture, and the nomadic life» (p. 31). Avec Renan, Causse accentue aussi «the centrality of prophetism in the evolution of Old Testament history and thought, and its endorsement of human and social justice which gave Israelite religion its moral fibre» (p. 40). Mais Causse dépassait Renan par le fait que «The broad lines of evolutionary emphasis laid out by Reuss, Graf and Wellhausen were integrated with the theory of French sociology ... to provide a unique analysis of the development of Old Testament religion» (p. 40).

Causse a démontré, dans son beau livre *Du Groupe ethnique à la communauté religieuse* (Paris 1937), «the passage from the solidarity of ancient Israel based on the ethnic group, to the solidarity of Judaism based on the tôrâ» (p. 125), «the transition ... from prelogical, primitive mentality, where religion was still little detached from magic, to the more evolved ethical, rational and individualistic conception of Judaism» (p. 105). «He has shed light on the inner development of this evolution from the rupture of culture and religion upon establishment in Palestine to the voluntary adhesion of religious societies in postexilic Palestine» (p. 125 s.).

Je suis d'accord avec Kimbrough lorsqu'il conclut: «scholars ... must reckon with Causse's work, along with Max Weber's (*Das antike Judentum*), as one of the most outstanding examples of a sociological approach to Old Testament religion» (p. 126).

Je regrette avec Kimbrough que l'œuvre de Causse soit resté trop peu connue, de toute façon hors de la France. Selon Kimbrough, ce fait est surtout dû à la prépondérance que l'on donnait, à tort, au livre de Weber au détriment de celui de Causse, et ensuite à l'intérêt qu'on avait pendant les années de 1920 à 1940 pour les questions théologiques de l'Ancien Testament, tandis que Causse s'occupait plutôt de l'histoire de la religion d'Israël. «There can be no question that Causse's lack of interaction with certain major aspects of Old Testament research (représentés par les études de Alt, Noth, Eichrodt, Köhler, Galling, etc.) greatly hindered the continued influence of his work» (p. 133). Je crois qu'il y a encore une autre raison: le simple fait que la langue française retient beaucoup de savants protestants de lire les livres de leurs collègues français.

J'espère que le livre de Kimbrough rendra l'œuvre de Causse accessible à un plus grand nombre de ceux qui s'occupent d'études vétérotestamentaires. Pour finir, je dois signaler une erreur. L'auteur du livre cité *Le développement du sens social en Israël avant l'ère chrétienne* (p. 136 s.; 146) n'est pas Th. C. van Leeuwen, mais C. van Leeuwen, le soussigné de cette critique.

Utrecht, Mars 1981

C. VAN LEEUWEN

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M. DIJKSTRA, *Gods voorstelling. Predikatieve expressie van zelfopenbaring in oudoosterse teksten en Deutero-Jesaja*. Kampen, J.H. Kok, 1980 (24 cm., xii + 477 pp.) = Dissertationes Neerlandicae, Series Theologica, no. 2. ISBN 90 242 0701 0. Price: f 55,00.

The purpose of this work is to examine the theological function of those passages in the oracles of 'Deutero-Isaiah', the prophet of the Exile (Isa. 40-55), in which Yahweh is represented as speaking about himself — identifying himself, describing his characteristics and qualities, and speaking in his own praise. Much has already been written on this subject in recent years, but this study is the most thorough investigation yet to be undertaken.

The author recognizes that Deutero-Isaiah's own theological contribution can only be properly appraised when the extent of his debt to the religious traditions current in his day has been thoroughly assessed — that is, his dependence on concepts, terminology and style common to the religions of the ancient Near East, and also his use of the religious ideas and beliefs which were peculiar to the Israelite tradition. (The question is also raised, with regard to the former, whether his style owes something directly to the literature of Babylonia with which he might have been familiar as a consequence of his residence there as a Jewish exile. This question is answered by a qualified negative: almost all that he owes to outside influence could have reached him out of a West-Semitic religious tradition familiar in Israel before the Exile.)

In a detailed study of the 'predicative style' in Mesopotamian and West-Semitic literature, which embraces material in the 'you/he' forms as well as that of divine self-predication (the 'I' form), the author shows that such divine predication, though it ultimately goes back to cultic usage, is not an independent genre but appears in a number of different types of literature and serves a number of different purposes, including propaganda and a more reflective 'theology'. Of particular importance for comparison with Deutero-Isaiah is the distinction which the author finds between 'majestic' and 'confidential' self-predication. By these two somewhat strange terms he means on the one hand impersonal statements which witness to the power of a particular deity over nature, and on the other hand statements of a personal kind addressed to particular individuals, expressing a deity's concern for their welfare and salvation. This distinction is found in texts from Sumerian times to neo-Assyrian, and both types are used in order to give authority and conviction to the deity's demands or promises.

Turning to the use of self-predication in Deutero-Isaiah, the author lays stress on the fact, already noted by earlier scholars, that religious language does not always carry an identical meaning but must be interpreted against the background of the religious context in which it is used. Statements about a deity's power or uniqueness never have an absolute meaning in a polytheistic context, but serve only to define that deity's position with respect to the rest of the pantheon, his predominance over a particular aspect of the universe, or his general pre-eminence in the mind of the worshippers at a particular time.

Deutero-Isaiah is shown to have adopted both the 'majestic' and the 'confidential' styles of divine self-predication, but to have combined them in a new way.

The creator of the world, Yahweh, is seen to be also the 'creator' (in a metaphorical sense) of Israel: the 'confidential' style is taken over and used by him with Israel, rather than an individual such as the king, as the recipient. The combination of the two styles, often in the same passage, makes the point that the 'far' God is also the 'near' God. This was not an entirely new concept for Israel, but it is presented by Deutero-Isaiah with special force. The Creator is the Redeemer. As in the non-biblical material considered, the statements about God's power are used to give authority to his assurances of salvation, but for the Israelite prophet the redeeming God is the God of the Exodus and Sinai. The author points out that in self-predicative passages like 44:24-28 Yahweh begins with his acts of universal creation and then passes on to his acts in history, both past and future. For Deutero-Isaiah, therefore, the concept of Yahweh as universal creator is not peripheral but forms the ground of his message of salvation.

One of the most interesting features of this book is the demonstration that the predicative expressions in Deutero-Isaiah, whether in I-style or he-style, are not mere ornaments but themselves carry the prophetic message. They never function as independent hymns of divine self-praise, which would be foreign to the Israelite conception of God, but are integral features of the various pericopes and also of the larger structure of these chapters.

As a by-product of his main argument the author reaches some rather radical conclusions of a form-critical nature. On the grounds of his comparative studies, which show the great flexibility of the predicative style in non-Israelite texts — for example, the presence or absence of the expression 'Fear not!' in divine oracles of reassurance — he concludes that the now widely accepted distinction between the 'assurance of salvation' (*Heilszusage*) and the 'proclamation of salvation' (*Heilsankündigung*) in Deutero-Isaiah is an artificial one: the two are merely variants. He similarly throws doubt on the existence as a separate form of the judgement speech (*Gerichtsrede*), which he regards as only a stylistic ornament providing a suitable fictitious setting for the disputation, a device which can be traced as far back as the Sumerian contest-literature. A more radical conclusion, and one which has implications for the general structure of the book, is his view that the disputations in Deutero-Isaiah are for the most part to be seen not as independent pericopes but as integral parts of the oracles of salvation which follow: they set the scene by depicting the actual situation of the exiles in particular, their doubts about Yahweh's power and his good will. These conclusions come as a welcome support for those scholars who believe that some German form-critical work has gone beyond the bounds of probability in some respects in drawing overfine distinctions and, among other things, over-atomizing the oracles of Deutero-Isaiah.

In a book of such ample dimensions there are inevitably many points of detail, impossible to consider within the compass of a review, which will provoke disagreement among the specialists. It may also be suggested that the book would have been more effective if it had been less prolix. It has the familiar defects of the unrevised thesis in that the wealth of detail often makes it difficult to follow the main thrust of the argument; and there is, especially in the final section, a good deal of unnecessary

repetition. Nevertheless, apart from its undoubted usefulness as a rationally ordered repository of information about an important aspect of ancient Near Eastern literature, which had not previously been brought together so completely, it has in this reviewer's judgement been successful in its aim of showing the importance of the role played in the oracles of Deutero-Isaiah by the passages in which Yahweh speaks about himself. These predicative expressions are not mere ornament, nor are they simply conventional language culled at random from the surrounding world. They have been deliberately chosen by Deutero-Isaiah from a common tradition familiar to Israel before his time and skilfully used by him and integrated with Israel's own unique traditions in such a way that they form the basis and carry the weight of his own message, from the Creator of the world and Redeemer of Israel, of comfort and encouragement to the Babylonian exiles facing a pagan world.

Hull, May 1981

R. N. WHYBRAY

JUDAICA

S. APPLEBAUM, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*. Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1979 (22 cm., xvi + 376 S.) = *Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity* 28.

In dieser englischen Übersetzung eines 1969 auf Iwrit erschienenen Buchs will Vf. den literarisch und auch sonst äusserst mager bezeugten jüdischen Aufstand in Kyrene (115-118 n.Chr.) in weitestem geschichtlichen und geographischen Zusammenhang verständlich machen. Nach einer kurzen Einleitung in die Morphologie der Cyrenaica, die von Natur zur Konkurrenz zwischen bäuerlicher Kultivierung und nomadischer Viehzucht Anlass gibt (Kap. I; S. 1-7), wird die griechische Kolonisation des Landes sehr ausführlich behandelt (Kap. II; S. 8-73). Obwohl interessant und fürs Einlesen wertvoll, ist diese Geschichtsdarstellung mit ihren Abschweifungen in die wissenschaftliche Diskussion und den vielen Hypothesen im Verhältnis zu ihrem Umfang wenig fruchtbar für das Thema. Die libyschen Juden werden nur einmal erwähnt, und dann auch nur im Zusammenhang einer unwichtigen Hypothese. In Kap. III (S. 74-129) wird Wirtschaft und Ackerbau in der Cyrenaica behandelt, nicht ohne Wiederholung aus dem Vorhergehenden. Aus den physiographischen Bedingungen entwickeln sich die Siedlungswellen. Am fruchtbarsten sind die Roterdeböden um Kyrene, wo auch günstige Niederschlagsmengen sind. Auf das dortige Quellwassergebiet konzentrierte sich die erste griechische Siedlungswelle im 7.-6. Jh.v.Chr., in der Mitte des 6. Jh. werden die Brunnengebiete und dann im 4. Jh.v.Chr. die Zisternengebiete besiedelt. Erst in hellenistischer Zeit greifen dann grosse Tempelgüter in die südliche Steppe über. Aus schwer zu interpretierenden Quellen (Demiurgoi-Stelen, Cerealstele) werden die ökonomischen Folgen der griechischen Besiedlung erschlossen: Das fruchtbare Kyrene führte Getreide nach Griechenland aus. Seine grundbesitzende Oberschicht scheint mit den libyischen Vieh-

züchtern zusammengearbeit zu haben. Weiterer Zuzug aus Griechenland und erneute Landverteilung führte zu Landmangel und ertragsarmem Kleinbesitz, am Ende zu Spannungen mit den Nomaden. Der übermässige Export mag den Boden überbeansprucht und ertragsarm gemacht haben, was am Ende den Grossgrundbesitz gefördert hat. In hellenistischer Zeit (Kap. III, 6, 109ff.) verschlechtert sich die wirtschaftliche Lage allmählich. Die Landverteilung an Veteranen verschärfte den Landmangel. Hierbei wurden auch Juden angesiedelt. Das Königsland, der Privat- und der Tempelgrossgrundbesitz weitete sich aus. Diese Ländereien wurden an Kleinbauern verpachtet, sodass sich die Anbaufläche immer mehr nach Süden dehnte. Die Intensivierung führte zum Ertragsrückgang, zum Verlassen des Bodens, Verteuerung der Produkte und schliesslich zu Revolten (162 v.Chr.). Offenbar war das Gleichgewicht zwischen Ackerbau und Weidebetrieb zusammengebrochen.

Mit Kap. IV. „The Jews of Ancient Cyrene“ (130-200) kommt Vf. zum eigentlichen Thema. Alle wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnisse über Entstehung und Entwicklung des Judentums in Cyrene werden zusammengetragen. Sie sind nicht viele und häufig von geringem Informationswert. Die literarischen stammen dazu noch aus verschiedensten Zeiten. Die indirekten beruhen auf dem Vergleich mit Ägypten. Das Rückgrat der Darstellung ist Josephus, aus dessen gelegentlichen Bemerkungen Vf. eine gewisse Parallelität zur Einwanderung in Ägypten erschliesst. Es muss eine Einwanderung unter Ptolemäus I., eine zweite in der Mitte des 2. Jh.v.Chr. stattgefunden haben. Vf. denkt mit Josephus und dem Aristeeasbrief vor allem an militärische Siedlungen. Allerdings betont Josephus etwas zu gern die soldatische Kraft seines Volkes, und ist im Übrigen der Nachweis solcher Ansiedlungen sehr schwer. Dass auch Jason von Kyrene, von dem wir weder die Lebensperiode noch die Bedeutung ausreichend kennen, wieder in der Geschichte figurieren muss, finde ich ungeschickt. Die jüdischen Gräber und der römische Grenzstein bei 'Ein Targhuna (mit der Trachonitis verbunden!) genügen nicht für eine umfassende Hypothese. Ertragreicher sind die Ausführungen über den (vielleicht jüdischen) Friedhof in Teucheira; über Berenike mit dem jüdischen „Amphitheater“ und vor allem über Cyrene, wo die Juden vielfach Händler und Handwerker gewesen sein mögen. Die Juden haben wohl dort, und an anderen Plätzen, ein „politeuma“ gebildet, gelegentlich auch für ihre Privilegien, z.B. die Ablieferung der Halbschekelsteuer, kämpfen müssen. Kap. V. (S. 201-242) beschreibt den Hintergrund der Revolte. Auch hier sind zeitnahe Hinweise selten (S. 234). Ob die zwei eingeritzten Menorah-Symbole, die äusserst ausführlich behandelt werden, wirklich Widerstandslosungen sind, wie Vf. will, bleibt sehr zweifelhaft. Viel grossartiger sind die Kombinationen des Vf.: Den — selbst textlich wenig sicheren — Aufstand von 87/86 v.Chr. verbindet er mit der Ablehnung von Arataphilas Aristokratenregimes durch die Juden, die ihnen den Hass der Bevölkerung eingetragen haben soll. Arataphila soll den libyischen Nomaden Einfluss eingeräumt haben, wodurch die Kleruchen auf dem Königsland bedroht wurden und zum Aufstand schritten. Zudem gerieten sie durch die römische Politik in die Hände der *publicani*, da das Königsland *ager publicus* wurde (?). Dadurch wuchs das landlose Proletariat in den städtischen Judengemeinden,

und ebenso wurde die Beziehung zum palästinensischen Judentum stärker. So kam es zur Ankunft des jüdischen Hohenpriesters Ismael ben Phiabi, der hingerichtet wurde, und zum Auftreten Jonathans des Webers. Dieser führte eine grosse Schar von Juden in die Wüste, wohl um den Messias zu erwarten. Er soll viele reiche Juden, auch Josephus, selbst angeklagt haben. So kam es zur Ausrottung der jüdischen Oberschicht in Kyrene. Nach dem jüdischen Krieg 66-70 n.Chr. wurden die Juden in Kyrene rechtlos und trieben ins radikale Lager ab. Grundsätzlich wird in Kap VI (242-260) das Verhältnis zwischen der zelotischen Bewegung und dem Aufstand behandelt. Da die Juden eine „unique synthesis of an ethnic unit with a geographical centre and a specific code of conduct“ bildeten (?), waren sie in der Diaspora „ein unbegriffenes Phänomen“. Die jüdische Religion war „ultimately“ unrealizable except on its own soil“. Von diesen Behauptungen ist die erste zu allgemein, die zweite historisch falsch. Richtig ist die Feststellung des Vf., dass auch nach dem Krieg von 66-70 messianische Erwartungen im Judentum lebten. Er meint, dass die bäuerliche Bewegung der Zeloten ihre messianischen Ideen zwar nicht nach Alexandria, aber ins ägyptische Landgebiet bringen konnte. Dies ist durchaus möglich, ob aber die Zeloten in Kyrene 115-117 die Triebfeder des Aufstands bildeten, ist zum mindesten nicht beweisbar. Im letzten, umfangreichen Kap. VII, „The war“ (S. 261-344), entwirft Vf. ein Gesamtbild des kyrenaischen Aufstands auf Grund von Quellen jeder Art. Zunächst wird festgestellt, dass das Auftreten Trajans im Osten auch eine Reaktion auf die Stärke der Juden ist, wobei der Kaiser die Diaspora unterschätzt. Chronologisch findet Vf. wichtig, dass der Aufstand 115 in Kyrene beginnt und der Angriff auf die Juden in Alexandria damit nicht in Verbindung steht. Der Aufstand in Cypern scheint 117 beendet zu sein, während das ägyptische Binnenland Anfang 116 durch die Wüste von den kyrenaischen Aufständigen erreicht wird. Darauf folgt eine Darstellung der Beschädigungen während des Aufstandes. Am meisten ist Kyrene betroffen, andere Städte weniger, und die Hinweise auf Verwüstung des übrigen Landes werden durch Applebaum doch etwas weitreichend bewertet. In Ägypten sind viel Zerstörungen im Lande belegt. Der jüdische Charakter des Aufstands in Mesopotamien ist weniger deutlich; dafür nimmt Vf. Spannungen in Palästina an, aufgrund — nicht gut datierbarer — rabbinischer Hinweise, von Belegen für Truppenverstärkungen, vor allem eines Gebäudes in Alt-Jaffa, das Brandspuren aufweist. Vf. erklärt das aus dem Eindringen des nordafrikanischen Aufstands in Palästina, wie auch andere nicht gut datierbare Zerstörungen.

Den Ablauf der Rebellion zeichnet Vf. folgendermassen: Die Aufständischen verwüsten 115 Kyrene, dringen über die Wüste 116 in Ägypten ein, besiegen die ägyptischen Bauern bei Memphis Ende Juni 116. Die geflohenen Griechen greifen die Juden in Alexandrien an. Die Rebellen werden 117 durch M. Turbo endgültig geschlagen. Vf. meint, dass die Juden nach Memphis durchbrechen, die Festung Babylon überrennen und nach Palästina ziehen wollten. An der mesopotamischen Revolte müssen babylonische Juden wegen ihrer alten militärischen Traditionen teilgenommen haben. Obwohl Kontakte zwischen den Zentren nicht nachweisbar sind, spricht der gleichzeitige

Aufbruch für einen umfassenden Plan, der auch militärisches Training in der Wüste voraussetzt. In Palästina war die Spannung 116-118 gross, führte aber nicht zum Ausbruch.

In einer letzten Zusammenfassung (328-344) bezeichnet Vf. neben der wirtschaftlichen Notlage der jüdischen Massen als entscheidendes Motiv für den Aufstand messianische Erwartungen, die durch Zeloten verbreitet wurden. Die „totalen“ Vernichtungen beruhen nach Applebaum und Fuks darauf, dass die Juden die Diaspora verlassen wollten. Ihr Ziel war die Vernichtung des römischen Reichs und die Sammlung aller Juden in Palästina, wo das messianische Reich erwartet wurde. Vf. nimmt einen strategischen Plan an, dessen Scheitern er, fast mit einer Art Trauer, analysiert. Die Teilziele waren 1. die „Liquidation“ — welch entsetzliches Wort — des Widerstands an der schwächsten Stelle d.h. in Kyrene, und der Kontakt mit der starken ägyptischen Judenschaft, 2. die Vernichtung der römischen Truppen in Ägypten, von wo aus Rom mit Nahrung versorgt wurde. Dies missglückte, weil die (verbürgerlichten) Juden in Alexandria versagten. Sie hätten die römische Flotte in Brand stecken sollen, die dort angelegt hatte.

Das Buch ist gekennzeichnet durch Findigkeit des Vf. beim Aufspüren von Objekten gleich welcher Art, die er verwerten kann, durch Geschicklichkeit in Interpretationen, die die entferntesten Phänomene verbinden, und durch einen vorgefassten Plan, in den alles eingeordnet wird. Ob das Rezept zum Erkennen und Verstehen von geschichtlichen Abläufen führt, muss der Leser selbst beurteilen.

Leiden, den 3. April 1981

JÜRGEN C. H. LEBRAM

SYRIACA

Werner STROTHMANN, *Syrische Hymnen zur Myron-Weihe*. Herausgegeben, übersetzt und mit einem vollständigen Wortverzeichnis versehen von W. Strothmann. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1978 (24 cm., xvi + 145 pp.) = *Göttinger Orientforschungen*. Veröffentlichungen des Sonderforschungsbereiches Orientalistik an der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen. 1. Reihe: Syriaca, Band 16. Prix: DM 32.—. ISBN 3 447 01957 3.

Le professeur Werner Strothmann a créé, à l'Université de Göttingen, un centre actif d'étude de l'histoire religieuse et culturelle du Moyen-Orient ancien, voué notamment à la littérature syriaque. Il continue à l'animer inlassablement, et ses derniers ouvrages portaient déjà sur l'onction consécatoire (*Myron*) chez Moïse bar Kepha (en 1973) et dans les traductions syriaques et commentaires du Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite (en 1977-1978). La publication présente, d'hymnes liturgiques, s'insère dans la même ligne de préoccupation; il y a beaucoup à tirer de ce petit volume et de son Introduction pour la connaissance de la technique de la poésie et du style théologique syrien.

Selon le rite syrien, seul le patriarche peut conférer l'onction sacramentelle (p. XI). L'édition du professeur Strothmann est donc basée surtout sur des manuscrits de Tur Abdin, ville de résidence du patriarche orthodoxe syrien durant de longs siècles. D'autres manuscrits sont cependant utilisés; ainsi deux de Charfet, où se trouve le séminaire du patriarcat catholique d'Antioche.

L'ensemble de l'ouvrage comporte, après une Introduction, deux parties. Dans la première, les hymnes (2 à 17) sont composés selon un mètre commandé par l'accentuation; dans les hymnes 18 à 26, c'est le nombre des syllabes qui sert de critère.

Les hymnes sont à la fois homélie et prière, et celle-ci est, tantôt de louange, tantôt de demande, scandée par un refrain chanté par toute la communauté.

Éloges et demandes sont très insérés dans l'histoire du salut. Tous les épisodes d'onction de l'Ancien Testament, particulièrement ceux des rois, des prêtres et des prophètes, sont rappelés au titre de figures des onctions chrétiennes. Jusqu'à l'onction du Myron, prophètes et prêtres n'étaient que de simples hommes; à partir de l'onction, ils deviennent des consacrés. Le premier symbole du Myron est l'huile répandue par Jacob sur une pierre (XIV, 3; cf. Gen. 23, 18). Le Myron dont Moïse a oint la Tente de Réunion et l'arche du Témoignage (cf. Ex. 30, 26) est le même que celui dont est oint le baptisé (XII, 2).

Le Myron ne consacre pas seulement; il fortifie, et c'est lui qui a donné à David la force nécessaire pour triompher de Goliath (XXIV, 14; cf. I Sam. 17). Il libère aussi de l'erreur et purifie (XXIV, 17 et 19).

L'éloge du Myron est christologique; le Christ est, à la manière de l'huile épanchée sur la tête et la barbe d'Aaron (cf. Ps. 133, 2), «une huile épanchée» (Cant. 1, 3) sur l'humanité depuis les hauteurs des cieux (XXIV, 9), après avoir été cachée dans le sein du Père (XXIV, 10). Et il sera odoriférant à la manière des meilleurs parfums; il réjouit, rafraîchit, de noir rend blanc (cf. Cant. 1, 5), entraîne vers les hauteurs et ses appartements (XXIII, 3-4; cf. Cant. 1, 4). Les images du Cantique des Cantiques sont donc souvent évoquées. De même, les deux onctions de Luc 7 et Jean 12. La pécheresse de Luc 7 s'est vue remettre ses fautes à cause, à la fois, de son parfum et de ses larmes (XIV, 2). Marie, à Béthanie, cherche, par son onction, refuge aux pieds de Jésus; par elle, c'est l'Église qui dit au Christ sa volonté de lui appartenir éternellement (XXIII, 1-2).

Le don de Jésus à son Église, c'est le baptême, l'Eucharistie et le Myron (XX, 1²); l'eau nous sanctifie, le pain et le vin nous réjouissent et l'huile sainte nous renouvelle (VIII, 2). Chaque fois que le Myron nous est accordé, l'Esprit-Saint descend sur nous (XII, 2); le Myron est ainsi «le vêtement de l'Esprit» (VIII, 3⁴).

Ainsi, ces hymnes mettent en scène l'Église qui chante sa louange à Dieu par la bouche des enfants qu'elle a marqués «du beau sceau du pur Myron» (XXVI, 4).

L'ouvrage du professeur Strothmann a une actualité évidente. Au moment où les Églises d'Occident cherchent de plus en plus à percevoir la sensibilité de leurs frères d'Orient, les hymnes sur le Myron nous permettent de mieux saisir que, pour pénétrer l'expression dogmatique orientale, il est essentiel que la théologie occidentale soit davantage baignée dans la prière, et plus soucieuse du lien

entre l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament, ainsi qu'entre tous les éléments de l'histoire du salut.

L'Abbaye de Clervaux (Luxembourg),
février 1981

LOUIS LELOIR

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Miscellanea Bibliographica V

Wie alle ist auch dieser Band von *HUCA*¹⁾ von grosser wissenschaftlicher Bedeutung für die Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des nach- und ausserbiblischen Judentums. Er ist dem Gedächtnis von Samuel Sandmel gewidmet. Die Artikel beginnen mit einem Aufsatz von J. D. Safren (Beersheva): "New Evidence for the Title of the Provincial Governor at Mari" (S. 1-15). Es handelt sich um das Wort *šāpiṭum/šāpiṭūtum* in den Maritexten. Adele Berlin (College Park, Maryland) beschäftigt sich mit "Grammatical Aspects of Biblical Parallelism" (S. 17-43). Sie versucht zu zeigen, dass "there is a grammatical aspect to biblical parallelism — that parallelism activates the grammatical level of the language as well as the lexical-semantic level" (S. 41). Insbesondere demonstriert die Verfasserin dies an Ps. 92 (S. 40f.). M. Haran (Jerusalem) schreibt über „The Law-Code of Ezekiel XL-XLVIII and its Relation to the Priestly School" (S. 45-71). Eine seiner Schlussfolgerungen ist, dass „not only P, as a literary and ideological composition, but also certain cultic practices and institutions — especially those known from P in a form contradictory to Ezekiel's statements — were not current in Ezekiel's time or against the background of his code in their „classic" pattern" (S. 67f.). J. T. Sanders (Oregon) schreibt über „Ben Sira's Ethics of Caution" (S. 73-106): „The conclusion seems unavoidable that a shame-based ethics of caution developed along more or less parallel lines in Egypt and in Judah, culminating around the third century B.C.E. in the Demotic Wisdom Book of Papyrus Insinger and the Wisdom of Ben Sira; and that this ethics was not derived from Greek culture ..." (S. 106). R. Doran (Amherst, Mass.): „2 Maccabees and „Tragic History" (S. 107-114): „... one can see that the literary-critical discussion of 2 Maccabees should not start from the imprecise classification „tragic history", but that one should attempt (a) to isolate structures in the work which connect it with contemporaneous works, and (b) to determine features of propaganda or apologetic which have led the author to organize his material around certain emphases" (S. 114). D. Suter (Kansas) beschäftigt sich mit „Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6-16" (S. 115-135). Der verstorbene S. Sandmel hat sich noch befasst mit „Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism and Christianity: The Question of Comfortable Theory" (S. 137-148). In diesem wichtigen Aufsatz fragt er sich: „Why must one feel that he must deny that there was a hellenistic Christianity different

from Palestinian Jewish Christianity? What are the stakes? Were the Greeks such a shabby people, and Greek ideas so shabby, that early Christianity must today be shielded against having been contaminated by them?" (S. 147). Seine Antwort ist: „And far from concluding ... that a distinction between Palestinian and hellenistic Christianity is a neat scholarly construct, it is my opinion that it is the most natural kind of reality" (S. 148). M. L. Klein (Jerusalem) handelt über „Nine Fragments of Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch From the Cairo Genizah (Additions to MS A)" (S. 149-164). Es handelt sich um Ex. 4:7-11; 20:24-23:3 (mit vielen Lücken). R. Hamer (Jerusalem): „Section 38 of Sifra Deuteronomy: An Example of the Use of Independent Sources to Create a Literary Unit" (S. 165-178); A. I. Baumgarten (Hamilton, Ont.): „The Akiban Opposition" (S. 179-197); E. L. Segal (Jerusalem): „The Use of the Formula *ki ha d'* in the Citation of Cases in the Babylonian Talmud" (S. 199-218); E. Ashtor (Jerusalem): „Palermite Jewry in the Fifteenth Century" (S. 219-251); D. B. Ruderman (College Park, Maryland): „A Jewish Apologetic Treatise from Sixteenth Century Bologna" (S. 253-276); A. Scheiber (Budapest): „New Texts from the Geniza Concerning the Proselytes" (S. 277-287); W. Weinberg (Cincinnati): „The History of Hebrew Plene Spelling: VI. Toward the Introduction of Plene Spelling Into the Israel School Curriculum, 1970-1977" (S. 289-337). Dieser Artikel setzt jene von *HUCA* 46, 47, 48 und 49 fort. Im hebräischen Teil dieses Bandes finden sich zwei Artikel: E. Schavid (Jerusalem): „Historie und Halacha im jüdischen Denken des 20. Jahrhunderts" (S. 1*-10*); S. Moral (New York): „Themen des Talmuds im Buch *Halachot P'sugot*: Überlieferungen und Ordnungen der Teile" (S. 11*-32*).

Anschliessend an letztgenannten Artikel kann man das kleine Taschenbuch von J. Nini betrachten²⁾. Es handelt sich in diesem Büchlein um das Alltagsleben der ägyptischen Juden, wie es sich in der sogenannten Responsenliteratur der Jahre 1882-1914 (5642-5674) spiegelt. „Responsa" ist ein Fachausdruck des rabbinischen Judentums, der einen Briefwechsel über halachische Probleme bezeichnet. Diese Responsenliteratur ist alt³⁾ und sie wieder spiegelt oft das Alltagsleben, was in andren Dokumenten nicht immer der Fall ist. So bekommt man aus diesem Buch ein gutes Bild der Juden in Ägypten am Ende des vorigen und am Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts. Behandelte Themen sind z.B.: Einflussbereiche der Gemeinden von Cairo und Alexandrie; Aktivitäten der Rabbiner; Gemeindekassen; Die aschkenasische Gemeinde; die Karaiten; Aufnahme von Nichtjuden ins Judentum; Verhältnis zur Tradition; Mischehen usw.

Bei der Redaktion ist der zweite Band der neuen (bearbeiteten) englischen Übersetzung von Emil Schürers *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* eingegangen⁴⁾. Es ist interessant diese neue Bearbeitung

¹⁾ יהודה נני, ממרחק ומים. יהודי מצרים חיי יום יום והשקפותם בספרות השו"ת תרמ"ב - תרע"ד, Universität Tel-Aviv 5740 (1980), Pocket-Ausgabe, 104 S.

²⁾ Vgl. S. Tal, „Responsa", Enc. Judaica 14, Sp. 83-95.

³⁾ Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)*, A New English Version revised and edited by Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, Matthew Black, Vol. II, Edinburgh T. and T. Clark Ltd 1979, xvi + 606 S. ISBN 0 567 02243 9.

und Übersetzung einerseits mit seiner klassischen „Vorlage" zu vergleichen, und andererseits mit der gleichfalls grossartigen Arbeit der *Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum*⁵⁾. Im grossen und ganzen folgt diese Übersetzung der Einteilung des deutschen Werkes (Zweiter Band), ausser dass sich hin und wieder zeitgemässe Ergänzungen finden, z.B. § 22 über die aramäische Sprache und die Entdeckungen am Toten Meer; § 23 zu den hellenistischen Städten; § 24 zu der Priesterschaft und dem Tempelkultus; § 27 zu den Synagogen; § 29 zu der messianischen Hoffnung und § 30 zu den Essenern mit ganz neuen Anhängen über die Therapeuten, die *Sicarii* und Zeloten. In der Arbeit der *Compendia* versucht man eine völlig neue Synthese auf grund neuer Einsichten zu erzielen, und so ist es aufschlussreich jeweils beide Werke mit einander zu vergleichen. In den *Compendia* trifft man mehr die jüdisch-wissenschaftliche Betrachtung der Probleme, in Schürers Arbeit die historisch-kritische Methode der westeuropäischen Welt des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts. Beide Methoden sind grundsätzlich nicht unvereinbar, bieten gerade schöne Möglichkeiten zur Förderung unserer Kenntnis der nachbiblischen Kultur-, Religions- und Ideengeschichte des jüdischen Volkes.

Badhoevedorp-NL, April 1981

M. J. MULDER

ARCHEOLOGIE

Denise SCHMANDT-BESSERAT, ed., *Early Technologies*. Malibu, Undena Publications, 1979 (28 cm., 77 p., 28 pl.) = Invited Lectures on the Middle East at the University of Texas at Austin, Volume Three. ISBN 0 89003 031 6 (hard cover), 032 4 (paper cover).

Ce volume publie les actes d'un symposium sur les technologies primitives, organisé du 25 au 27 octobre 1976 par le Centre d'Études du Moyen Orient et le Musée d'Art de l'Université du Texas à Austin.

Dans la Préface, Cyril Stanley Smith s'étonne que notre société dominée par les techniques ait tant tardé à se pencher sur les origines de celles-ci. Il en résulte que l'étude de la technologie est une discipline encore mal structurée, où voisinent tant bien que mal des analyses trop détaillées et des généralisations trop hâtives. Il s'élève contre la croyance que la technologie ne serait qu'une application de la science et que la science ne progresserait qu'en fonction de ses applications possibles. Aussi bien pour la technique que pour la science, leur émergence n'est pas déterminée par les besoins de la société, mais par la curiosité inhérente à l'esprit humain, qui le pousse à découvrir des aspects de la nature qui n'auraient pas été révélés sans l'activité humaine. Technique et science ne sont pas issues d'un processus logique, mais de la recherche

⁵⁾ Bisher erschienen zwei Bände: S. Safrai und M. Stern (Herausg.), *The Jewish People in the First Century*. Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions, Assen/Amsterdam 1974 und 1976.

¹⁾ *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Vol. L (1979), Cincinnati, Ohio 45220 (3101 Clifton Avenue). Preis: \$ 15.00.

d'une satisfaction esthétique. Comme dans beaucoup de domaines de l'épistémologie, on constate là aussi l'abandon d'attitudes positivistes et le retour à des perspectives plus humanistes. Alors que ce désir de satisfaction esthétique a permis de découvrir la «bonne» technologie tant qu'il restait individuel, il devient dangereux quand grâce à la socialisation et l'organisation le niveau de la technologie de pointe est atteint, car il risque de perdre ses racines humaines et de donner naissance à ce que Lewis Mumford appelle une Mégamachine.

Derek de Solla Price introduit le sujet du symposium par des remarques qui vont dans le même sens : ni la science, ni la technologie, ni leurs applications n'ont été vraiment utiles jusqu'à la fin du 18^e s. ; il cite les exemples de l'apparition de l'astronomie chez les Babyloniens, de l'invention du télescope, premier appareil scientifique connu. Ce n'est qu'à partir du milieu du 17^e s., avec la théorie unificatrice de Newton, que la connaissance scientifique s'est développée de façon logique. Mais ce n'est qu'à la fin du 18^e ou au début du 19^e s. que l'essor de la chimie et la découverte de l'électricité ont permis des effets directs de la technologie sur la science ; l'auteur rappelle que c'est à l'occasion de recherches sur la nature de la vie que Galvani découvrit le courant électrique. Auparavant, les progrès technologiques avaient été réalisés de façon empirique, non pas toujours dans un but utilitaire, mais comme des modèles qui permettaient à l'homme de participer à la création du monde.

Si les origines de la technologie remontent à la pré-histoire, la science n'a pris naissance qu'après l'apparition de l'écriture. L'astronomie babylonienne est une théorie mathématique très élaborée, fondée sur un raisonnement algorithmique, analogue à celui des ordinateurs. De même que les peintures rupestres n'attestent pas seulement une magie de la chasse mais une véritable cosmogonie, les cieux étoilés peints en Egypte à partir du Moyen Empire et le zodiaque de Denderah sont une représentation de la création telle que l'homme ne peut jamais la voir en un seul coup d'œil. De la même manière, la clepsydre apparaît plutôt comme l'illustration d'une théorie sur les mouvements célestes que comme un outil à mesurer le temps. Les premiers cadrans solaires en Grèce n'étaient pas non plus destinés à donner l'heure mais le cycle annuel du soleil d'après les cercles astronomiques et les signes du zodiaque, garants de l'ordre cosmique. L'étape suivante nous a été conservée dans le monde islamique, mais elle remonte à la civilisation gréco-romaine : il s'agit de la sphère armillaire et de l'astrolabe, qui en est l'équivalent en deux dimensions. Derek Price retrace ensuite l'évolution de cet instrument depuis la Tour des Vents d'Athènes jusqu'aux horloges astronomiques médiévales, en passant par l'horloge hydraulique romaine de Salzbourg, l'horloge d'Antikythera et celle de Haran.

Ces mécanismes ont donné naissance aux horloges proprement dites, mais aussi aux automates, comme on peut le voir dans l'album de Villard de Honnecourt (dont le nom est malencontreusement estropié p. 13, l. 2). Les uns et les autres ont joué un rôle essentiel dans le progrès des techniques : inventions de Vaucanson, l'engrenage différentiel dont nous savons, par la machine d'Antikythera, qu'il était connu en Grèce au 1^{er} s. av. J.C. et dont l'application à la machine à tisser au 18^e s. puis à l'automobile au début du 20^e s. a été décisive. L'auteur conclut

que la technologie de pointe a pu prendre naissance en Occident plutôt qu'ailleurs en raison de la continuité culturelle qui nous relie aux civilisations fluviales du Moyen Orient par l'intermédiaire du monde égéen.

Une première section regroupe, sous la rubrique d'élaboration artisanale des matériaux, deux communications.

Theodore A. Wertime étudie les origines de la pyrotechnologie. Son point de départ se situe au Moyen Orient, avec successivement l'argile cuite (9000 av. J.C.), la chaux (9000 av. J.C.), la fonte des métaux (6000 av. J.C.) et l'émail (5000 av. J.C.). L'auteur a raison de préciser que ces dates sont des chiffres ronds approximatifs, car beaucoup d'archéologues les trouveraient trop hautes et acceptables plutôt en dates «B.P.» qu'en dates «B.C.». Il note que c'est dans les mêmes régions du Croissant Fertile et de Méditerranée orientale que ces techniques aboutissent presque simultanément, vers 1400-1100 av. J.C., à la découverte de la métallurgie du fer, au verre et au ciment. Si l'Extrême Orient a contribué au développement de la céramique et de la métallurgie du bronze, ce n'est qu'en Europe que l'évolution s'est poursuivie jusqu'à la fabrication industrielle du verre de Venise et de l'acier. Au terme d'Age du Fer, l'auteur préférerait celui d'Age de la Pyrotechnologie, caractérisé par la progression géométrique des industries à feu, interrompue seulement par les siècles obscurs de Méditerranée orientale après 1000 av. J.C., puis par la période barbare après le sac de Rome en 410. Wertime attache beaucoup d'importance aux crises énergétiques, provoquées la première par le déboisement des côtes méditerranéennes, des montagnes et des steppes du Maghreb et du Moyen Orient, la seconde par la déforestation à 40% de l'Europe et de l'Amérique du Nord entre 1400 et 1800, et la troisième par l'épuisement imminent des ressources mondiales de combustibles fossiles.

La pyrotechnologie tire ses lointaines origines de l'utilisation du feu par les paléolithiques d'il y a 25000 ans pour une gamme très variée d'activités : tremper les pointes en bois, calciner des pigments tels que l'ocre, recuire des pointes en pierre, ouvrir des carrières et cuire de l'argile. Il n'est plus possible de se représenter la métallurgie comme un art se développant de façon linéaire du martelage du cuivre natif à la fusion du métal et à la fonte des minerais, mais comme une spécialisation parmi l'écheveau complexe des arts du feu. Nous pouvons mentionner ici les observations de L. Courtois qui confirment ce point de vue.

Wertime attire l'attention sur le rôle qu'a pu jouer l'obsidienne, verre naturel utilisé depuis au moins un million d'années par les hominidés africains qui ont fabriqué l'industrie acheuléenne et laissé précisément les premières traces de foyers. Ce pourrait être pour donner à d'autres pierres des propriétés analogues à l'obsidienne que le chauffage de ces roches pour en améliorer la retouche a été pratiqué au Solutréen, chez les Paléolithiques (et nous ajouterons aussi au Néolithique, d'après ce que nous avons pu observer avec J. Tixier en Damas-scène). Le verre artificiel fait son apparition avec la vaisselle en verre moulé de Mésopotamie et d'Égypte vers 1400 av. J.C., mais son utilité ne sera vraiment perceptible qu'avec la découverte de la vitre sous l'Empire romain. Avec la métallurgie, l'homme s'intéresse à des roches plus rares que les siliceuses qui représentent 25% de la surface terrestre, et abandonne la technique de la taille pour des

opérations tout à fait nouvelles, telles que le martelage et le moulage. Les industries de la pierre, du bois et de l'os restent cependant prédominantes par rapport au cuivre et au bronze ; ce n'est qu'avec la métallurgie du fer que le métal devient vraiment fondamental au même titre que les autres arts du feu (céramique, chaux, ciment, verre). L'auteur voit quatre phénomènes ayant favorisé l'apparition de la pyrotechnologie : 1°) les propriétés transformatrices du feu ; 2°) les conditions géologiques qui mettent en contact les minerais les plus divers et réalisent certaines réactions élémentaires ; 3°) la nature des fondants ; 4°) la présence d'impuretés qui a pu conduire aux alliages et aux colorants métalliques (il faut lire p. 24, l. 14 : «glazes»). Ces conditions se trouvaient réunies dans le Moyen Orient ancien au centre de la découverte et de la diffusion du ciment, du verre et du fer.

Jeremiah F. Epstein analyse les effets du chauffage de la pierre sur la technologie du silex. Le processus, connu des premiers tailleurs de silex, chaille et autres roches siliceuses, a été retrouvé récemment par Don Crabtree. Il compare les témoignages ethnographiques et archéologiques sur cette technique chez les Amérindiens aux résultats de ces expériences contemporaines. En prenant des précautions pour éviter la surchauffe, on obtient sur le silex chauffé une retouche plus aisée ; ce traitement donne à la pierre un aspect lustré. La technique serait connue en Europe depuis le Solutréen (lire p. 36, l. 28 : «Mavius» et p. 38, l. 35 : «materials») ; elle était répandue dans toute l'Amérique préhistorique, au Japon et en Australie (et sans doute au Moyen Orient, comme nous l'avons signalé ci-dessus).

La seconde section rassemble des études sur les relations entre la communication du savoir et la technologie.

Denise Schmandt-Besserat donne un résumé de sa théorie sur les origines de l'écriture, qui passerait par les phases suivantes : 1°) vers 8500 av. J.C., apparition sur de nombreux sites du Moyen Orient d'objets géométriques («tokens») en argile, où l'auteur voit le témoignage d'un système d'enregistrement et de comptabilité ; 2°) vers 3250 av. J.C., fabrication de l'Iran à l'Euphrate de bulles en argile, contenant de tels objets et utilisés pour des transactions commerciales ; 3°) certaines de ces bulles portent des signes imprimés reproduisant le nombre et la forme des objets qui s'y trouvent enfermés ; 4°) entre 3250 et 3100 av. J.C., les bulles sont remplacées par des tablettes en argile sur lesquelles sont incisés des signes qui reproduisent les objets géométriques antérieurs, ainsi que des pictographes pour désigner le reste du monde matériel. A la lumière de cette évolution, il n'est plus possible d'attribuer l'introduction de l'écriture à une population nouvellement arrivée en Mésopotamie telle que les Sumériens. Bien au contraire, l'origine de l'écriture s'enracine dans la culture sédentaire agricole du Moyen Orient et suppose l'existence d'un système d'enregistrement très élaboré et largement répandu cinq millénaires auparavant.

Bert S. Hall se tourne vers les premiers écrits sur la technologie entre 1400 et 1600 de notre ère. La technologie avait d'abord été transmise oralement, à part de rares exceptions dans l'Antiquité (Vitruve, Alexandrie) et au Moyen Age (Theophilus Presbyter, Villard de Honnecourt). A partir de 1400, il y a pléthore de traités techniques en Italie et en Allemagne, puis à partir de 1530 un nombre

croissant de livres imprimés sur la technologie. Les ouvrages qui traitent avant tout de l'art de la guerre sont essentiellement constitués d'images commentées (Kyeser, Ramelli, Léonard de Vinci, Dürer). On y voit émerger petit à petit l'idée de la protection des droits de l'auteur. La technologie se libère peu à peu de la magie pour se fonder sur la théologie, les mathématiques, puis sur l'utilité publique des inventions. Comme l'avait souligné Lynn White, il apparaît que la technologie n'est pas née avec la Renaissance, mais s'enracine dans l'artisanat peu lettré du Moyen Age.

La dernière section du symposium rassemble des communications sur les rapports entre l'art et la technologie.

Derek Price revient sur le sujet des précurseurs de l'astrolabe, de la pendule et de la calculatrice, et sur le point de départ de la technologie avancée. Le plus ancien astrolabe connu a été fabriqué au 9^e s. (p. 62, l. 5, corriger «nineteenth» en «ninth») dans une ville arabe, peut-être Haran, et probablement par un chrétien de culture grecque («Bastulus», c.a.d. «Apostolus»). L'auteur suppose que l'origine de l'astrolabe est un miroir orné d'un zodiaque pour des motifs morphologiques et linguistiques.

S.M. Alexander passe en revue les textes antiques et médiévaux concernant la dorure sur métal. Il constate un désaccord complet entre les techniques de dorure visibles sur les antiquités subsistantes et celles décrites dans la littérature gréco-latine. Par contre, certaines de ces techniques sont exposées dans la littérature non spécialisée. Les textes anciens qui nous sont parvenus traitent d'alchimie ; la littérature technique a été perdue, à l'exception de quelques recettes recueillies dans des compilations médiévales.

John Alden Williams examine les aspects artistiques des cadenas persans du 11^e au 19^e s. Il remarque que l'art musulman de Perse se limite pas aux décors géométriques et à l'écriture arabe, mais fait une large place aux animaux et au visage humain. Le décor de ces cadenas n'est pas différent de celui qui orne n'importe quelle autre surface, qu'il s'agisse d'un tapis, d'une boîte, d'un plateau ou d'une mosquée.

A part quelques coquilles déjà mentionnées, la présentation du texte et des planches, groupées à la fin du volume, est excellente. Cet ouvrage apporte des idées nouvelles et de nouvelles directions de recherche à tous ceux qui s'intéressent à l'histoire des techniques, des sciences, de l'art et de la culture en général.

Paris, C.N.R.S., mars 1981

HENRI DE CONTENSON

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Edith PORADA (Ed.), *Ancient Art in Seals* — Essays by Pierre Amiet, Nimet Özgüç, and John Boardman, edited and introduced by Edith Porada. Princeton University Press, Princeton 1980 (24 cm., xix + 131 pp. of which 28 are illustrations) = The Franklin Jasper Walls Lectures. ISBN 0 691 03951 8. Price : \$ 25.00.

The book under review is the publication of three Franklin Jasper Walls lectures given at the Pierpont

Morgan Library in New York in 1976. After the mass of cheaply produced (though not always cheaply priced) publications we have been deluged with during the last few years, it is a joy to handle a book which is beautifully presented — well bound, clearly printed, with excellent plates. The price reflects this to some extent but is not exorbitant.

In her introduction, Edith Porada has outlined the development of glyptic studies since Henri Frankfort's classic *Cylinder Seals* was published in 1939. In this constantly expanding field, publications have appeared even since she wrote. Brandes' detailed assessment of the archaic seals at Uruk, most of which he dates to the Uruk IV period, is not, unfortunately, a complete catalogue¹). Much of the material was unavailable to him so he concentrated on certain "themes" and in this innovatory approach lies the great merit of his book. One of the most striking examples is the group illustrated under the title *Schlange und Vogel*: there are no less than four close variants of this theme and Brandes has suggested that this and other themes were used by different sections of the administration. The variations within a theme could have bureaucratic, chronological or geographical implications: that is, the seals may have identified either an official within a section of the administration, or the consignments made within a given period, or the village or community from which a consignment had been received. He has carried this idea further and suggested that the partly contemporary Jemdet Nasr style seals may have belonged to a totally different administration (perhaps one dealing with manufactured goods — pottery, weaving?). Still in the early periods, Amnon Ben-Tor's *Cylinder Seals of Third-Millennium Palestine* (ASOR, 1978) deals, in addition to a detailed catalogue, with the cultural relations suggested by the use of the cylinder seal and their chronological implications. Syria, Mesopotamia, Elam and Egypt are considered in turn and his theory that itinerant specialist potters used cylinder seals to decorate pottery as far afield as the Argolid deserves attention. Pierre Amiet's *La glyptique mésopotamienne archaïque*, long out of print, was re-issued in 1980 with an additional chapter and nineteen plates illustrating material, mainly from excavations, discovered since the book first appeared in 1961. One particularly striking example of east-west relations is included in it: No. 710, a seal impression from Ur, since republished by Moorey²), was made by a seal almost identical to that fragmentarily preserved at Shar-i Sokhta (No. 1697), and related seals also occur at Susa³). On page 7 Porada suggests re-attributing a seal in the Morgan Library (Fig. I-4) to the Early Dynastic period on the basis of an unpublished seal found at Al Hiba in the later context. After working on the cylinder seals from Alalakh⁴), the reviewer is very sceptical about the value of dating

¹) Mark A. Brandes, *Siegelabrollungen aus den archaischen Bauschichten in Uruk-Warka* (Freiburger altorientalische Studien 3), Wiesbaden 1979.

²) P. R. S. Moorey, "Unpublished Early Dynastic sealings from Ur in the British Museum", *Iraq* XLI (1979), p. 109 No. 574. Other impressions of the same seal indicate that the design did not extend beyond the horizontal bands.

³) P. Amiet, *Glyptique susienne*, Paris 1972, Nos. 1187-1206.

⁴) A large number of the cylinder seals from Alalakh was found out of context. A new edition of the actual seals is being prepared for publication in the *British Archaeological Reports International Series*.

seals by the context in which they are found (or vice-versa!). A rock crystal seal in the British Museum belongs to the same style⁵).

On page 10, Porada mentions "several attempts [which] have been made at a refinement of classification of cylinder seals from the Isin Larsa to the Old Babylonian period". The latest is Lamia al-Gailani Werr's useful illustrated corpus of all datable seals and impressions of the period⁶) which is soon to be followed by the publication of her thesis on some of the regional styles of the Old Babylonian period. Madeleine Trokay has summarized the problems relating to late Kassite and post Kassite seals in a recent article⁷). Our knowledge of the seals of Urartu has been greatly increased by the publication of the Bastam excavation report⁸) and of the seals in the Adana Museum⁹).

The seal impressions from Tell Mardikh-Ebla, some of which have recently been published¹⁰), throw new light upon a period of Syrian glyptic art which is otherwise poorly documented. The seals may well have been made of perishable materials, thus accounting for the fact that no actual seals of this type have survived. Detached heads and a predominance of frontal figures lead to a host of speculations: was frontality a particularly Syrian trait and did such almost invariably frontal creations as the nude hero, bull-man and human-headed bull originate in Syria as, it seems reasonably safe to assert, the equally frontal nude goddess did? Zeuner stated¹¹), in connection with the frontal Hathor heads on the Narmer palette, that Hathor was "probably [of] foreign origin ... shown full-face ... a convention utterly foreign to Egyptian art". Did the iconography of Hathor have an origin similar to that of the human-headed bull and bull-man, and if so, how and why? If frontality is a Syrian characteristic, then the compositional re-organisation of Fara style seals round a central, often frontal, figure might indicate links with Syria at this period, links which the discovery of duplicate texts at Ebla and Abu Salabikh would corroborate¹²).

Seals and impressions can be seen as pieces of a puzzle which, when used in the correct context can help build up a whole picture. The Ebla seals are like pieces from a new section of the puzzle we never knew existed and jolt us out of any complacency we might feel that we had a fairly clear idea of the picture as a whole.

⁵) See D. J. Wiseman, *Cylinder Seals of Western Asia*, London n. d., No. 52, wrongly described as green jasper and there tentatively dated to the late second millennium.

⁶) "Chronological Table of Old Babylonian Seal Impressions", *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London* 17 (1980), pp. 33-84.

⁷) "Glyptique cassite tardive ou postcassite?", *Akkadica* 21 (1981), pp. 14-47.

⁸) U. Seidl, "V. Die Siegelbilder" in W. Kleiss, *Bastam I*, Berlin 1980, pp. 137-149.

⁹) Ö. A. Taşyürek in *Or. Ant.* 18 (1979), pp. 309-318. The non Urartian seals from the Adana Museum have been published by Ö. Tunca in *Syro-Mesopotamian Studies* 3/1 (1979).

¹⁰) P. Matthiae, *Ebla — Un impero ritrovato*, Turin 1977, p. 84; id., *Studi Eblaiti* I/2 (1979), Figs. 9 and 10; *Das Rollsiegel in Syrien* (H. Kühne, ed.), Tübingen 1980, Nos. 20 and 21 — this exhibition catalogue is a useful survey of Syrian glyptic and contains much unpublished material — some of it from the Ras Shamra.

¹¹) F. E. Zeuner, *A History of Domesticated Animals*, London 1963, pp. 227-228.

¹²) R. Biggs, "The Ebla Tablets — an interim perspective", *Biblical Archaeologist*, Spring 1980, p. 76ff., esp. p. 84 where further links between the two sites and Mari are listed.

As Edith Porada pointed out in her introduction, the lecturers were chosen not only for the very different material they were working on but also for their differing approaches to that material. The first lecturer's approach is that of an art-historian and in his treatment of the mythological repertory of the Akkadian cylinder seals (p. 35ff.), Pierre Amiet has had to consider seals which are, for the most part, unprovenanced. The richness of Akkadian glyptic art has led to many and varied attempts to identify or interpret the myths represented and these attempts have been reviewed by Amiet in previous works which have been summarized here. According to Amiet, the iconography used by the seal-cutters of the Early Dynastic period had not evolved at the same pace as the pantheon developed by the theologians. This state of affairs changed dramatically in Akkadian times and the old iconography was reinterpreted to correspond to polytheistic religious concepts. Contest scenes were still cosmic battles with animals and heroes symbolizing "cosmic elements" (p. 38). However, "personal emblems" now enabled gods to be identified and Amiet calls this the "principal contribution of the Akkadian engravers to Mesopotamian iconography" (p. 40) though in fact many earlier works indicate that this was not a new concept¹³). These gods also "are basically personifications or masters of cosmic or natural forces" and the myths in which they figure "must in essence have explained the order of the universe and of nature ..." (p. 43). The "epiphany of the gods" (p. 44) is illustrated by many seals but the presence of an eagle on several of them foreshadows later war-like interpretations (p. 45). This epiphany takes place in the spring but the summer heat is personified in scenes figuring the Battle of the Gods in which the conquered gods are vegetation deities but "there is no question of resurrection" (p. 47). The themes of the seals are therefore based on "the annual cycle of nature" (p. 47)¹⁴).

Although Amiet is against an interpretation of the scenes depicted on the seals by means of much later texts, he believes that the seals are the "major evidence" for the existence, at this time, of "that dramatic conception of the universe ... which culminates in the Babylonian Epic of Creation" (p. 43). He does not believe that the seals are an echo of major relief sculpture or wall-paintings in temples or palaces since the sculptured monuments which have survived illustrate the "monotony of the royal and war-like subjects of this official art" (p. 37). Though the victory stelae of Sargon seem to have been based on Early Dynastic prototypes such as the Stele of the Vultures¹⁵), it seems perhaps a little excessive to accuse Naram-Sin of monotony on his victory stele which demonstrates many new spatial and compositional concepts which were probably also developed in other art forms, including cylinder seals. Edith Porada certainly believes that such seals as Adda's have prototypes in

¹³) E.g. the symbol of Inana, the goddess Ninhursag holding a bunch of dates and Ningirsu's lion-headed eagle (A. Parrot, *Sumer*, Paris 1960, Figs. 89, 91, 167 and 165 respectively).

¹⁴) Amiet regards the human-headed bull "as a passive form of the bull-man" (p. 39) though Boehmer suggests, rather plausibly, that the bison may be intended (*ZA* 64 (1974), pp. 7-8).

¹⁵) See P. Amiet, *L'Art d'Agadé au Musée du Louvre*, Paris 1976, Pls. 1-6 and cf. A. Parrot, *Sumer*, Paris 1960, Figs. 163-166.

monumental art¹⁶) and the absence of such art cannot be argued from the fact that none has been found since very few buildings survive from this period, and were it not for the Susa discoveries, our knowledge of its sculpture would be just as scant. In fact, one of the few cases where we do have evidence of surviving monumental parietal art before the Assyrian period, has produced confirmation of the close relationship between this art and cylinder seal iconography: namely the Mari wall-paintings¹⁷).

The second lecture (p. 61ff.) was given by Nimet Özgüç and represents the archaeological approach to excavated material as a foil to Amiet's art-historical approach to unprovenanced seals. This lecturer dealt with the seal-impressions on bullae found near pottery vessels "in almost every room except rooms filled with pithoi" in the two palaces — Hatipler and Sarıkaya¹⁸) — at Acemhöyük in central Anatolia; in the Sarıkaya palace some of the bullae had also been stored on shelves in two of the rooms. These palaces, with their porticoes, are similar to those at Kültepe and Konya-Karahöyük, with a dendrochronological examination of the foundation beams indicating that those of the Hatipler palace were the oldest by 152 years while the other palaces were built within a few years of each other. The Acemhöyük palaces were destroyed in a violent conflagration but they were in use both before and after the same bullae were deposited in both palaces and this period can now be accurately dated by seal impressions of Shamshi-Adad of Assyria, Dugedu, daughter of Iakhdunlim of Urshu (N.B.) and Mari, and Aplakhanda of Carchemish, thus dating contemporary levels at Kültepe (Ib), Karahöyük, Boghazköy and Alishar where Assyrian trading colonies also flourished. The shapes and clays of the bullae vary, but whereas the stamp seals are completely impressed, the cylinder seal designs must be reconstructed from many fragmentary impressions. There are several stylistic groups:

1. *Old Babylonian* (Figs. III-1 to 6) adopted by Assyrian and Syrian courts. These seals show a stylistic feature which Lamia al-Gailani Werr has identified as typical of the Assyrian court style — namely a horizontal pattern of wavy lines marking the upper part of the beard¹⁹). Similar seals were impressed on tablets from Tell Taya²⁰) and Tell al Rimah²¹). A further connection with the latter site can tentatively be suggested for Fig. III-6 which shows a filling motif consisting of a "monstrous mask" (see also Fig. III-14) which can be paralleled on the seal of a

¹⁶) See the frontispiece (reproduced 1:1 and not, in fact, enlarged) and Fig. II-14. See also p. 10.

¹⁷) We would agree with Moortgat's evaluation of the chronological sequence of Mari wall-paintings from Ur III times onwards. In his reassessment of the dating of these paintings Moortgat frequently based his arguments on similarities to cylinder seal design (A. Moortgat, *The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia*, London 1969, pp. 69-74).

¹⁸) On Plan 1 the Sarıkaya palace has been wrongly located: it should be tilted at an angle with its corners orientated towards the cardinal points (cf. Plan 2). Dugedu's seal impression on Fig. III-3a is printed upside down.

¹⁹) *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London* 17 (1980), p. 34.

²⁰) J. E. Reade et al., "Tell Taya (1972-73): Summary Report", *Iraq* XXXV (1973), p. 155ff. esp. pp. 173-175 and Pls. LXXI and LXXII.

²¹) Stephanie Dalley, C. B. F. Walker and J. D. Hawkins, *The Old Babylonian Tablets from Tell al Rimah* (British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1976), Pls. 107-109 and pp. 247-255.

servant of Aqbakhammu, ruler of Karana (Tell al Rimah) found at Alalakh, while the distinctive bull's head on that same seal appears on an Acemhöyük sealing naming Aplakhanda of Carchemish (Fig. III-17)²²).

2. *Old Assyrian* seals (Figs. III-7 to 9) are not frequent. It was previously thought that the disappearance of this style reflected the decrease in Assyrian power after the death of Shamshi-Adad (1781 B.C.) but it now seems that its wane was dictated by fashion and Acemhöyük seals do not show the same high degree of stylisation present at the other Assyrian colony sites.

3. *Old Syrian* (Figs. III-10 to 20). There is an early example paralleled in Level II in the Kültepe *karum*. The impression of the seal of Aplakhanda of Carchemish (Fig. III-11) shows a figure carrying a yoke which has interesting parallels²³). The scarab impression is a less stylised form of a design which also occurs on a scarab in a Group III burial at Jericho²⁴). Fig. III-17 which also mentions Aplakhanda, is very similar to a cylinder seal impression from Level VII at Alalakh²⁵) which might indicate Syrian manufacture even though the arrangement of the motifs may have originated in Anatolia. Fig. III-18 is also paralleled at Alalakh, even to the elongated guilloche and, according to Nimet Özgüç, it would have been made by a stamp-cylinder as would Figs. III-19 and 20²⁶).

4. *Old Anatolian and Old Hittite* (Figs. III-21 to 55). This most numerous group bears designs recalling those from Level II of the Kültepe *karum* and is particularly important for the light it throws on the development of Hittite stamp seals. Several regional styles are illustrated and impressions from other sites have enabled the author to identify a Central Anatolian style. One actual stamp seal of this period was found in a later level (Fig. III-24). Some seals were impressed on numerous bullae, particularly Figs. III-31, 38 and 40 of which there are no less than 72 examples. Male and female deities, heroes, hybrid creatures and ornamental designs are dealt with in turn.

The chronological and the possible stylistic implications to be drawn from this material are summarized in a concluding section. It seems that we finally have here the material necessary for a reassessment of the Tyskiewicz group of stamp-cylinders²⁷).

The third essay, by John Boardman, "serves as a guide to the methods developed in the older field of Classical

Greek art" (p. 19). His stated intention (p. 101) "is to explore briefly what meaning there might be in the subject matter" of Archaic, Classical and Greco-Persian gems and gold finger-rings of the 6th to 4th centuries B.C. These groups are comparable since approximately the same number of each has survived, and the subjects decorating them have been divided into categories (myth, genre, animal, monster) and tabulated (pp. 108-109). Boardman concludes that the gems and gold finger-rings were items of jewellery and that rings of bronze "were probably the ones called upon most often to serve a purpose", i.e. sealing (p. 110). The subjects depicted on gems and gold finger-rings were therefore chosen for aesthetic reasons and not for their meaning or symbolism, in marked contrast to what we find in the ancient Near East where sealing was the prime concern. This decorative role is further stressed in the examples the lecturer chose for closer study: namely composite monsters in the work of the Semon Master and on other gems, and "a different conflation [which] involves the human head alone" (p. 113) — a widespread type with a long history demonstrating "independence of invention in the interests of pure decoration". We are a long way, here, from the Akkadian seals discussed by Amiet which are liable to so many different interpretations. It seems, therefore, that though Classical antiquity may have been "very slow to accept ... the concept of art for art's sake" (p. 101), it was closer to it than its Near Eastern forebears.

Ancient Art in Seals has provided us with previously unpublished material (the Acemhöyük sealings)²⁸) and with a new look at some well-known works of glyptic art. It is a welcome addition to studies of glyptic art whose progress during the last forty years has been so usefully summarized by Edith Porada in her introduction. What she has omitted to tell us, however, is that during this same period of time, she has contributed more than anyone, by her writing and teaching, to the advancement of these studies.

London, May 1981

DOMINIQUE COLLON

* *

Oskar ZIEGENHAUS, Gioia DE LUCA, *Das Asklepieion* 2. Teil, Der nördliche Temenosbezirk und angrenzende Anlagen in hellenistischer und frühromischer Zeit. Mit einem Beitrag von Andreas FURTWÄNGLER. Berlin, Walter De Gruyter and Co. 1975 (Large 4°, V, 145 Seiten, 120 Tafeln, 1 Farbtafel) = Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Altertümer von Pergamon. Band XI.2. Herausgegeben von Erich Boehringer †. Price DM 280. ISBN 3 11 004873 6.

After the official royal protecting gods, Zeus and Athena, Asclepius was the god who contributed most to the glory

²⁸) A Turkish version of this lecture appeared in *Belleten* XLI (1977), pp. 357-381. The quality of the photographs is not so good but the impressions are enlarged and sometimes the lighting differs or another bulla has been chosen to illustrate a seal. In addition, on p. 380, there are drawings of our Figs. III-51 and 52 and a drawing of the actual seal of Fig. III-52. The plan is wrongly orientated here also. See *Belleten* XLIII (1979), p. 289f. and Pls. I-II for impressions of three further seals from the bullae rooms of the Sarıkaya Palace.

of Pergamon as one of the great healing centers of the ancient world. His sanctuary was famous in both the Hellenistic and the Roman eras, and is particularly well-known for Roman times because of the writings of Galen, a physician, and Aristeides a patient. It was located outside the city walls "in the outermost section of the city" (Aristeides) on a slight elevation above a gully. Its excavation, begun by Theodor Wiegand in 1928 has lasted with major interruptions to 1963; some follow-up soundings went on to 1969. Publication in AvP XI is planned in four parts, two Hellenistic, two Roman, although Hellenistic and Early Roman are not easily separated. As Ziegenhaus points out, the monumental Roman rebuilding in Hadrianic-Antonine period did make a fundamental change. The first part (AvP XI.1, 1968) by O. Ziegenhaus, and G. De Luca, reported on the development of the sanctuary from its foundation to mid-Roman empire.

In the present volume, the architect O. Ziegenhaus treats structures in the northern part of the sanctuary and adjacent areas; archaeologist G. De Luca reports on the finds from some soundings; and A. Furtwängler contributes a brief appendix on coins. The volume is not conceived as an independent unit; it has neither indices nor abbreviations and matters discussed in AvP XI.1, including the architectural-chronological sequence, are presupposed. The book is, in essence, a workmanlike, rigorous, detailed, admirably illustrated report on what Hellenistic and earlier material was found in the northern part of the sanctuary. Most tantalizing are the traces of cult structures on the rocky ridge presumed to be the original precinct. From complex evidence, Ziegenhaus deduces an earlier, open air sanctuary of an "Asia Minor mother goddess". He reconstructs a small (ca. 6 × 13 m) Late Classical or Early Hellenistic (?) tetrastyle Ionic temple on the southern part of the ridge. He wavers between this temple and an Early Hellenistic (Attalus I) Doric temple, probably located under the mighty Roman temple rotunda (reconstructed in AvP XI.1, pls. 78-80) as the earliest temple of Asclepius. Traces of a modest Hellenistic domestic and industrial complex were found under and above the Roman theater, important chiefly as evidence for the existence of a pre-Roman settlement. Very impressive is the "Hellenistic Long Hall" which led to the sanctuary from the west. Over 100 m long, it featured 18 chambers prefaced by a Doric colonnade; some of its andesite columns have been re-erected. The slight evidence for Hellenistic propylon and an interesting, probably Hellenistic tumulus-heroon with a two unit masonry chamber tomb and a stepped andesite — marble crepis on the south side of the Sacred Way to the city are carefully published.

This completes the systematic description of excavated architectural evidence for the Hellenistic Asklepieion begun in AvP XI.1. There is a splendid plan of the sanctuary in Hellenistic and Roman times; but no separate plan of Hellenistic remains is presented because so much, including the boundaries, remains uncertain.

In her part, De Luca concentrates on the finds from nine soundings made in the sixties under the Roman theater and the terrace of the Long Hall ("Olivenhain"). The careful stratigraphic observation validates the architectural sequence of phases established in AvP XI.1. De Luca competently catalogues and illustrates the finds for each sounding but intersperses these catalogues with

several discussions of the more important groups of material. Thus, two small marble images (Kat. 644-645) of Asclepius are integrated into the current controversy on the number and types of Asclepius images at Pergamon. Contradicting some earlier proposals, the numerous fragments of Hellenistic relief bowls bring the stratigraphic information that at Pergamon this relief ware does not appear before the late 3rd century B.C. At Sardis, too, according to I. Hanfmann and the reviewer, this relief ware dates after the destruction of 213 B.C.

"Was there a pre-Hellenistic Pergamon?" Because of its bearing on this much debated question, the Prehistoric (Early Bronze Age) and archaic pottery fragments found in the soundings under the theater and in the "Long Hall" are of great historical importance. In her "Summation" (142-145) De Luca notes that these finds reinforce the scanty previous evidence from the Acropolis. Some sort of Western Anatolian Early Bronze Age settlement of Troy I-II phase, hints of Late Bronze, and then from the 7th century on, a small but consistent sample of Aeolic, Samian-Rhodian, and Corinthian ceramics suggest for Pergamon the same general pattern of development as at a number of other West Anatolian sites (Ephesus, Aphrodisias).

Both authors deserve much credit for overcoming the great handicaps of treating material collected (and lost) over a half century. Intimate knowledge of the site and of every relevant architectural fragment, ingenious use of every bit of evidence, and masterly presentation of graphic argument through actual state and reconstruction drawings distinguish Ziegenhaus' contribution. De Luca is concise and eschews parallels, but notes the most significant results. The highest praise should go to the German Archaeological Institute for making such an excellently illustrated study possible. It is a worthy offering for the centennial of the excavations at Pergamon.

To be sure, this is only part of a four part serial which lays the groundwork. The fascinating medical, religious, and cultural problems of the great healing resort will only be successfully approached after all factual evidence has appeared.

Harvard University,
February 1981

GEORGE M. A. HANFMANN

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George M. A. HANFMANN & Jane C. WALDBAUM, *A Survey of Sardis and the Major Monuments Outside the City Walls*. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England, Harvard University Press, 1975 (31 × 24 cm, x + 206 pp., 436 figs., partly line-drawn, partly photographic) = Archaeological Exploration of Sardis Reports 1. ISBN 0-674-85751-8.

This handsome volume is the first of a series of final reports to appear on the 1958-1973 Harvard-Cornell excavations at Sardis, the ancient capital of Lydia in western Turkey. Preliminary reports have appeared almost yearly in *BASOR* 154 (1959) to present, describing work on a number of other sectors, such as the Hellenistic and later

²²) Sir Leonard Woolley, *Alalakh — An Account of the Excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay, 1937-1949*, Oxford 1955, Pl. LXIV, No. 75.

²³) It is found on a seal cut in the style current at Sippar at this time and dedicated to the god of husbandry Shakkan (BM 103340 — unpublished), on seal No. 87 in the Brett Collection (H. H. von der Osten, *OIP* XXXVII, Chicago 1936), on two seals in Porada's *Corpus* of the seals in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Nos. 917 and 925 and cf. No. 910), on a seal found near Alalakh (H. el-Safadi, *Ugarit Forschungen* 6 (1974), No. 118) and, held by a goddess, on a seal in Vienna (E. Bleibtreu, ed., *Rollsiegel aus dem Vorderen Orient*, Vienna 1981, No. 81), and on a seal from the Golenischew collection (Safadi, No. 83).

²⁴) K. Kenyon, *Jericho Tombs II*, Jerusalem 1965, Fig. 289:2.

²⁵) D. Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh* (AOAT 27) Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn 1975, No. 154. See especially p. 85 nn. 1 and 2 linking this seal with the Acemhöyük ivories and with the seal of Aqbakhammu's servant already mentioned in this review (n. 22).

²⁶) Op. cit., No. 153.

²⁷) R. L. Alexander has published an article on these seals in *Anatolica* V (1973-1976), pp. 141-215.

industrial area on the Pactolus river, the Hellenistic theater, the Roman stadium, gymnasium, basilica and synagogue, and the Byzantine House of Bronzes. Byzantine coins, ancient literary sources, newly found Lydian inscriptions and Byzantine and Turkish Sardis have been discussed in *Archaeological Exploration of Sardis Monographs 1-4*, Cambridge, Mass., 1971-1976.

After two introductory chapters, the volume under review presents the architecture and stratigraphy recovered in three complexes:

1. the 6th-century B.C. to Byzantine Artemis temple precinct;
2. the Roman to Byzantine bathhouse;
3. the Late Roman/Early Byzantine city walls.

Only those finds are illustrated and discussed that can help to date construction and use of the buildings.

The series is rightly called *Archaeological Exploration of Sardis*, for much of the work consisted of trenching to establish the stratigraphy and collect material that might date foundation and alterations of the various structures visible above ground. While the recording of such structures is naturally a first concern, most of the material presented is thus of the Hellenistic and later periods, when Lydia was the recipient of alien cultures. Students of the earlier period, when Lydian civilization acted as a donor to neighboring cultures, will find little pertinent material in this volume. An exception is the small 7th-6th century domestic complex northeast of the Artemis precinct.

Apart from these, the earliest remains treated are located in the Artemis precinct, 700 m southwest of the Byzantine city limits, but close to the southern fringe of the Lydian lower town. Beside the western cemetery, the spectacular ruins of the Artemis temple had been the focus of the 1910-1914 Princeton excavations, published in H. C. Butler et al., *Sardis I-II, V-VII, X-XI, XIII* (Leiden, Princeton, Cambridge and Rome, 1916-1926). Lydian Altar 1 (Butler's "Lydian Building"), a stepped pyramid of calcareous tufa measuring 9 x 8 meters and at least 1.50 m high, must have supported the earliest open-air altar to Artemis. On the evidence of clamp forms and of Ionic egg-and-dart fragments found nearby, it was probably built in the 6th century B.C., possibly even by King Croesus himself (although more likely in the later 6th century, under Persian rule). On account of a possible eastward extension, the expedition's architect, Kenneth J. Frazer, presents a tentative reconstruction in which the celebrant would first ascend a lower platform and then turn toward the west to ascend the higher platform, where the actual altar was located.

The authors suggest this western orientation was due to the presence, in the cliffs to the west, of many graves that Artemis was invoked to protect. Such close association of the cult of a major deity with the cult of the dead would be unusual in the Near East.

Probably around 280 B.C., Lydian Altar 1 was incorporated into Lydian Altar 2, measuring 21 x 11 m and surviving to almost 2 meters' height. It was built of reused, roughly dressed masonry and probably paved with marble. Carefully worked and fitted gray marble bases for stelai with Lydian inscriptions flanked the altar on either side. Although dating to the Persian or Early Hellenistic periods, they had all been rearranged in the 2nd or 3rd century A.D.

At times the divergent views of the various contributors

are presented side by side for the reader to judge their respective merits. On stratigraphic grounds, Hanfmann, taking a cautious stand, simply states that both Lydian Altars preceded construction of the Artemis Temple. In a more speculative vein Frazer assumes there was an archaic temple on the model of Croesus' temple at Ephesus, of which all traces would have disappeared but for the core of the sandstone image basis.

Originally planned with a single image basis and a single door facing west, the temple was partitioned in two and carried out with two image bases and two doors, one facing west as before, the other facing east toward the acropolis. Inscriptional evidence suggests the latter shrine housed a statue of Zeus Polieus; it yielded the neck of a colossal statue that may have represented Zeus with the traits of king Achaeus, 220-215 B.C.; a colossal female head found by Butler may be part of the Artemis statue (in this instance it is Hanfmann who does the speculating). A coin hoard in the eastern image basis also points to 200 B.C. as the date by which the temple must have been completed. Finally, colossal statues of Antoninus Pius and Faustina were added ca. 150 A.D. All this entails considerable revision of Butler's dating in *Sardis I-II*.

The Roman Bath, 250 m outside of the northeast city wall, is now largely submerged by flood deposits from the Hermus river. Owing to the high water table, the excavators were never able to reach the original floor level. Its identity as a bath is established by the scanty finds of hypocaust tiles and water pipes, and by comparison with other major baths of Asia Minor. In its ashlar and rubble masonry and in its plan, with alternating half-domes and rectangular niches in the main hall, it is particularly close to the late 2nd century A.D. baths at Hierapolis. In its heyday — which lasted through the Early Byzantine period — it was elaborately decorated with marble revetments, mosaics and fresco paintings. The decoration of the upper stories was fed into the lime kilns in the Middle Byzantine period, when the bath was reused as an industrial quarter for smiths. Since flood deposits had filled the lower stories by that time, much of the architectural decoration may reward future diggers willing to tackle the water table problem.

In the time of king Croesus the fortified citadel of Sardis apparently rose over an unfortified urban area. Earthquakes, landslides and erosion have played havoc with the citadel, but a short stretch of the Lydian or Persian fortification wall survives near the top of the south slope. By 215 B.C. an enclosure wall also protected the lower city, but apparently it ran more westward than the Late Roman/Early Byzantine wall. The latter can be traced for over four kilometers and encloses about one and a half square kilometers, embracing both the Acropolis and the Roman city. It was hastily built of rubble in lime mortar on an irregular plan, less than 2 m wide and faced with stucco for greater cohesion. It is calculated that 4,100 workmen could have completed it in 5½ weeks and 2,050 soldiers could have defended it. Although not securely associated with the wall, coins found nearby suggest its construction is to be placed between 350 and 400 (possibly to ward off attacks by the Goths toward 400 A.D.).

In a publication of this scope it is hard to eliminate all discrepancies. Thus the city wall is at times called Late Roman (pp. 4, 36, 37), at others Early Byzantine (pp. 13,

14). The earliest settlement remains, a hut and cremation grave in the House of Bronzes sector, are variously dated ca. 1500 (pp. 6, 22), 1400 (pp. 20, 28) or 1300 B.C. (p. 26). Traces of human activity were here interspersed with flood deposits 10 m deep, showing that water control was a problem from the beginning, only partly overcome by the Lydians. Throughout antiquity cattle and horses accounted for 26% and 16% of the total of animal bones, as against 13% and 4% today. This fact also points to wet conditions, favoring pastoralism rather than agriculture in some parts of the valley. Progressively better controlled until Late Roman times, the water system broke down in the 7th century A.D., leading to gradual abandonment of the city which, in its heyday, may have had a population of over 100,000.

After 15 years of excavating, the conclusions of chapters III, IV, V, VI, VIII and X read as follows:

"[The city wall] could have been constructed because of general uncertainty at any time between A.D. 250 and 400. None of the coins found ... was in a completely reliable findspot".

"Practically all monuments [in the Artemis precinct] appear to be reset or reused".

"In Frazer's view, the earliest [Artemis] temples had a dipteral plan ... He had hoped that traces of their bases might remain, but was unable to substantiate this conjecture".

"Although K.J. Frazer indicates the west front of the [Artemis] temple as completed ..., our findings are actually ... that the western porch was never really completed".

"Kâgirlik Tepe ... was sounded in 1958 in the hopes that early Lydian remains would be found there. Instead, a small Roman cemetery was discovered ... All of the tombs opened in this cemetery were disturbed by robbers and water seepage".

"[The Roman Bath] is incompletely excavated. We possess only an incomplete plan, no lower stories or floor levels, and the original date is uncertain".

On reading these conclusions one might feel defeated by the immensity of the task awaiting him who takes on a site as vast as Sardis. By leafing through the copious illustrations, however, one will realize what great strides have been made, awaiting full publication in succeeding volumes of this series.

Amsterdam, April 1981

MAURITS VAN LOON

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Ora NEGBI, *The Hoards of Goldwork from Tell el-'Ajjul*. Göteborg, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology (SIMA) Vol. XXV, 1970 (4to, 56 pp., 5 pls.).

In this study the goldworks from tell el-'Ajjul and their archaeological assemblages are described, and the date and origin of the goldwork is discussed. There is also a Catalogue of Goldwork from tell el-'Ajjul. The author concludes that the jewellery has to be dated between c. 1560 and 1480 BC. This conclusion is based on an extensive study of published jewellery from Palestine, Syria and Cyprus. Also the imported pottery associated with the

finds is considered in which the Bichrome Ware and the imports from the Eastern Mediterranean area play a dominant role. The author thinks of an "Ajjulian school of jewellery", but there do not seem to be indications of a local industry other than the concentration of metal objects found in hoards or otherwise, on the site.

As far as the methodology of comparative studies is concerned, this study is as good as one could wish for. These studies are useful as collections of data from the literature that are related to one subject. Within this limited but accepted framework only few things are lacking. One missing item is a comparative study of the associated local non-decorated wares or the ordinary household ceramics. Another is a proper study of the manufacturing methods of the jewellery. The few technical terms used here rather indicate the shapes, but not always the technique employed to obtain those shapes. And I could not find Petrie's "gold hair-rings" (Ancient Gaza I, p. 7, § 34) in the catalogue.

The author has listed all rings as "earrings". This may or may not be true but cannot be demonstrated, and just "rings" would be nearer the truth. Outside the accepted framework however, different questions play an important role. In the first place it concerns the use of words and their meaning. What exactly is the meaning of stratified in the heading of Table I, "Stratified groups of goldwork found in the town-area and palace-area"? This is contrasted by the author with Table III, "Unstratified tombs with goldwork from the mound and the cemeteries". In modern archaeology the indication "stratified" has one very precise and explicit meaning. It means that the position of an object as it was found is exactly known both in its position in the deposit from which it comes, and in relation to the other excavated deposits. From the Ancient Gaza-publiation it is just impossible to reconstruct the stratification. It is only possible to make suggestions about main divisions (towns III to I) on whatever evidence one thinks is reliable. Statements such as "Dug within a room of town II" (Table I) do not prove the following statement, "Table I indicates that in spite of their disturbed stratigraphical position, hoards 277, 1312 and 1313 were placed in regions G and T after the lower town (III) had been destroyed by fire". Neither statement can be verified. Petrie writes (Ancient Gaza V, § 22), "The largest cache of goldwork (group 277) was found beside a house nearly washed away, and lay 1-2 ft below the surface". Further, (Ancient Gaza V, § 23), "Group 277, found at GDF, 921 ins. level, see plan of upper town pls. XXXIV-XXXV: ...". On plan XXXIV of the upper level this hoard is marked in a large empty space on the map, but locus GDF is only found on a plan of the lower level — and likewise level 921 is given for the lower level, not for the upper one.

One may suppose that the hoard cannot belong to the earliest building phase in the area, although section 1-2 in AG, plate V, shows a wall between GDK and GDT as being the only one near the surface and standing on bedrock. Obviously there are no later traces of occupation. Attribution to a later phase cannot be based on any real evidence from the stratigraphy because there is no proper record of the stratigraphy. Dating cannot be based on this type of stratigraphy.

It is suggested that the 'Ajjulian jewellery could be the

product of an 'Ajjulian school of artists (p. 37). There is no evidence for it. One could speak of a school if there is a creative centre from which either new techniques or new designs are spreading. But there is no evidence for either of these features. It is generally taken for granted that dates have to be fixed as closely as possible, but often the possibilities to do so are grossly overrated. The stratigraphy is defective and unreliable. The comparative study shows that there is a wider time span possible than the 'Ajjulian jewellery represents, according to the author.

Tell el-'Ajjul has produced two indications of metal industry; a crucible and kiln: Ancient Gaza III pl. XVII bottom left and XXVII, 90, crucible, copperslag; and A.G. I pl. LII, plan of a kiln. It is quite possible that the jewellery found at Tell el-'Ajjul was also produced at the site. The way to secure evidence would be first to establish the various methods employed to make the jewellery, and then to see if tools belonging to these methods were found at the site.

Leiden, May 1981

H. J. FRANKEN

* *

Kazuro HANIHARA & Takeru AKAZAWA, *Paleolithic Site of the Douara Cave and Paleogeography of Palmyra Basin in Syria, Part II Prehistoric Occurrences and Chronology in Palmyra Basin*, Tokyo, The University Museum, The University of Tokyo, 1979 (26 cm., 238 p., 64 fig., 76 tableaux, 16 pl. hors-texte) = Bulletin n° 16. ISBN 0-86008-246-6. Yen 6500.

Ce volume complète la description des trouvailles de l'expédition japonaise de 1974 à la grotte de Douara et dans le reste du bassin de Palmyre par l'étude des industries lithiques.

Les plus anciens outils repérés sont des bifaces de type Acheuléen tardif, dont une concentration au site 60 et des exemplaires isolés en six autres points. La présence d'ateliers semble impliquer un mode de vie sédentaire dans le bassin de Palmyre dès le Paléolithique Inférieur.

Le Paléolithique Moyen constitue les niveaux inférieurs de la grotte de Douara, mais a été également retrouvé sur 26 autres gisements. Dans la grotte, l'horizon IV est proche du pré-Aurignacien, tandis que l'horizon III appartient au Moustérien du Levant. Le site 52 a livré des nucleus du type de Jerf Ajla. La plus ancienne occupation de Douara IV est datée par un galet brûlé en barite de 75.000 B.P. La densité des trouvailles et la présence à la fois d'un camp de base à Douara et d'ateliers dans le bassin adjacent suggèrent l'installation prolongée d'une population néandertalienne.

Après une interruption d'environ 20.000 ans, une ré-occupation limitée se produit à la fin du Paléolithique Supérieur dans deux localités du bassin de Palmyre, avec quelques trouvailles sporadiques ailleurs. Les gisements présentent une grande diversité; selon les cas, ils s'apparentent aux niveaux 9-10 de l'Abri III de Yabroud, au Skiftien du niveau 8 de cet abri ou aux niveaux 1-2 du même abri, qui sont très proches d'El Wad C et de l'Atlitien.

L'Épipaléolithique constitue l'horizon II de la grotte

de Douara, ainsi que plusieurs concentrations du gisement 50. On peut le rattacher au Kébarien Géométrique A.

Avec le Néolithique Pré-poterie, on retrouve une distribution de sites et une densité de matériel qui rappellent celles constatées pour le Moustérien du Levant. A peu près toutes les grottes et tous les abris du bassin de Palmyre et de Douara ont livré des nucleus et des lames de cette période et ont dû servir de camps de base. 9 gisements du bassin de Douara peuvent être considérés comme des ateliers, tandis que 3 autres dans le bassin de Palmyre présentent de faibles concentrations.

Cette industrie est caractérisée par les nucleus naviformes, les burins et des pointes de flèches à pédoncule. Elle appartient au groupe PPNB du Levant, tel qu'on le trouve à Mureybet, Abu Hureyra later aceramic, Bouqras, Aswad, Jericho et Beidha; elle peut donc se situer dans le 7^e millénaire. A propos de cette datation, il convient de rectifier le tableau 14. 2, p. 216, et la figure 14. 6, p. 218, en ce qui concerne Aswad: Gr. N-6679 et Gr. N-6678 se rattachent à Aswad II, dont la limite inférieure doit être placée vers 7.000 B.C. (cf. *BSPF*, 79 (1976), p. 198-199), en conformité avec les autres sites PPNB.

Seule la localité 64, à la lisière sud de l'oasis de Palmyre, a livré quelques vestiges du Néolithique à poterie sous la forme de tessons de vaisselle blanche, de pointes de flèches à pédoncule de type Byblos et de grattoirs. Ces trouvailles se situent sans doute dans la première moitié du 6^e millénaire, comme les autres manifestations de cette technique à Ramad II, Byblos Néo. ancien, Tell Sukas, Ras Shamra V A, Bir el Kowm, Bouqras et Abu Hureyra later aceramic Pour Ras Shamra, p. 212, il faut corriger V B en V A (cf. *Syria*, 54 (1977), p. 1-23); en ce qui concerne Abu Hureyra, A. Moore signale de la poterie lustrée dans le niveau «ceramic Neolithic», mais aussi de la vaisselle de chaux dans le niveau antérieur «later Aceramic Neolithic» (cf. *Proc. Preh. Soc.*, 41 (1975), p. 60).

Quelques coquilles se sont glissées dans le chapitre 14: il faut lire, p. 211, l. 11: «Neolithic»; p. 212, l. 16: «Byblos»; p. 213, l. 2: «Ramad II»; p. 213, l. 5: «tanged arrowheads»; p. 215, l. 14 et 17, et 219, l. 43: «Crow-foot»; p. 231, l. 13: «mesolithic».

L'ouvrage s'achève par trois études techniques: Y. Taba, Caractéristiques chimiques de l'eau du bassin de Palmyre; A. Matsutani, Étude microscopique de la silice amorphe et du charbon de la grotte de Douara; S. Nishimura, Datation par les traces de fission d'un galet cuit mis au jour dans la grotte de Douara.

L'étude très détaillée des industries lithiques est une brillante application de méthodes mises au point par des préhistoriens français, pour le Paléolithique Moyen, la méthode de F. Bordes, utilisée par T. Akazawa, et pour le Paléolithique Supérieur et l'Épipaléolithique, la liste-type de F. Hours, adoptée par T. Fujimoto. Cette publication est, comme les travaux antérieurs de l'expédition de l'Université de Tokyo, un modèle de précision et d'objectivité scientifique.

CNRS, Paris, septembre 1979

HENRI DE CONTENSON

Mark A. BRANDES, *Siegelabrollungen aus den archaischen Bauschichten in Uruk-Warka*. 2 Bde. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1979 (24 cm., Band 1: XII + 233 S., Band 2: v + 64 Tafeln + S. 235-253) = *Freiburger altorientalische Studien*, Band 3. Preis: DM 78.—. ISBN 3 515 02591 X.

Schon 1965 wurde von H. J. Lenzen in UVB XXI die Veröffentlichung aller archaischen Siegelabrollungen aus Warka angekündigt. Nach einer langen Vorbereitungszeit — dazu benötigt um neues Material aus Susa und Habuba Kabira einzuarbeiten — erschien diese Studie 1979. Aus Raummangel ist der ursprünglich vorgesehene Plan leider stark gekürzt worden. Dieser Vorgang hat der Arbeit sehr geschadet: dem Text lässt sich entnehmen dass nicht weniger als 16 (!) Themenbereiche gestrichen worden sind (z.B. „Tempel und Boot“, „Eberjagd“, „Fabeltiere“). Nur drei der Themenbereiche wurden im ursprünglich vorgesehenem Umfang veröffentlicht. Die sieben Kapitel die den Siegelbeschreibungen vorangehen und die methodischen Probleme und deren Ergebnisse zusammenfassen sind jedoch nicht gekürzt. Im ersten dieser Kapitel beschreibt Brandes Material und Technik. Nach einigen Bemerkungen zum Verhältnis von Rollsiegeln zu Stempelsiegeln legt er einen 13 Seiten umfassenden Materialienachweis vor (mit Belegen und Veröffentlichungen) dessen Sinn mir nicht einleuchten will. Der dazu benötigte Raum hätte — in Hinsicht auf die anderswo vorgenommenen Kürzungen — besser verwendet werden können. Brandes meint ausserdem dass die Siegelabrollungen nichts aussagen können über ihre Herstellung. Dass er dabei zu skeptisch ist zeigt Nissens Studie „Aspects of the development of early cylinder seals“ (in: *Seals and sealings in the ancient near east*, hrsg. McGuire Gibson und R. D. Biggs 1977): neben Kugelbohrer und Grabstichel unterscheidet Nissen ein drittes Instrument („the cuttingwheel“) das Relevanz zeigt beim Übergang von Uruk IV-Siegel nach Jemdet Nasr-Siegel. Dieser Übergang zeigt sich nach Brandes (in Nachfolge H. Frankforts) in einer Qualitätsverringerung der Jemdet Nasr-Siegel bei deren Herstellung mechanische Instrumente auf den Vordergrund treten. Er übergeht dabei völlig die neuen Ansichten die heutzutage allgemein akzeptiert werden; durch neues Material wurde klar dass Siegel die „Jemdet Nasr-kennzeichen“ tragen in der späten Uruk-phase datiert werden können (A. Farkas, Rezension Wisemans *Catalogue of the western asiatic seals in the British Museum* Vol. I in: *BiOr* XXI 1964 S. 196; B. Hrouda, Rezension Amiets GMA in *BiOr* XXI S. 196; E. Porada (ed.), *Ancient Art in Seals* 1980 S. 5-7; E. Porada, in: *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology* S. 155; D. Hansen, *Archaeology* 15 1962 S. 75-84; P. Delougaz und H. Kantor in, „*The memorial volume. The Vth international congress of Iranian art and archaeology*, I Teheran 1972, S. 26-33 und Plate X a-d; E. Heinrich e.a. *MDOG* 105 (1973) S. 31 Abb. 9). Dies bestätigt eine Vermutung Poradas (schon in *Chronologies*) die von Nissen in seiner oben erwähnten Studie übernommen wurde. Diese Ansicht ermöglicht eine Rückversetzung in die Uruk-Zeit der grossen Kulturexpansion ausserhalb der Grenzen Mesopotamiens die vorher als Jemdet Nasrzeitlich betrachtet wurde. Die Wichtigkeit dieser Frage (Porada, *Ancient Art in Seals* S. 5-7: „one of the most surprising archaeological developments of the past decade“), die Notwendigkeit

einer Neubewertung der chronologischen Differenzierung in der archaischen Glyptik zusätzlich zu den frühen Veröffentlichungsdaten der Hypothese lässt mich wundern weshalb Brandes diese Frage unerwähnt gelassen hat.

Im nächsten Kapitel bespricht er die Träger der Siegelabrollungen: Tontafel, Krugverschlüsse und Tonkugel. Bei den ersten zwei Gattungen weist er auf Besonderheiten hin die bisher unbeachtet geblieben sind, wie z.B. das Verhältnis zwischen dem Textinhalt der Tontafeln und der Wahl des Siegelthemas. Mehr als Vermutungen bietet er jedoch nicht. Im Rest dieses Kapitels zeigt er grosses Interesse für die Tonkugel und deren Inhalt (Miniaturgegenstände) die er in langen Listen nach Sorten gliedert und mit den Tonkugeln Miniaturgegenständen aus Susa und Habuba Kabira vergleicht. Er betrachtet diese Miniaturgegenstände als Zahlzeichen oder Realia-Symbole und bezeichnet die Kugel als Wirtschaftsdokumente und Vorläufer der ältesten Tontafeln. Diese Deutungen sind von D. Schmandt schon lange ausgearbeitet worden, zuletzt in *AJA* 83 (1978) S. 19-48. Die schwere Kritik an ihrer Arbeit von Seiten S. J. Lieberman (AJA 84 no. 3 1980 S. 339-358) darf nicht unerwähnt bleiben. Das dritte Kapitel umfasst eine Übersicht über die wichtigsten Sammelfunde an archaischen Siegelabrollungen bei der die verwinkelten Datierungsfragen erörtert werden die dabei begegnen. Ausserdem erwähnt Brandes eine seines Erachtens nicht zufällige Häufung bestimmter Bildthemen an bestimmten Fundorten. Das führt ihn dazu gewisse Bildthemen zögernd bestimmten Bauten zuzuordnen. Obgleich sichere Resultate noch nicht erzielt wurden verdient dieser Versuch Nachfolge.

Im fünften Kapitel betritt Brandes neue Wege: bis jetzt hat man kaum erkannt dass es von einzelnen Bildthemen mehrere Fassungen (andere Bildelemente) ja sogar Varianten (andere Einzelheiten) gab. Dieses Phänomen kommt jetzt unter die Lupe wobei Brandes 5 Deutungsmöglichkeiten bietet die mit Fassungen und Varianten Rechnung tragen. Bei der Deutung der Siegel als „Amtszeichen“ fragt er sich ob die Gruppe der naturalistischen Siegel einerseits und die Gruppe der abstrakten Siegel andererseits (vergleiche dazu S. 106) zwei im Wesen getrennten Hauptabteilungen der Tempelwirtschaft zuzuordnen sind. Man vergleiche dazu Nissens oben erwähnte Studie in der dieser Gedanke weitergeführt wird. Das vorletzte Kapitel erörtert Werkstatt-Fragen: zögernd werden manche Siegelkompositionen als Produkte der gleichen Werkstatt oder sogar des gleichen Siegelschneiders betrachtet. Mann fragt sich in wiefern das unbekannte Mass an Konvention unseren Blick in dieser Hinsicht trübt. Brandes versucht individuelle Züge einzelner Siegelschneider und zeitgebundene Stilerscheinungen zu isolieren. Es ist ihm ausserdem aufgefallen dass in der Glyptik dieser Epoche festgeprägte Bildelemente verwendet wurden die in verschiedenen Kompositionen begegnen und seines Erachtens nach Werkstatt-Vorlagen gebildet wurden. Der Index I soll — obwohl er nur die im 1. Band erwähnten Bildthemen erfasst — es ermöglichen den ursprünglichen Platz und die Zweitverwendung der einzelnen Bildelemente festzustellen.

Schliesslich befasst Brandes sich mit den Problemen die bei einem Deutungsversuch der Siegelkompositionen begegnen: während es bei Themen erzählender Natur noch möglich erscheint die Bildelemente in einer Sinnabfolge zu ordnen führt dies bei den anderen Themen zu nichts.

Das archaische Textmaterial sowie die sehr viel spätere literarische Tradition können noch nicht genügend herangezogen werden. Brandes enthält sich daher jeglicher Deutung. Auf den restlichen Seiten des 1. Bandes werden 11 Themenkreise mit ihren 22 Fassungen und deren 11 Varianten der Reihe nach beschrieben: bei jeder Fassung werden zuerst die Belege erwähnt. Danach folgt eine Zergliederung der Komposition in deren Bildelemente und dann die eigentliche Beschreibung. Eine Zusammenfassung der Komposition, die Angabe der Masse und der Fundumstände und ein Datierungsversuch bilden den Schluss. Alles mit der gleichen Akribie die auch die anderen Teile des Werkes kennzeichnet. Interessant in Hinsicht auf das in Kapitel 5 erwähnte sind die Seiten 156-59 auf denen der Zusammenhang zwischen den Fassungen A-F der „Gefangenenszenen“ erörtert wird.

Der 2. Band enthält die Abbildungen zu den im 1. Band behandelten Siegeln. Jede Tafel zeigt recht grosse Photographien der gefundenen Abrollungen, eine zeichnerische Wiedergabe derselben und ausserdem eine Rekonstruktion des ursprünglichen Siegels. Zwei Indices zu den Siegeln schliessen den Band doch ein Textregister zum 1. Band fehlt.

Diese Arbeit ist meines Erachtens ein gelungener Beitrag zum Studium der archaischen Glyptik, ungeachtet der erwähnten Mängel die möglicherweise die Folge sind einer ungenügenden Revision des Textes nach der ersten Fertigstellung in 1967. Das Werk enthält manche originelle Gedanken und die Darbietung des Materials ist beispielhaft. Ein zusätzlicher vorteilhafter Zug dieser Arbeit ist die archäologische Blickrichtung mit der der Autor an sein Thema herangeht wodurch der Informationswert der Siegel besser zur Geltung kommt als wenn sie ausschliesslich als Kunstgattung betrachtet werden.

Amstelveen, 14 april 1981

ROGER LEENDERS

* * *

M.-J. STEVE & H. GASCHE, *L'Acropole de Suse: Nouvelles fouilles (Rapport préliminaire)*. Leiden, E.J. Brill, & Paris, P. Geuthner, 1971 (34 × 28 cm, pp. 212 including 17 text figs. and 41 line-drawing pls., fold-out chronological table, 57 photographic pls., 7 looseleaf plans in color) = *Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique en Iran* 46 (hereafter MDAI 46; earlier volumes of this series entitled *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, MDP, or *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique en Iran*, MMAI. New series started in 1971 entitled *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran*, *Cahiers de la DAFI*). Netherlands florins 285.

H. GASCHE, *La poterie élamite du deuxième millénaire a.C.* Leiden, E.J. Brill, & Paris, P. Geuthner, 1973 (34 × 28 cm, pp. 216 including 1 text fig., 54 line-drawing pls., and 19 photographic pls., 6 plans, 3 fold-out pottery frequency charts, 1 fold-out chronological table) = MDAI 47. Netherlands florins 250.

These reviews — especially the first one — are long overdue. If we publish them nevertheless, it is because

adverse criticism¹), justified in itself, may have obscured for some the great merit of these works.

The first half century of excavation at Susa (1893-1939) will always remain a classical example of the mining of an ancient capital for antiquities with almost complete disregard for mud brick architecture and stratigraphy. To the early French excavators like Marcel Dieulafoy, Jacques de Morgan and Roland de Mecquenem we owe several major monuments of ancient Western Asiatic civilization — the code of Hammurapi, the stele of Naramsin, the statue of Manishtusu — but, besides these, huge quantities of unstratified material. Several archaeologists have since devoted themselves to the tedious task of reconstructing the original context of such finds²).

It seems incredible that as late as 1933-1939, at a time when Arnold Nöldeke was meticulously disentangling the building history of the Eanna precinct at Uruk, Roland de Mecquenem dug away most of the Susa ziggurat's east face without even noticing its existence³).

It is only with the work of R. Ghirshman, M.-J. Steve and H. Gasche from 1946 to 1968 that stratified finds and carefully observed and dated architectural remains have begun to appear at Susa. Preliminary reports have been published in *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique en Iran: Rapports préliminaires* 1 (1952), pp. 1-18; *Arts Asiatiques* 10 (1964), no. 1, pp. 3-20; 11 (1964/1965), no. 2, pp. 3-21; 13 (1966), pp. 3-32; 15 (1967), pp. 3-27; 17 (1968), pp. 3-44. They have yielded a sequence of architectural remains and associated artifacts (mostly pottery) spanning three millennia. Two large bodies of evidence have now been published in book format: M.-J. Steve and H. Gasche, in MDAI 46, report on the architectural remains cleared close to the surface of the *Acropole* mound, which date from about 4000 to 2150 B.C., and illustrate most of the sherds and other finds encountered. As several wells had been sunk into the building remains during the Ur III dynasty, the artifact sequence actually continues down to about 2000 B.C. and overlaps the deepest levels excavated on the *Ville Royale* mound. Gasche alone, in MDAI 47, reports on the pottery sequence of the *Ville Royale* from about 2040 to 1500 B.C., in eight stages dated by tablets, and illustrates the architectural plans as well. Additional material from about 1500 B.C. onward is less securely stratified and dated. It seems that the fringes of the *Ville Royale* mound were uninhabited in those times. Elizabeth Carter has shown there is reason to believe the pottery sequence treated by Gasche ends as late as 600 B.C.⁴) Further work on the *Acropole* mound from 1968 to 1977, mainly in Susa A-C levels, has been reported by Alain Le Brun, Pierre Amiet and François Vallat in *Cahiers de la DAFI* 1 (1971), pp. 163-245, and by Denis Canal

¹) Elizabeth Carter, "Elamite Pottery", *JNES* 38 (1979), pp. 111-128; McGuire Gibson in *JNES* 35 (1976), mm. 131-133.

²) Louis Le Breton, "The Early Periods at Susa", *Iraq* 19 (1957), pp. 79-124; Robert H. Dyson, Jr., *Excavations on the Acropolis at Susa* (Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University), Cambridge, Mass., n.d.; Pierre Amiet, *La Glyptique Mésopotamienne Archaique*, Paris, 1961, *Elam*, Auvers-sur-Oise, 1966, and *Glyptique Susienne* (MDAI 43), Paris, 1972; Pierre Amiet in *Syria* 44 (1967), pp. 27-46, in *Arts Asiatiques* 28 (1973) pp. 3-32, and in *Cahiers de la DAFI* 6 (1976), pp. 47-82; Denis Canal in *Cahiers de la DAFI* 9 (1978), pp. 11-55, with a summary of earlier work on pp. 11-18.

³) MMAI 29 (1943), p. 34.

⁴) *JNES* 38 (1979), pp. 125-126.

and Alain Le Brun in *Cahiers de la DAFI* 9 (1978), pp. 11-154.

With undue modesty, Steve and Gasche call their monumental work a preliminary report. It is preliminary only in the sense that the 1965-1968 campaigns were limited to clearance and careful recording of the *Acropole* mound surface as left by previous excavators, prior to renewed excavation in depth. Within Ghirshman's endeavor of disentangling the stratigraphy of Susa vertically, Steve and Gasche's work represents an attempt at sorting out horizontal exposures, largely by means of their orientation, brick sizes and associated finds, and grouping them into understandable phases of the acropolis' building history. That they succeeded is partly due to the acropolis having been the ceremonial center of Elam since the early 4th millennium B.C. and, as such, having remained untouched except by major builders. In large part, however, we owe the clarity of this analysis to the archeological architect's approach, in which observation of building techniques is all-important and sections are arbitrarily oriented in order to show the major construction features with their associated floors.

Plan 1 gives the overall present topography of the acropolis mound. Plan 2, the major document of the publication, shows the traces of the ziggurat and its immediate surroundings investigated during the 1965-1968 seasons and covering an area of approximately 120 by 100 m in the west center of the acropolis. Nine contrasting colors clearly indicate to which period the excavators attribute the various traces. Partial sections A-C appear on plan 2, sections I-VII on plans 6, 7, 5 and 4, respectively. In addition, plans 3-5 include the few earlier or later remains that could not be shown on plan 2 because they either overlay or were overlain by the main features that appear on plan 2. This full nine-color architectural documentation on loose-leaf plans of up to 120 × 100 cm is meant mostly to illustrate the first part of the book (pp. 9-41). Here, the results are reported in the order in which they were found, ending with the yield of an exploratory shaft sunk through the high terrace into virgin soil. On pp. 43-188 the finds are then presented in (reverse) chronological order, with the most significant finds of each period shown on line-drawing plates. A black-and-white excerpt plan at the beginning of each chapter obviates the necessity of handling the color plans with this part of the book.

Steve and Gasche's most startling discovery certainly is that the high terrace on which Susa's main temple stood dates back to an early phase of the Susa A period. On top of virgin soil, the earliest occupation left 1.20 m of debris, including a goblet rim with short-necked birds of transitional Susiana d/Susa A type. Pending further investigation, this phase is labeled Susa Ax. In the following, Susa A2 phase, a mud brick terrace measuring 70 by 65 m and over 10 m high was built to support massive buildings including a kiln and a granary, storerooms and work-rooms. A stone temple model shows what the actual temple — perhaps represented by the unexcavated "C5 building" — may have looked like. Two clay wall nails, of a type also found at Ja'farabad from — 2 m to surface (Susiana e), hint at façade decoration, another feature generally associated with Uruk period Mesopotamia.

Since the Susa A culture in Iran is generally equated to the Ubaid 4 phase in Mesopotamia, with an overlap

into the Early Uruk phase, the question arises: was the first monumental architecture of Susiana inspired by Mesopotamia, or vice versa? For the priority, in spite of appearances, of Mesopotamia is the fact that phase Susa A1 (see below) may have to be equated to Uruk XIII-IX, so that phase Susa A2, during which the high terrace was built, may coincide with Uruk XV-XIV, generally dated ca. 3500 B.C.⁵) Such late dating finds confirmation in the radiocarbon dates obtained for Susa A2: 3420 ± 40 B.C. (GrN-6052) and 3325 ± 75 B.C. (GrN-6054); for Susa A1 the date 3143 ± 105 B.C. was obtained by the Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique at Brussels. The authors end up by attributing urbanization in Susiana to impact from Mesopotamia, although they stress the Iranian character of its earlier phases at Susa⁶).

Hardly less startling than the early history of the high terrace itself is the erection on it, in phase Susa A1, of a second mud brick platform, whereby a true ziggurat was created. It was surrounded by piles of fallen clay nails together with the pierced tiles that they had fixed to its walls. The "C5" building now backed against this mud brick mass, and nearby were found five painted clay ibex horns. The authors quite plausibly see these as symbols of the chase, offered to the "Lady of the Mountain" that in the 3rd millennium, and perhaps in the 4th millennium as well, was worshipped here. Numerous sling balls and signs of burning hint at a violent end to this first monumental complex at Susa, which was subsequently exposed to erosion. This erosion phase is tentatively equated to Susa B a-b and Uruk VIII.

Of the next phase hardly any material was preserved in situ. Enough remained, however, to prove that the whole ziggurat had been encased in a new mud brick structure measuring 60 by 45 m and decorated with hollow and solid red or black-painted clay cones. Its first story was 3 m high, the second story, stepped back 4 m, was only 1 m high and still preserves, near its north corner, a flagstone ramp describing a right angle. On one of the flagstones lay the copper statuette of a naked man, while his female counterpart appeared among early Jemdet Nasr (Protoliterate c) debris that had washed down from the north corner. A mud-brick-lined shaft, at least 6.60 m deep, had been sunk near the west corner; its fill showed that construction of this phase must have started in Uruk VII-VI times and occupation lasted at least through Uruk V and IV⁷).

The authors apparently decided to call this level "Uruk" instead of "Susa B" because the 1969-71 excavations on the Acropolis indicate that Le Breton's "Ba" is probably a mixture of *in situ* Susa A material (including stamp seals that show cruciform designs or a horned genius dominating snakes) and intrusive Uruk-period material

⁵) Edith Porada, "The Relative Chronology of Mesopotamia", in Robert W. Ehrich, *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology* (Chicago, 1965), pp. 133-200, cf. Robert H. Dyson, Jr., *Ibid.*, pp. 222-223.

⁶) On the curious alternation of Iranian and Mesopotamian cultural traits in Susiana, see Pierre Amiet, "Archaeological Discontinuity and Ethnic Duality in Elam", *Antiquity* 53 (1979), pp. 195-204.

⁷) In or near square C5 — putative site of the early temple, as stated above — a two-thirds life-size male head of green sandstone was discovered among stones on the surface in 1974, see P. Amiet in *Cahiers de la DAFI* 6 (1976), pp. 61-62. On stylistic grounds Amiet convincingly dates it to the Uruk IV period.

(pottery especially) from pits not distinguished by de Mecquenem. The new excavations also show up the continuity from Bb to Ca and the sharp break between Ca and Cb (see Le Brun and Amiet in *Cahiers de la DAFI* 1, pp. 208 and 219 respectively). The use of Mesopotamian period designations, however, is hardly an improvement, as Gasche himself admits in *MDAI* 47, p. 12, note 1.

In late Jemdet Nasr (Protoliterate d) times a new, but-tressed north face had been built of *Riemchen* bricks, while on top of the first story open-air installations, including sunk hearths and a chimney abutting on the second story, had apparently been used as places of sacrifice. Among the charred animal bones were beveled-rim bowls, "flower pots", Gawra VIII B carinate bowls with everted lips, baked clay sickles and a baked clay cylinder seal. Radiocarbon determinations for this phase are 3085 ± 40 B.C. (GrN-6051), 3065 ± 90 B.C. (GrN-6053) and 2820 ± 218 B.C. (Brussels, Institut Royal du Patrimoine artistique).

Some building activity (partly unconnected to the ziggurat) during Early Dynastic I is indicated by associated pottery, which includes solid-foot goblets and bichrome ware, and Proto-Elamite tablets. Wall nails now have small pits around a central hollow⁸).

Levels 4-2 of the *Acropole* belong to the Susa D culture. On the basis of an Akkad period tablet found in level 2, and perhaps inspired by the radiocarbon date for level 3 as well⁹), the authors propose (especially in their foot note 68) to lower the dates for the successive stages of that culture, as marked by certain changes in painted pottery styles. The proposed new correlation to the Mesopotamian sequence is shown alongside the hitherto accepted correlations of Le Breton¹⁰) and Dyson¹¹) in the following table:

Painted Pottery Style	Mesopotamian Correlations			Acropole Level
	Le Breton	Dyson	Steve & Gasche	
Susa D a-b	ED I-II	ED I-II	ED III	4
Susa D c-d	ED II-III	ED III	Proto-imperial	3
Susa D e	Proto-imperial	Proto-imperial	Early Akkad	2

As the Akkad period tablet was found on sloping, dis-integrated brickwork and some displacement from its original position is assumed even by the excavators, it can hardly support such drastic revision which, incidentally, would also affect the dating of Giyan IV and many other Iranian sites. If one counts the authors' ceramic comparisons with pottery from the Diyala Region, the results are as follows¹²) (see columns 713 & 714)

⁸) A larger wall nail of the same type from level 3 still carried its white paste inlay.

⁹) 2269 ± 142 B.C. (Institut Royal du Patrimoine artistique, Brussels). Note that the Brussels date for the Jemdet Nasr level, quoted above, seems too low by 250 years.

¹⁰) *Iraq* 19 (1957), p. 115.

¹¹) *Chronologies* (see note 5), p. 227.

¹²) Counted are the Diyala vessel types which the authors themselves cite as comparative material in their footnotes 81, 83, 87, 88, 110, 115. Dates of levels in which they occur from Pinhas Delougaz, *Pottery from*

Level 4 (which the reviewer, following Le Breton and Dyson, would attribute to Early Dynastic II) saw the erection of at least three many-roomed buildings north of the ziggurat. The westernmost contained querns and charred grain stored in doorless rooms, and the easternmost two storage jars on platforms. Of particular interest are large jars studded with knobs inside and out in Indus-Valley fashion. Monochrome Susa D a-b ware appears together with boat models, animal and human figurines, of which one has a painted baldrick. Wall nails with disc-shaped head point to some building activity, but it seems that the great extension of the ziggurat to a length of 65 m is due to some ruler of the next phase (Level 3; the authors think of the dynasty of Awan in this connection.)

Again following Le Breton and Dyson, I would date Level 3 to the Early Dynastic III period. Various building activities belonging to this level — the refacing of the ziggurat and the construction of various drains near its north corner — are characterized by the use of baked bricks. Further north, baked bricks formed a skirting along the street façade of the "Tripartite Building". This structure, with façades decorated by wall nails and containing an absidal room at the center, is proved by a later inscription to be a temple to the god Shugu (it remained in use through the Akkad period). In Ur III times a brick-lined well was sunk through the absidal room; one wonders if the unusual shape of the room may be due to an earlier well having existed on the same spot. Along with Susa D c-d painted ware, Level 3 contained many relief-decorated jars, including one, encircled by a snake, that was sunk into the ground at the head of one of the baked-brick drains. Since Delougaz¹³) has demonstrated a religious or magical significance for such vessels, the excavators interpret it as a libation vat. In view of its find spot, however, a practical function as a sump or settling basin seems more likely. A long footnote is devoted to the possible appearance of the horse at this time; it is occasioned by a clay figurine that might perhaps represent another animal as well.

In Level 2 the Shugu temple was refloored and a grid of corbeled or vaulted mud brick passages 50 cm high laid out at the northeast corner of the ziggurat. The twelve intervening squares were filled with stones or mud bricks. At first sight the slope toward the central passage might suggest a draining function¹⁴). The find, not far away, of a pottery grill, however, lends support to the excavators' conclusion that these passages served to ventilate the substructure of a building that needed to stay dry. They compare the blocks of brickwork, separated by corridors, that must have carried granaries at Mohenjo-daro and Lothal. Susa B seal impressions show platforms supporting rows of domed granaries¹⁵). A convex concretion of lime, sand and straw may be all that remains of the super-structure.

the Diyala Region (OIP 63), Chicago, 1952. Dates given by Delougaz with a question mark are omitted.

¹³) *Pottery from the Diyala Region* (OIP 63, Chicago, 1952), pp. 92-93.

¹⁴) Cf. the Protoimperial drains at Eshnunna, P. Delougaz, *Private Houses and Graves in the Diyala Region* (OIP 88, Chicago, 1967), pp. 193-194, 196.

¹⁵) P. Amiet, *La glyptique susienne* (MDAI 43, Paris, 1972).

Acro- pole Level	ED I	ED II- ED III	ED III	Pottery items like Diyala ED III- Proto- imperial	ED III- Akkad	Proto- imperial	Proto- imperial -Akkad	Akkad
4	1		1					
3		3	7	1		1		1
2			1		2		3	1

The pottery recovered from Level 2 includes two complete Susa D e vessels and — significantly — a "goddess handle" of terminal ED III / Protoimperial type.

It follows from the preceding lines that the reviewer would prefer to read, simply, "the Akkad period" where the authors attribute Level 1 to "the Late Akkad period". It consists mainly of an intersection of streets bordered by walls northeast of the ziggurat. The exterior of the Shugu Temple was redecorated by Puzur-Inshushinak as governor of Elam under Sharkalisharri, to judge by the wall nails found around it. Since the temple continued in use, it should have been shown on fig. 4. On the other hand room 219, which yielded some painted sherds apparently carried over from Level 2, is not part of the temple as claimed on p. 61.

The whole vessels and larger fragments from Level 1 are undecorated except for ridges, finger-impressed clay strips and wavy combing. Level 1 was rich in animal or human figurines, model vehicles and miniature vessels, as expected in the Akkad period. A lanceolate flint arrowhead has parallels from the palace of Naramsin at Brak. Sections of the last extant refacing of the ziggurat itself, covered with bluish plaster 7 cm thick, also belong to Level 1 and may date to Puzur-Inshushinak's independent reign as king.

Against the east face of the ziggurat a temple to Narunte, "Lady of the Mountain" and consort of the principal god of Susa, must have existed at least from ED II times. During the Akkad period it included a paved area of 6 × 6 m flanked by basins, near which 33 Akkad period and earlier statues were found. The Akkad period temple and its predecessors (unnoticed by de Mecquenem as they were of mud brick) have disappeared into the chasm known as the "Sondage Centre", but Pierre Amiet has brilliantly reconstituted and published the hoard of statues¹⁶).

The mud brick core of the Ur III ziggurat, measuring ca. 60 × 60 m, also went unnoticed by de Mecquenem as he leveled the acropolis down to 24 meters' elevation, where he mercifully stopped. The baked brick west and east faces doubled as the rear walls of Shulgi's temples to Inshushinak and his consort, respectively. Their plans and sections have been tentatively reconstructed by Amiet from de Mecquenem's notes¹⁷). All that is now left of the Ur III level are some brick-lined wells 2½ to 5½ m deep. In addition to vertical-rim bowls and ovoid jars, they yielded mold-pressed naked girl plaques and bed or chair models.

¹⁶) *Cahiers de la DAFI* 6 (1976), pp. 53-60.

¹⁷) *Ibid.*, figs. 10-13. The later vicissitudes of the acropolis are conveniently summarized on pp. 47-52. Mr. Amiet kindly informs me that the Middle Elamite royal tombs had not been dug into the temple of Inshushinak as one might gather from p. 50, but nearby as stated on p. 52.

Archeology has yet to find a system of presentation that makes it easy both for the reader to grasp architectural features and for the author to avoid mistakes. In the present report loci are identified by three-figure numbers that have no relation to the grid squares and are therefore hard to locate. What is worse, walls etc. are not designated by letters but described, e.g. as "Le mur à saillants". One needs a thorough command of French architectural terms, plus a dose of intuition, to find them on the plans. At times the authors themselves have become confused, e.g. where they describe, on p. 12, the west face of the Akkad-period ziggurat as running from northeast to southeast — this should be northwest to southeast; or where they state on p. 15, that the old excavations had wiped away the younger remains in the south and the west; this should read: in the north and the west. On the whole, the printing of the text (done in Belgium) is faultless and that of the plans (done in Switzerland) superb. In comparison, the quality of the offset photographic plates is uneven. While the detail is sharp and most of the finds are adequately illustrated, the excavation photographs, by nature more contrasty, have come out too white in a number of instances.

Although it deals mainly with the pottery from the 1946-1966 excavations on the *Ville Royale* mound, the second volume under review, *MDAI* 47, gives us advance news of other excavation results as well. Specifically, this volume includes architectural plans of seven arbitrary "levels" drawn every time excavation had proceeded one meter more in depth and covering the end of the third millennium and much of the second millennium B.C. Just as students of Syrian archeology have long been grateful to Ejnar Fugmann for including minute drawings of pottery and other finds in his report on the architecture at Hama¹⁸), students of the architecture at Susa may have to rely for a long time on the plans in Gasche's pottery volume¹⁹). Twelve more volumes are to complete the final report of Ghirshman's 1946-1966 work on the *Ville Royale*.

In note 1 on p. 12, Gasche presents Near Eastern archeology with the doubtful blessing of a new terminology: the Old Elamite period, generally taken to coincide roughly with the Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian periods, is extended backward as far as the mid-third millennium. "Old Elamite II" includes both the late third-millennium Ur III dynasty and the early second millennium Simashki dynasty, although smashed pottery and quantities of sling balls testify to the violent end of the Ur III level (B VII). The next, Sukkalmahhu dynasty (ca. 1900-1500 B.C.) is made into an "Old Elamite III"

¹⁸) *Hama II 1: L'architecture des périodes pré-hellénistiques*, Copenhagen, 1958.

¹⁹) For "levels" A XV-XIV, more complete plans are available in *Arts Asiatiques* 13 (1966), fig. 2, and *Arts Asiatiques* 15 (1967), fig. 2.

phase although the author stresses the continuity in architecture and finds from the Simashki level (B VI) to the Sukkalmahhu level (B V).

Built on the uneven ruins of B VII, B VI-V and later structures partly had their floors at the same elevation; these were only sorted out *ex post facto*. Thus, in addition to B VI-V proper, there are remains labeled B VI-V récent which are in reality contemporary with A XV-XIII. Altogether, the B exposure covered an area no larger than 60 × 24 m on the southern fringe of the *Ville Royale* mound, containing parts of perhaps up to six houses per level, of up to six small rooms, some with rounded corners. Tablets securely date B VII to the 21st-century Ur III dynasty, B VI to the 20th-century Simashki dynasty and B V to the 19th century or early Sukkalmahhu dynasty. Not only is the ruler Attahushu (ca. 1830 B.C.) himself mentioned, but a B V tomb has yielded a ceremonial axe paralleled by two axes bearing his name. All during the 20th and 19th centuries the Elamite potters seem to have continued in the 21st-century Mesopotamian tradition, producing sand-tempered vertical-rim bowls and ovoid jars. The one major local component seems to be the step-shouldered cylindrical flat-base jarlet (type 21a), which has clear antecedents in Susa D and Giyan IV²⁰). For the early second millennium, Amiet — resuming an idea of Maurice Lambert's — envisages an Elamite population composed of Anzanite princes and herders and Akkadian administrators and merchants²¹); would it be too bold to see this picture reflected in the pottery of Susa?

The excavation had been moved to area B after the early 18th-century level A XV had been found to rest on virgin soil. In the 130 × 50 m cleared on the north edge of the mound, we see the west, center south and center north built up with about 10 labyrinthine houses of 15-30 rooms or cubicles; in a 10-room sanctuary among the houses, the antecella has a bent axis, the cella a recessed doorway and a central podium.

Though considered short by the author, the hiatus between B V and A XV must have been long enough for several old ceramic types to go out of use and a number of new ones to appear (the change is called "sudden" on p. 14 and even "brutal" on p. 53). Plant temper replaced sand temper (pp. 22, 34; not explicitly stated on p. 54). While the Mesopotamian potters of Larsa to Old Babylonian times put out painted, ring-base carinate bowls and protruding-foot cylindrical goblets²²), the potters at Susa produced plain, flat-base carinate bowls and cylindrical goblets. Step-shouldered jarlets now stood on disc bases and developed a more pot-bellied variant.

The few small band-painted and ridged pots of Giyan IVC-III type²³) have sand temper and may therefore be imports from Luristan. These imports occur in A XV-XIII (ca. 1800-1600), confirming the generally accepted

²⁰) E.g., *MDAI* 46, pls. 4:7, 5:28, 11:3; Georges Contenau & Roman Ghirshman, *Fouilles du Tépé-Giyan* (Paris, 1935), pls. 32:111, 113, 114, 33:116.

²¹) *Antiquity* 53 (1979), p. 197.

²²) See, e.g., Léon de Meyer et al., *Tell ed-Dēr I* (Leuven, 1971), pls. 10:3, 11:11; Barthel Hrouda, *Isin-Išan Bahriyat I* (Munich, 1977), pl. 28:IB 467, 650, 682, 693.

²³) Here I follow Robert H. Dyson, Jr.'s terminology in Robert W. Ehrich, ed., *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology* (Chicago, 1965), pp. 232-235.

date of ca. 1800-1600 for Giyan III²⁴). A painted pedestal-base goblet from A XII center (ca. 1450-1300, see below) is reminiscent of goblets from Giyan IIb (ca. 1500-1400)²⁵).

The plan of A XIV shows the east and center south now taken up by palatial mansions, with thick-walled reception halls facing north onto huge paved courts; only the center north displays some continuity. A late 18th-century archive was said to have been found in the center south mansion²⁶).

B VII through A XIV account for the majority of the vessels published and their treatment in itself is a valuable contribution. The stratification of A XIII-IX is more problematical. Prior to 1964/65, Ghirshman used to dig by arbitrary one-meter levels. For «levels» XI-IX Gasche refrained from giving plans and pottery find spots and arrived at dates higher by two to five centuries than those originally given by Ghirshman. Elizabeth Carter has compared some A XIII-XII pottery to Transitional Old to Middle Elamite ceramics from Sharafabad and Haft Tepe and some A XII-XI and A X-IX pottery with the Middle and Neo-Elamite assemblages from Tchoga Zanbil, respectively, and proposed a revised stratigraphy and dating²⁷). Steve and Gasche now contest her views with a variety of arguments. It appears that much of the material first marked as coming from A XII and following levels was later recognized as having come from pits or tombs dug down from higher up. The present controversy has had the advantage of leading to publication of the plans and pottery find spots for A XI-IX by Steve and Gasche in *Iranica Antiqua* 15 (1980), pp. 49-154. They do not accept the existence of first-millennium B.C. levels at Tchoga Zanbil, as posited by Ghirshman on the basis of elongated goblets, found there as well as at Susa Ville Royale A X-IX. The evidence of the seals, however, suffices to confirm Ghirshman's and Carter's dating between 1000 and 600 of the last occupation at Tchoga Zanbil²⁸). Their dating is followed by Perrot, Miroschedji and Young²⁹).

Despite this flaw, Gasche is to be commended for the profusion of competent drawings, illustrating the range of variants within each pottery type level by level. Finally, the whole repertory of pottery shapes is summarized on three fold-out charts from which their relative frequency in each of the levels can be read at a glance.

Amsterdam, December 1980

MAURITS VAN LOON

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²⁴) Dyson, *loc. cit.* and in *Cambridge Ancient History* II, pt. 1 (3rd revised ed., Cambridge, 1973), p. 711, table 4.

²⁵) *Fouilles du Tépé-Giyan*, pls. 21:64, 24:80, cf. Dyson in *CAH* II 1, p. 709. A carinate deep bowl from A XII is compared by Gasche to *Fouilles du Tépé-Giyan*, pl. 21: tomb 65, no. 3, but the resemblance is by no means evident.

²⁶) This is now proven to be a 17th-century archive and reinterpreted as a hoard dug down from A XIII into A XIV, M.J. Steve, H. Gasche & L. de Meyer in *Iranica Antiqua* 15 (1980), p. 89.

²⁷) See note 1.

²⁸) Edith Porada, *Tchoga Zanbil IV: La glyptique* (MDAI 42, Paris, 1970), pp. 128-129. Pierre Amiet, in *Iranica Antiqua* 15 (1980), pp. 140-141, 144-145, has raised his date for deep-line style faience seals with ladder borders from A IX, which he had originally considered Neo-Elamite.

²⁹) See their articles in *Paléorient* 4 (1978), pp. 133-139, 213-227 and 237-244, respectively.

Georgina HERRMANN, *Naqsh-i Rostam 5 and 8*, Sasanian Reliefs attributed to Hormuzd II and Narseh. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1977 (11 pp., 14 pls., 2 figs.) = Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Teheran, Iranische Denkmäler, Lieferung 8, Reihe II: Iranische Felsreliefs, D. Price not known.

Leo TRÜMPPELMANN, *Das sasanidische Felsrelief von Sar Mašhad*. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1975 (40 cm., 12 pp., 17 pls., 3 figs.) = Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Teheran, Iranische Denkmäler, Lieferung 5, Reihe II, Iranische Felsreliefs, A. DM. 35.

In the last thirty-five years, previously known works and newly discovered material of Iranian art have received intensive study. *Iranische Denkmäler*, a series of folio fascicules devoted to individual monuments of Iran, continues the pre-war publications of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (Ernst Herzfeld was their originator) that bring up to date our understanding of these works of art.

Georgina Herrmann's study of two Sasanian reliefs at Naqsh-i Rostam, the equestrian combat attributed to Hormuzd II (A.D. 303-309) and the investiture of Narseh (A.D. 293-302) is more purely technical in its approach than Leo Trümpelmann's study of the Sar Mašhad relief of Bahram II. Herrmann summarizes the previous studies of the reliefs (some not published) and explains how photo-mosaics and drawings of the reliefs were prepared as aids to careful study according to a system developed by the Department of Archaeology in the University of Leicester. (Such photographs must be taken at an exact right angle and at a large scale.) The method was used for the reliefs in question and resulted in a series of photographs, overall and detail, that surpass previous publications of the reliefs in their number, accuracy and lack of distortion. The details given showing marks of different tools, and the drawings (by Rosalind Howell) are ideal for the study of fashion and equipment, and justify this method of recording. Damage has naturally occurred since the 1910 publication by Friedrich Sarre and Ernst Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, which has heretofore contained the most accurate photographs of Sasanian rock reliefs then known. This fascicule of *Iranische Denkmäler* provides measurements, careful, accurate and abbreviated descriptions, and the illustrations, making the monuments permanently available for subsequent study.

The royal Sasanian rock reliefs are a sequel to a long line of royal rock reliefs in the ancient Near East, their most immediate predecessors being those of the Achaemenid and Arsacid kings. Among other things, this kind of monument established and sanctified a relationship between the ruler and his deity (sometimes also the nations under the king's rule) as the inscriptions of the Achaemenid reliefs tell us. The Joust of Hormuzd II, the first relief treated by Herrmann, follows an Arsacid prototype, the relief of Gotarzes II at Bisitun, rather than Achaemenid or earlier traditions of rock relief. The first Sasanian rendering of the theme is found in the rock relief of Ardashir I at Firuzabad, which shows the overthrow of his Arsacid predecessor. Two reliefs of Bahram II with the theme at Naqsh-i Rostam served as Hormuzd's immediate models. The king, magnified in size, is seen at the moment of unhorsing and overthrowing his opponent. Herrmann suggests the opponent may have been an internal enemy because his helmet bears a Sasanian kind of device.

The second relief at Naqsh-i Rostam presented by Herrmann is that of the investiture of Narseh, of which the most lefthand figure was never completed. The iconography here varies from more standard investiture representations because a goddess, Anahita, confers the diadem, and because the crown prince is represented below it. Though brief and telegraphic in the same style as Herrmann's treatment of the Hormuzd II relief, the description covers all the salient features of the relief, especially details of costume and hair style. Herrmann's commentary about both reliefs is spare; the origins and development of the iconographic model for both scenes are therefore not explored. The publication was intended as a complete *mise au point*, in which it succeeds admirably.

The fascicule in which Leo Trümpelmann presents the relief of Bahram II (A.D. 276-293) at Sar Mašhad differs from Herrmann's publication in treating the significance of the work as a major feature of the text. Trümpelmann's descriptions are fuller than Herrmann's and include a drawing and description of the site; the monument is less well known than the reliefs of Naqsh-i Rostam, having been discovered by Ernst Herzfeld in about 1925. Again, the quality of the generous number of photographs and drawings (by Cornelia Wolff) is very high and makes the work permanently accessible to scholars.

The reliefs of Bahram II are the only Sasanian reliefs in which experimental themes are attempted, and among them are two (Barm-i Dilak and Tang-i Qandil) which may not even include the monarch. [See Richard N. Frye, "The Sasanian Bas-Relief at Tang-i Qandil", *Iran*, XII (1974), 188-190. Frye's article probably did not appear before Trümpelmann's fascicule went to press and is not cited; Georgina Herrmann, "The Sculptures of Bahram II", *JRAS* (1970), 165-72 should however probably have been cited as a general source.] The Sar Mašhad relief depicts Bahram II, watched by a female and two males who raise their right hands in witness, in the act of killing a lion. The animal is shown at the moment of death and already dead at the king's feet. The theme without the witnesses is familiar from Sasanian silver vessels but it does not occur elsewhere in the royal rock reliefs until the highly decorative late Sasanian *eyvan*-reliefs at Taq-i Bustan. Bahram II's queen appears on his coins and previously was thought to be the female on this relief. (There are women on the reliefs of Bahram II at Barm-i Dilak and Tang-i Qandil.) Following Hinz, Trümpelmann identifies the central female as Anahita; comparisons are made to Anahita's representation in the Narseh relief mentioned above. The cult of Anahita was under the direction of the powerful high priest, Kartir, whose inscription is carved above the relief. Kartir is identified as one of the male observers, and the crown prince as the other. Kartir was responsible for three similar inscriptions, some carved into the field of earlier Sasanian reliefs, and Hinz has shown that his device was carved into a relief of Bahram II at Naqsh-i Rostam. Trümpelmann considers and dismisses the possibility that the Kartir inscription was carved at a different time than the relief. He interprets the monument as a kind of propaganda by Kartir, attesting to his centrality in the reign of Bahram II, and demonstrating it in a site remote from the traditional site of royal rock reliefs but intimately connected with the cult of Anahita and the priest who administered her cult.

This interpretation answers a number of questions and

seems for the time being an acceptable, if possibly too neat, explanation of the Sar Mašhad relief. The style and iconographic variety in the official art of Bahram II still remain to be considered in one study. It is possible that when this is done, the anomalous features of the reliefs at Sar Mašhad, Barm-i Dilak and Tang-i Qandil may be explainable in terms of an iconographic program, and the present reading of the Sar Mašhad relief receive modification.

Bangor, Maine, December, 1980 DEBORAH THOMPSON

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KORTE AANKONDIGING

David FRANKEL, *The Ancient Kingdom of Urartu*. London, British Museum Publications Ltd., 1979 (23 × 16 cm., 32 pages, map, 28 black and white photographs and, on the cover, 2 color photographs). ISBN 0 7141 1100 7.

This attractive booklet is meant primarily to be a guide-book to the Urartian collection in the British Museum, derived mainly from the 1877 chance finds and 1880 excavations at Toprakkale near Van (see R.D. Barnett in *Iraq* 12, 1950, pp. 1-42 and 16, 1954, pp. 3-22). Important episodes in the history of Urartu are rendered by Assyrian bronze and stone reliefs also in the British Museum.

In thirty profusely illustrated pages, David Frankel gives a full account of Urartu's political history, avoiding most controversial matters, and a brief summary of what is known about its society, material culture, economy and religion. At the end, a bibliography is given which justifies the author's statements and leads the student or interested layman on to further reading matter.

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Wolfram KLEISS, *Bastam/Rusa-i-Uru.Tur: Beschreibung der Urartäischen und mittelalterlichen Ruinen*. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1977 (16 × 24 cm, 71 pages, 58 figs., including fold-out plan and panoramic photograph) = Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Teheran, Führer zu archäologischen Plätzen in Iran I. Price: DM 28.-.

Among the manifold research and publication activities of the German Archeological Institute at Teheran yet another series has been initiated in 1977 with two guide-books on important Iron Age to Medieval sites excavated by that institute: Bastam and Takht-e Suleiman.

Although few tourists probably stop at Bastam on their way into Iran by car, it is good for the interested layman, student or scholar to have an introduction to such a complex site as Bastam. The final report on the 1972-1975 excavations has already appeared in another series of the same institute.

Bastam is the largest extant Urartian stronghold after Van. Urartian remains are strewn over an area of 1500 ×

800 m, not counting the eleven-kilometer canal and the three other fortresses guarding the adjoining plain. One gathers some idea of the scale of the site from the list of remains briefly discussed by the author:

1. The citadel
 - 1a. The lower citadel, containing south outer gate, stables, barracks, guesthouse (?) and commander's house.
 - 1b. The eastern citadel annex.
 - 1c. The middle citadel, containing south and north inner gates, tower temple and pithos-filled storehouses.
 - 1d. The upper citadel, a labyrinthine palace with workshops for processing the region's produce on the ground floor.
 - 1e. The north citadel annex, containing the north middle gate.
 - 1f. The slope buildings, the north outer gate and the hall building.
2. The outer town.
 - 2a. The northern outbuilding.
 - 2b. The houses for civilian personnel, including craftsmen and merchants.
3. The eastern outbuilding, measuring 162 × 130 m.
4. The river embankments.

The "hall building", apparently a stable built as early as the 8th century B.C., outlasted most structures at Bastam and continued to be used into the Median period. The life span of the other buildings was limited to the 7th century B.C. on the whole. It was Rusa II (ca. 685-670 B.C.) who built the temple to Haldi and gave the city its name Rusai URU.TUR "little city of Rusa" (although the meaning is clear, the correct reading of URU.TUR in Urartian is not known). The tower temple, with part rock-cut, part stone-built foundations 14 m square, was apparently the tallest in Urartu. In its heyday the staggered buttressed royal edifices, at least 14 m high and perched atop a razor-sharp mountain ridge, must have made an impressive sight.

A brief discussion of the Early to Middle Bronze village mound, the Parthian graves and the Medieval Armenian castle on the citadel complete the richly illustrated and beautifully presented booklet.

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ARCHAEOLOGISCHE MITTEILUNGEN AUS IRAN, Neue Folge 11. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1978 (20 × 27 cm, 229 pages, many figures, 9 fold-out plans, sections and elevations, 90 plates). Price: DM 120.00. 12. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1979 (20 × 27 cm, 427 pages, many figures, 10 fold-out plans, sections and elevations, 79 plates). Price: DM 120.00. ISSN 0066-6033.

It is no less than amazing that the German Archeological Institute's activities in Iran continue to bear fruit and even increase in the face of recent upheavals in Iran. The latest volume to appear to date is dedicated to the memory of Ernst Herzfeld.

A glance at the contents will show that the bulk of the articles publish the results of field work carried out as late as 1978:

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As in previous volumes, the contributions are generally presented in chronological order of material treated, e.g. in volume 11 the first article discusses the Elamite language; the second article deals with tumuli of the 2nd and 1st millennia B.C., the third with Achaemenid and later castles.

The fourth article adds to the ever-growing list of Urartian strongholds in Azerbaijan, a major concern of the German Institute related to its excavations at Bastam. The newly found sites fill in more open spaces west and northwest of Lake Urmia.

The rock-cut remains treated in the fifth, sixth and seventh articles are of Achaemenid, Achaemenid-Sasanian and Hellenistic date respectively. Other articles in volume 11 are of interest to archeologists, art historians, historians and linguists working on the Sasanian to Medieval periods.

Volume 12 opens with three articles commemorating the great German archeologist Ernst Herzfeld who was responsible for the old series of *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*. Next come seven articles on Bronze to Early Iron Age sites. Ravaz and Yakhvali are settlements with round houses of the Early Transcaucasian I/II culture. Sagzabad was apparently inhabited from about 2200 to 400 B.C. The earliest sites surveyed in the Meshkin Shahr plain also have Early Transcaucasian affinities. Kordlar Tepe Levels IV-I have yielded good parallels to Hasanlu V-IV, with Groningen radiocarbon dates of 1380-1280 and 1280-1220 for Kordlar IV and III respectively.

Wolfram Kleiss and Stephan Kroll found another eleven Urartian strongholds in 1978, bringing the total of such sites in Iran to 101. Three of these are in east Azerbaijan, about 100 km northeast of Tabriz. Urartian ironwork and temple architecture are the subjects of articles by

Clemens Böhne and Mirjo Salvini. Their contributions are followed by six articles on Achaemenid subjects. For a series of saw-tooth fortifications of Achaemenid date Kleiss and Kroll propose a challenging interpretation as strongholds of the new, Armenian overlords on former Urartian territory.

Seven contributions deal with Medieval to 19th century subjects. Finally we should mention the invaluable bibliographies, ordered by subject matter, that are added annually by Peter Calmeyer to these highly important important volumes.

ARABICA-ISLAM

STUDIA ORIENTALIA MEMORIAE D. H. BANETH DEDICATA. Editorial board: J. Blau, S. Pines, M. J. Kister and S. Shaked. Jerusalem (Magnes Press) 1979 (407 pp. of English and French text, 8 pp. of facsimiles, 179 pp. of Hebrew text). ISBN 965-223-325-0.

The dedicatee of this memorial volume, D. H. Baneth (1893-1973), was, according to the short biographical notices accompanying this handsomely produced volume, an excellent scholar as well as a gifted and inspiring teacher crippled by so much modesty and self-criticism that his list of publications only shows fifty-eight items. Friends, colleagues and pupils, mostly of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, show with this grand volume how much Baneth has meant to them.

The book contains seventeen papers in English, two in French and nine in Hebrew. In the following I shall comment upon a few of them as far as my expertise permits me and just mention the others.

M. J. Kister's contribution "*Sha'bān is my month...*" *A study of an early tradition*, is a richly documented survey of folklore usages and practices in connection with the month Sha'bān, especially those observed on the fifteenth, as depicted in traditions which are mostly of the *faḍā'il* type. One may differ with the author's opinion that traditions describing the prophet's fasting habits seem to be trustworthy. On one occasion he speaks of early *ḥadīths* allegedly traced back to some of the Companions such as Wāthila b. al-Asqa', who related it to Makhūl. This Wāthila, who allegedly was the last Companion to die in Damascus in 83-85/702-704 at the age of 105 (Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, XI, p. 101), was probably no Companion at all, if we refuse to set store by the advanced ages such an overwhelming number of people in early Islam claim to have reached. The only date in someone's life which may be taken at face value, since an (infinite) number of impartial contemporaries witnessed it and subsequently may have recorded it — and even there we find a lot of controversial data as is the case here —, is someone's year of death. Assuming, which is much more likely, that he died when he was at most seventy or thereabouts, that brings his alleged year of birth forward to 13 or 15, that is several years after the prophet's death. And the Successor Makhūl (d. 112-118/730-736), whose only claim to that

status rests with his having heard traditions from some 'long living Companions', such as Anas and Wāthila, is credited in one report with having heard the latter (*Tahdhib*, X, pp. 290f) and in another not even that (ibidem, p. 292). In any case, Makhūl's role as a transmitter of traditions, when scrutinized a little bit more deeply, is doubtful in the extreme, and it may be maintained that he was not at all involved in traditions, but was merely one of those many men of his generation who sought to lay down Islam in tenets, rules and ordinances as he saw it, which were in the course of time promoted (*rufi'a* is the Arabic term) to 'prophetic traditions'. If one sets store by *isnāds* at all, a Makhūl — Wāthila *isnād* as adduced here by Kister is, if anything, a hallmark of fabrication.

No, if one wants to formulate a plausible description of the prophet's fasting habits, it is good to remember that, in spite of Qur'ān II, 185 (*shahru Ramaḍāna ... fa-man shahida minkumu 'sh-shahra fa-l-yaṣumhu ...*), it was only under 'Umar (13-23/634-644) that the fasting of Ramaḍān became obligatory for every Muslim (cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb at-tabaqāt al-kabīr*, III 1, p. 202, and especially Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, II, p. 159). If even the fast during Ramaḍān is not an open and shut case, how much less any other fasting habits the prophet might have had. It is true, Kister concludes with stating (p. 36) that the prophet's fast in other months was sporadic and broken arbitrarily, which, I think, is a much more plausible description.

Moreover, traditions depicting devotional practices of the prophet are always open to doubt, I think, and should not be considered as containing more genuinely historical material than *faḍā'il* describing other people's meritorious habits. What they do reflect may be summarized as the wishful thinking of their originators. By prefixing an *isnād* going back to the prophet they sought to gain more prestige for the sayings they brought into circulation, which describe the way in which they *would like* Islam to be observed, not as it *was* observed. Dating these *faḍā'il* is, then, a different matter. This review is not the proper place for it, but it is definitely something that one day needs to be undertaken.

E. Kohlberg surveys the evolution of the concept *muḥad-dath*, he who is addressed by an angel and conveyed secret knowledge, an epithet attached to the *imāms* of the Twelver Shī'a. The term is contrasted with the method in which the prophet received his revelations on the one hand and, on the other hand, with connotations of the term describing the way in which lesser mortals receive knowledge of a secret nature, though not by the immediate intervention of an angel.

S. Pines and M. Schwarz present in their contribution an introduction to, and an edition and richly annotated translation of, a Christian philosopher's refutation of a doctrine commonly held among the Ash'ariyya school of his days. The Christian philosopher is Yaḥyā b. 'Adī (873-974) who lived in Bagdad, the doctrine is that of *iktisāb*, man's subsequent 'acquisition' of actions which were first created by God. This doctrine was the Ash'arites' answer to the Mu'tazilites' tenet that man himself created his own evil deeds, since God could not be held responsible for having created evil deeds in His subjects. This is an astonishing piece of work on the part of the editors/translators. The unique manuscript contains many unclear,

if not nonsensical, readings dexterously emended by the editors; at times they even had to resort to supplying complete sentences in an endeavour to put right an (obvious ?) *homoioteleuton*, no mean feat in a difficult text such as this. One wonders why Yaḥyā went to so much trouble to refute a point of Islamic *kalām*, "... a system of thought to which ... he felt no personal commitment".

I. Alon compares three short fragments of philosophical texts containing discussions on the concepts *ḥikma* and *ḥaqq*, written by a pseudo-Greek philosopher, dating from the eighth century or perhaps even later, and two Muslim authors, one Abū 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-ʿĀmirī and Shahrastānī. This comparison enables the author to point out similarities as well as striking discrepancies, the similarities with only one exception being particular to only two of the three fragments, and the discrepancies demonstrating the as yet far from clear-cut ideas on, for example, which of the two, *ḥikma* or *ḥaqq*, came first and which was dependent on which.

In his contribution J. L. Kraemer argues that Maimonides modeled the fundamental principles or beliefs (*qawā'id al-i'tiqād*) as laid down in his *Foundations of the Torah*, a part of *The book of knowledge*, on Fārābī's *Arā' ahl al-madīna al-fāḍila*.

In his *Diachronic and synchronic ordering in medieval Arab grammatical theory* H. Blanc builds up a convincing case for the surmise that, contrary to previously held beliefs (Fleisch), Arab grammarians, "sharing in what is possibly a universal intuition", did view their language as susceptible to change and, consequently, admitting of diachronic description. The *aṣl* (e.g. **maqwūlun* > *maḡlūn*, **miwzānun* > *mīzānun*) may in some cases never have been in actual use, in other cases it sometimes was (e.g. *makhḡūl* with the Tamīm for *makhḡūl*), and the grammarians, well aware of the latter phenomenon, applied to it what cannot be seen as other than diachronic analysis. In any case, I may add here that in my own reading I have come across the term *aṣl* used for another (and perhaps older) form of the same concept which is duly listed in the dictionary (see, for example, *Tafsīr Jalālayn*, XIX, 8: **utuwwun* versus **itiyyun*).

J. Blau tackles a particularly difficult but interesting problem in his paper *The use of Arabic stative verbs in the suffix-tense to mark the present*. With the description of the Arabic verb system as denoting times rather than 'aspects' as point of issue, Blau sets out to delineate the uses of the *māḍī* with a distinct 'present tense' meaning, viz. in stative verbs (i.e. *fa'ila/fa'ula* verbs denoting state or quality rather than action). His is not an exhaustive study of the subject by any standards but thought-provoking in its brevity, and it immediately whets the appetite for a comprehensive examination. One may quarrel, perhaps, with Blau's adducing of various examples (*anjaza 'l-hurru mā wa'ada* — the free-born keeps what he promises (p. 181) and *laysa aḥadun aḡqara min ghaniyyin amina 'l-faḡra* — nobody is poorer than a rich man who (considers himself) safe from poverty (p. 189)) as less relevant in the discussion; surely these two sentences are, if not plain conditionals, at least virtual conditionals, and the *māḍī* denoting the present in conditional sentences in Arabic is a generally accepted rule which, as far as I can see, has no bearing whatsoever on the present issue.

And surely the sentence *wa-laysa yubālī idhā akala kayfa kāna dhālika 't-ta'amu* etc (if he eats, he does not pay attention how that food is ...) is an unmistakable conditional which has no place in the evidence, otherwise so judiciously scraped together.

In a detailed study of Sibawayhi's use of the verb *ta'addā* in context with subject and/or object, A. Levin tries to prove that, although Sibawayhi does not *yet* use the term explicitly to indicate verbs being transitive or intransitive, that is already *implied* in his usage.

A. Bloch discusses the use of pronoun reduplication in Arabic when coordinated with a following noun or another pronoun, such as in the sentences *ba'athanī ana wa-anta* or *ba'athanī ana wa 'z-Zubayra/u*. In some other examples Bloch adduces, the *wāw al-ma'iyya* is not yet given proper treatment. Where he mentions *ittifāqu huwa wa-akhihi*, ... *wa-akhāhu* seems also a plausible reading though with a slight difference in meaning; likewise for *dhikru khurūjihi huwa wa-akhūhu*, where ... *wa-akhāhu* would also have made perfectly good sense. He promises to deal with that in extenso in a forthcoming monograph.

O. Kapeliuk contributes *Quelques remarques sur l'emploi de l'accusatif en sémitique éthiopien et en arabe classique*.

S. Shaked presents an edition and translation of a letter written in Standard New Persian from the Cairo Geniza.

In his contribution M. Sharon offers the theory that the fictitious 'inscription' in the Qubbat aṣ-Ṣakhra describing 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān as the one who instigated its building in 65 AH (referred to in a book by a seventeenth century Italian monk who used to be custodian of the Holy Land) may have been none other than the remarks of a local guide blown up to a no longer existing 'inscription' in order to intrigue the foreign visitor.

J. Sadan's paper bears the title *The division of the day and programme of work of the caliph al-Manṣūr*. The subtitle tells exactly what this paper is about: How the biographical tradition (viz. the so-called *sīra* from Ṭabarī, *Annales*, III, pp. 381 ff) was depicted in the 'Abbasid period; a comparison with the kingly ideal of Arabic *specula regis* literature from its origins up to the 16th century. Then Sadan mentions the ideal division of the day as set forth in various *Fürstenspiegel* and contrasts that with Manṣūr's "Abbāsid ideal". Among the works quoted from are books by Tha'ālībī, Ibn at-Ṭīqṭaqā, pseudo-Jāḥiẓ, the *Qābūs-nāma*, the *Siyāsat-nāma*, Ghazālī's *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk* and a number of others.

In his usual elegant French A. Arazi devotes a well-researched paper to a little-known poet, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ishāq az-Zawzanī al-Baḥḥāthī (d. 463/1071), and also sketches the poet's background and the evolution of literary activities in East Khurāsān in general. Al-Baḥḥāthī's output, only preserved in fragments scattered over a small number of sources, are diligently brought together in a bibliography. Arazi describes this poet as a first class satyrist whose pen was generally dreaded. Much of his love poetry describes pederasty in sometimes unsavoury detail. What has come down to us of his complete œuvre is so little, however, that it seems unfair on the basis of some 140 lines to form a definitive opinion as to his artistic merits. It is probably for that reason that Arazi's is a detached appraisal.

In an important, and in my view particularly interesting, paper E. Almagor discusses the early evolution of the term

majāz used in context with the Qur'ān exegesis of Abū 'Ubayda (d. 210/825) and in other early texts. She brings together convincing evidence for the theory that what eventually came to mean 'figurative expression', 'metaphor', may have been used by Abū 'Ubayda and other, somewhat later authors to convey no more than 'permissible, current usage among the Arabs', closely tied up with a basic meaning of the verb *jāza-yajūzu*. The paper constitutes a necessary supplement to Wansbrough's important article on the same subject in *BSOAS*, XXXIII, pp. 247ff. Once more we realize how essential it is to trace the exact connotations of certain crucial terms used in early Arabic texts. It is my opinion that the early Muslims, Arabs and *mawālī* alike, did not use these words, all too readily labeled 'technical terms' by Oriental as well as western scholars, in a rigidly consistent way but may have been constantly aware of fluctuations of meaning which were ever present in the back of their minds when they used it. Contrary to the generally accepted opinion, this is also worth considering with such 'technical terms' as *ḥadīth*, *ḥabār*, *qīṣaṣ* etc. And the term *ra'y*, the application of which the author at the end of her article adduces as constituting the ultimate criticism of Abū 'Ubayda's *Majāz al-qur'ān* at the hands of contemporary scholars, is another case in point. It seems to me that in a number of early texts including the ones adduced by the author *ra'y* can be translated best as 'common sense' rather than the awkward and solemn 'arbitrary opinion'. At least, it should be borne in mind that the method Abū 'Ubayda followed in his much censured book is a 'secular' one based upon common sense rather than a 'religious' one based upon the forbidding axiom that what is Qur'anic usage falls *qualitate qua* outside the grasp of human intellect.

M. Winter analyses some of Mutanabbī's elegiac poems and distils from them various psychological data in an attempt to describe the poet's character.

In another literary analysis Y. Friedmann subjects al-Ma'arri's *Luzūmiyyāt* to an impressively detailed scrutiny. He gleans an overwhelming amount of data from them, which together form an excellent starting point for drawing up a picture of this complex man. Reading a paper such as this only whets the appetite and one would wish that Friedmann devote a monograph to this subject.

The Arabic novel during the nineteenth century is the subject of the contribution of S. Moreh. His is a view decidedly different from the views hitherto heard. Rather than looking for the origins of modern Arabic prose writings exclusively among Western examples, Moreh has collected a number of convincing arguments in support of the view that nineteenth century prose writers, for form as well as contents of their works, depended much more heavily on medieval Arabic narrative prose (*Alf layla wa-layla* etc, as well as 'classical literature') than was formerly recognized. He furthermore sheds new light on Muwayliḥ's *Ḥadīth 'Isā b. Hishām* as being derived from, and inspired by, al-Ma'arri's *Risālat al-ghufrān* much more so than, as was generally believed hitherto, Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*. Much as I enjoyed this article, Moreh's use of the word 'novel' to include also such works as Shawqī's *Waraqāt al-ās* and similar pieces of 'prose', seems a bit awkward.

The last contribution in English is by A. Shiloah who tries to unravel the various legendary accounts concerning the inventor of music. In particular he deals with the

inventor of the 'ūd, how the first one was manufactured, for what purposes it was used, and how music making was received in society. This is basically a study of contradictory, legendary *awā'il*.

The contributions in Hebrew to this memorial volume are briefly indicated in the following for which I gratefully acknowledge the help of an Israeli colleague.

First a letter from Solomon ben Yehuda, head of the Ge'on Ya'aqov Academy in Jerusalem, to an unknown person in Fustāt, edited by Baneth and posthumously prepared for publication by M. Gil.

H. Lazarus-Yaffeh's paper on the feasts in Islam is divided into three main sections, the attitude of Muslim tradition towards the feasts, the Shī'a's attitude, and the individual characteristics of the two main feasts.

A. Goren presents an overall survey of Khārijite beliefs and political goals. He characterizes the movement in its early phases as determined and constant in its extremism but not very consistent nor original in its doctrines.

I. Avinery's paper is called *The Hebrew translations of the Kuzari: a comparison of the versions by Judah ibn Tibbon and Yehuda Even Shmuel*.

N. Allony studies Mozes ibn Ezra's *Kitāb al-muḥādara wa 'l-mudhākara*.

Y. Ratzabi deals with Arabic proverbs in Spanish Hebrew poetry.

G. Vajda contributes Two epitomes of Karaite theology: *Sefer meshivat nefesh* and *Pereq zidduq haddin*.

S. Morag presents *Bamme madliqin* in two Cairo Geniza manuscripts.

Finally, M. Piamenta gives a linguistic description of the verbal etiquette system of the Negev bedouins.

In conclusion I should like to say that, as far as I was able to judge, this is an anthology in which a generally very high scholarly standard has been maintained throughout. It will probably find its way not only to libraries but also to private collections.

Exeter, March 1981

G. H. A. JUYNBOLL

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MUNDUS ARABICUS. An Annual Devoted to Arabic Literature. Volume One. 1981: Arab Writers in America: Critical Essays and Annotated Bibliography. Cambridge, Mass., Dar Mahjar, distributed by Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1981 (26 cm., iv + 88 pp. English Text and 186 pp. Arabic text). Price: \$ 30.00; DM 70.-.

First of all I want to congratulate the editors of this new annual with their accomplishment. *Mundus Arabic* is not just a new annual devoted to Arabic literature, but it is an annual based on a thematic formula. The theme of this volume is Mahjar literature. The next volume will be devoted to Arabic Literature in North Africa since 1900. The annual combines articles in Arabic and in English and, most important of all, it publishes bibliographies in both English and Arabic on the subject of the volume. The editorial board consists of Salih Jawad Altoma, Issa J. Boullata, Muhsin S. Mahdi, David H. Partington and Fawzi Abdulrazak, who is the managing editor.

The English section has the following articles: George N. Atiyeh, *The Story of Fīnyānūs* by Shukri al-Khuri. Translated from the original Lebanese Arabic with an introduction; Salma Khadra Jayyusi, A short account of Abū Shādī's life in the United States; Mounah Khouri and Michael Zwettler, *Farḥāt's Poem: «Wine, Love and Youth»*. Assessed and rendered by ...; Issa J. Boullata, *Nasīb 'Arīdah: On the way to Iram*; Francine H. McNulty, *Mahjar Literature: An annotated bibliography*.

I have a few remarks regards the bibliography. It is necessary for the bibliographer to have access to the articles to be published in the annual prior to their publication. George N. Atiyeh's article on Shukri al-Khuri has a bibliography. A reference to this bibliography under the heading Shukri al-Khuri would have been in place. Another remark concerns a minor correction I want to make. Page 78, line three from below reads: «prefaces to Naimy's works by other authors». This should be altered into: «prefaces by Mikha'il Nu'ayma to works of other authors». I missed M. M. Badawi, *An Anthology of Modern Arabic Verse*, which was first published in 1970 and again in 1975 by Oxford University Press. Accustomed as I am to the sacrosanctity of title-pages, I have some difficulty to digest the changes the name of Faiez J. Aoun has undergone. Fayiz J. Awn (p. 74) is misleading for anybody not conversant with Arabic. The transcription Faiez J. Aoun, as the author preferred his name to be printed on the title-page of the book, occurs in the article by Salih Jawad Altoma on p. 261, note 14.

The Arabic section opens with Salih Jawad Altoma, *Bayna masraḥiyat «Ibn Hāmid aw suqūt Gharnāṭah» wa Qisṣat Kanzalf al-Qurtubī*. The author makes a comparison between Fawzi Ma'lūf's play written in 1916, and the play by Jean-Pierre de Florian, *Gonsalve de Cordoue ou Grenade reconquise*. Paris, 1791. Fawzi Ma'lūf's play was performed, the author writes, in Zahle around 1918, in Damascus in 1922 and in Brazil in 1923. It was printed in 1952 in Sao Paolo, or more than twenty years after Fawzi Ma'lūf had died. Since the original text is lost it is impossible to retrace the changes the text is likely to have undergone in the course of time. The differences between Aoun's translation in his *Fawzi Ma'lūf et son œuvre* (Paris, 1939) and the printed text of 1952, may have to be put on the count of the translator. Hopefully the text on which Aoun's translation is based will be traced in a not too distant future.

The second article in the Arabic section is 'Umar al-Khayyām fi al-mahjar. *dirāsah wa nuṣūṣ*, by Kamil M. al-Shaibi. The first translation of the rubā'iyāt into Arabic was made by Wadī' al-Bustānī who translated from the English translation by Fitzgerald. After him about 45 other attempts were made, both from the Persian original and from the Fitzgerald translation. Muḥammad al-Sibā'i published his translation in 1922, followed by Aḥmad Rāmī in 1923 and Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Qādir al-Mazīnī in 1924. Aḥmad Rāmī, indeed, translated from the Persian. In the Mahjar two poets tried their hands at the Rubā'iyāt, to wit Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī, and Qayṣar Ibrāhīm al-Ma'lūf. Abū Shādī made a first rendering in 1931 on the basis of Gāmil Ṣidqī al-Zahāwī's prose translation. His second rendering was based on Fitzgerald's translation. The 109 quatrains were published in Beirut in 1952. Qayṣar al-Ma'lūf (1874-1961) most likely used Fitzgerald's trans-

lation for his collection of Rubā'iyāt, which he composed after his return to Lebanon in 1906. The eighty quatrains were eventually published in *al-Ikhā'* no. 118 (1968) in Iran. Both collections are here reprinted integrally.

The third item in this section is the Arabic bibliography of Mahjar literature prepared by Fawzi Abdulrazak. In fact the present bibliography is only the first part of a more extensive bibliography, which not only includes critical and other essays and prosody, but also a list of Arabic language periodicals which appeared in the Mahjar and a list of literary works written by Mahgari authors. The compiler of this bibliography promises the publication of both lists in a separate publication at a later date.

The present bibliography counts 1285 items. The compiler mentions as a weakness the fact that not all Arabic periodicals could be consulted or at least their tables of contents checked. A second weakness is, according to the compiler, the definition of an author as Mahgari. Should diplomats, Arab professors in U.S. Universities and Arab students be considered Mahgari's or not.

Before I set out to make some critical remarks about this bibliography I want to stress that I am most thankful to the compiler who has put a tremendous amount of work into it. Further, I am aware of the fact that sometimes I may be asking the impossible. Last not least, some of my criticism certainly must be laid at the doors of the publishers of Arabic books, rather, than at the door of the compiler. I have seen instances of more than one title for the same book, the same title for two different books by the same author, the same print by more than one publisher in different years etc. Yet, I have the impression that the compiler has not checked all the titles he lists, and that he, when he had the book or article under his reach, did not differentiate between bibliographical information provided by the publisher on the title-page or on any other page reserved for that matter, and circumstantial information from any other source. A dated signature by the author under his preface is not good enough to go by for the dating of the book. Such secondary information I prefer to see between brackets. Also I should like to see mentioned which edition of a book is meant, when the first edition was published if the listed edition is other than the first edition, and in case of alterations, what sort of alterations were made and to what extent. I think such information a must when the title-page offers it, and in other cases a desirability.

To substantiate my criticism I will give a few examples. 'Isā al-Nā'ūrī's *Adab al-Mahjar* was first published in 1959, and his book about Ilyās Abū Mādī was first printed in Amman. I have in my library Nā'ūrī's book about Ilyās Farḥāt, but the complete title of my copy differs from the title given in the bibliography. Instead of *Ilyās Farḥāt, shā'ir al-qawmiya al-'arabiya*, I read, *Shā'ir al-'Urūba fi 'l-mahjar*. My copy was also printed in 1956. Mārūn 'Abbūd's *Amin al-Rihānī* has no sub-title as far as my personal copy is concerned. The sub-title *wa 'l-sh'ir al-manthūr*, as listed in the bibliography, does not occur on my copy. Moreover, the sub-title does not seem to be adequate for this book.

I did not find the following books listed, al-Badawī al-Mulaththam, *Shā'ir al-Tayyāra. Fawzi al-Ma'lūf*. Cairo, Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1953; Muḥammad Qurra 'Alī, *Shī'r min al-Mahjar*. Beirut, al-Maktaba al-Tigārī, 1954; Muḥammad

Shafi' 'l-Dīn al-Sayyid (who has been listed under the name Shafi' al-Sayyid), *al-Rābi'a al-qalamiya wa dawruha fī 'l-naqd al-'arabi al-hadīth*. Cairo, 1972. It would have been helpful if the compiler had indicated up till what year he recorded, or had mentioned the closing-date of his list.

I do hope that the compiler of the bibliography feels encouraged to continue his efforts which are more appreciated than he may think.

At the end of this review I want to wish the editors the commercial success they need to carry on this welcome enterprise.

Leiden, December 1981

C. NIJLAND

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Mohamed Sami ANWAR, *Be and Equational Sentences in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic*. Amsterdam, John Benjamins, 1979 (23 cm., vi + 128 pp.) = Studies in Language Companion Series, Volume 2. ISBN 90272 3001 3.

According to the author the aim of this study "is to show that equational sentences in ECA are derived from underlying sentences that have transitive or intransitive verbs and that the verb *be* in its overt form is only a tense marker". (p. 1) In five chapters an attempt is made to prove this double thesis. After an introductory chapter, in which some grammatical phenomena of equational sentences are introduced, attention is successively focussed on the function of equational sentences in ECA, the verb *be*, the subject of the equational sentence and finally on its predicate and remote structure. The standard procedure is to establish peculiarities about equational sentences e.g. when questions are asked about them, or when an element of time other than the unrestricted present is added, or when they are embedded etc. It is the author's contention that because a verb form has to be added in such cases a remote structure may be constructed that contains a verb in all cases. Thus the conclusion states: "This study has realized an economy in analyzing the grammar of ECA. Instead of considering ECA as having two types of sentences, verbal and non-verbal sentences, it has been shown that ECA has only verbal sentences at the remote structure from which equational sentences are derived". (p. 100)

Some doubts about such a far-reaching statement may be expressed here, not because the reasoning and the applied mechanics are defective, but because the selection of the sentences that are used as a basis for the reasoning may be questioned.

It is at the least striking that many of the simple equational sentences of the surface type NP + NP, that are selected to start the reasoning, exhibit as predicate an original participle form. E.g. on pp. 70/1: "If a question is asked about the predicate of an equational sentence, a verb has to be used in that question ... to ask a *wh*-question about the predicate in (16) *huwwa mudarris*. 'he (is) a teacher'. it is ungrammatical to say: (17) **huwwa 'eh?* *'he what?' A full verb must be used in the question: (18) *huwwa biyištaḡal 'eh?* he works what? 'what does

he do?' ...". Apart from the fact that it is not inconceivable that an Egyptian would ask: *huwwa 'eh?*, if he did not hear the second part of sentence (16) it is certainly not ungrammatical to say: *ilbēt 'eh?*, when a *wh*-question is asked about the predicate in e.g. *ilbēt 'adīm* 'the house is old' or *ilbēt ḥarāb* 'the house is a ruin'. Similarly, in the case of embedding, it is stated (p. 72) that the predicate of sentences like: *'ilbāb madhūn* 'the door (is) painted' if embedded in *'ana 'āwiz* 'I want' has to be changed into a verb: *'ana 'āwiz ilbāb yindihin* 'I want the door to be painted'. Of course this is a grammatical sentence, but so is: *'ana 'āwiz ilbāb yikūn madhūn*. And in certain cases only the second possibility presents itself, e.g. when the subject is inanimate and the predicate an adjective: If the sentence *'iggawāb ṭawil* 'the letter is long' is embedded it is (probably also in the idiolect of the author, which seems to be the basis of this study) ungrammatical to say: **'ana 'āwiz iggawāb yiṭwal* *'I want the letter to grow long', one has to say: *'ana 'āwiz iggawāb yikūn ṭawil* 'I want the letter to be long'. The reason is, of course, that the inchoative verb forms (*yindihin*, *yiṭwal*) do not have exactly the same sense as the stative non-verb forms complemented with *yikūn*. The verb forms can be used to express the required mood, whereas the non-verb forms cannot be used so; the lexically empty element *yikūn* is required and may be regarded as a complementizer. In fact, I think that without embedding the sentence *'ana 'āwiz ilbāb yindihin* is *'ilbāb biyindihin* 'the door is being painted' which is not an equational sentence.

Several similar observations could be made so that in my opinion the conclusion that "This study has shown that equational sentences in ECA are derived from underlying verbal sentences". (p. 99) is an unfounded generalization. Nevertheless, it has made plausible that some equational sentences (e.g. when the predicate is an original participle) may be derived from underlying verbal sentences.

The other conclusion, that the deep structure of equational sentences in ECA does not have the verb *be* is certainly valid. The reasoning behind it, however, appears to be somewhat blurred by the author's conviction that all equational sentences are transformations of underlying verbal sentences. There is no reason to go much farther than the statement that the forms of the verbs *kān* and *ba'a* "are introduced only as dummy carriers of tense" (p. 26), though one might add: or mood.

Without some of its sweeping statements and with some questionmarks added, this study certainly has its value as a contribution to the discussion about the nature of equational sentences in Arabic.

Groningen, March 1981

FRED LEEMHUIS

* *

G. R. TIBBETTS, *A Study of the Arabic Texts containing Material on South-East Asia*. Leiden & London, E. J. Brill, 1979 (22 cm., xii + 294 pp.) = Oriental Translation Fund, New Series Vol. XLIV. ISBN 90 04 05783 8. Price: fl. 72.-.

Daß die Berichte arabischer Geographen für die Rekonstruktion der Entwicklung altweltlicher Kulturlandschaften

seit dem Mittelalter von großer Bedeutung sind, wissen wir insbesondere aus dem Bereich des islamischen Orients. Berichte arabischer Reisender und Geographen über den südostasiatischen Raum (Malaysia/Insulinde) sind demgegenüber weniger bekannt. Umso dankbarer begrüßt man das Erscheinen dieses Buches.

Das Buch gliedert sich in zwei Teile. Teil I behandelt das SE-Asien betreffende Schrifttum aus der Zeit A.D. 850-1350. Nach einer kurzen Zusammenstellung von Texten folgt eine interessante Synthese der arabischen Raumvorstellungen über Südostasien: das Reich Zabaj und das der Maharaja (Sumatra/Java?), zwischen Indien und China gelegen, wird dabei zum Mittelpunkt des arabischen Südostasienbildes. Die Diskussion einzelner in den Texten genannter Lokalitäten und der Versuch ihrer Identifikation schließt Teil I ab.

Teil II behandelt die arabischen Segelanweisungen des 15. und 16. Jh. und versucht von hier aus, die Topographie der südostasiatischen Inselwelt zu erhellen. Wiederum werden zunächst die Texte vorgelegt. Die anschließende Auswertung zeigt, daß die arabischen Seefahrer des ausgehenden Mittelalters bereits sehr detaillierte Kenntnisse der Inselwelt besaßen und sie zur Grundlage ihrer Navigation machten. Das Buch von Prof. Tibbetts stellt eine willkommene Bereicherung unserer historisch-geographischen Kenntnisse des südostasiatischen Raumes dar. Wenn auch nach wie vor manche Aussagen vage bleiben und Raum für Spekulation und Interpretation bieten, so bleibt der Wert des Buches unbestritten: für jeden an der Geographie und Geschichte SE-Asiens interessierten Leser eine ebenso anregende wie empfehlenswerte Lektüre!

Marburg/Lahn, Mai 1981

E. EHLERS

* *

Klaus LECH, *Das ramadān-Fasten, Erster Teil*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1979 (24 cm., xviii + 352 pp.) = Geschichte des islamischen Kultus I. ISBN 3 447 01943 3. Price: DM 156.-.

Lech's book is but the first volume of his study concerning the history of the Islamic cult; it has to be followed by two other volumes concerning fasting during the month of Ramadān, and several more concerning the other rituals (*'ibādāt*) in Islam. That the present work, which only treats the chronological aspects of the Ramadān-fasting, counts more than 350 pages gives an idea of the proportion of the task that Lech has shouldered.

The author bases himself entirely upon the Arabic and Islamic texts themselves; the question as to whether there might have been a foreign (Christian, Jewish) influence will only be dealt with when all possible Islamic sources have been exhausted and no final conclusion is drawn. The texts studied are the corpora of *ḥadīṭ* and *fiqh* — with the exclusion of those originated in *ṣūfī* or *zāhiri* circles — covering the 8th-11th centuries of the Christian era.

Lech realises that in this field textual criticism must necessarily precede the historical and comparative research that he has in mind. Consequently, much attention is given to questions of authenticity and development of the *ḥadīṭ* and the relation between *ḥadīṭ* and *fiqh*.

Thus, in the present volume, after a short chapter on fasting in the Qur'ān the author discusses in nine chapters the various problems concerning the chronological delimitations of the Ramadān-fasting. In every chapter he starts investigating the *ḥadīṭ*-texts and continues by analysing various works of *fiqh*, comparing the results of his research of both corpora.

His conclusions, evidently, touch upon Muḥammad's own ideas concerning the problems discussed (which were, in Lech's opinion, not very precise and subject to alterations), the two currents in early Islamic history which determined the later discussions (an ascetic tendency tending to make the burden of fasting heavier and a political tendency to describe the fasting in such a way that every muslim can perform it in order that it be an experience and a token of the unity and uniformity of the entire Islamic Community), the development of the *ḥadīṭ* and the influence of the *ḥadīṭ* upon the creation of the *fiqh* (which was, according to Lech's conclusions, in the first period considerably smaller than Schacht has supposed).

Lech's book is a clear and thorough investigation of documents from the earliest centuries of Islam. The elaborate summary and the indices add to the utility of the book and to its importance, also for non-specialists in the field of Islamic jurisprudence.

Nijmegen, January 1981

JAN PETERS

* *

Felix KLEIN-FRANKE, *Die klassische Antike in der Tradition des Islam*. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980 (20 cm., x + 181 pp.) = Erträge der Forschung Band 136. ISBN 3-534-08062-9.

The study of Western ideas and stereotypes about Arab world and Arab culture — a subject becoming increasingly popular both in Western and Arabic publications — devotes comparatively little attention to the ideas about the role of the Arabs as intermediaries and participants in what used to be called "our Greek heritage". Various stereotypes representing the Arabs as persecutors of the Christian religion, as cruel and voluptuous Orientals, as destroyers of the Holy Land, as enemies of the state of Israel, or as ignorant nouveaux riches, have been analyzed and criticized time and again. Western views on the relationship of Classical and Islamic culture, however, did not attract the attention of students of this subject, even though — or perhaps because — the stereotypes involved are much subtler and much more insidious, implicated as they are in the scholarly results of Western research.

The author of the work under review here has undertaken to sketch the development of these ideas from the 15th up till the 20th century. At this point one possible misunderstanding should be cleared up: contrary to what its title might suggest it is not a study of Classical tradition in Islam, but a study of Western thought. It tells us much about Western ideas, but almost nothing new about the reception of Classical tradition in Islam, in spite of the author's assertion (p. 6): "Aus einer literarkritischen Studie dieser Art läßt sich dann von selber erkennen, in welcher Weise der Islam das antike Erbe verwertet und

bewertet hat". The reader who expects from this book a synthesis of the problem will be disappointed. Its intention is clearly to review chronologically (cf. pp. 9-10) the successive stages of the building of an image: the Arabs as "Traditionsverfälscher" (p. 19), "Drohnern und Harpyen" (p. 36), "Schüler der griechischen Lehrer" (p. 103), and torchbearers of the Classical tradition (p. 110). The ideas and presuppositions of the scholars who have published on this subject are shown to be entirely dependent on their ideas about Islamic culture as a whole.

The chronological arrangement has its disadvantages: we learn a great deal about the development of Western knowledge concerning the translation of Greek writings into Arabic, but we get no answer to questions such as the extent of knowledge about Greek writings in the Arab world, the techniques that were used by the translators, and the quality of the translations, the extent to which Greek philosophy actually helped in shaping Islamic philosophy and theology, and the problem of the ways of transmission. These and similar issues do not fall within the scope of this book, although they are essential for a better understanding of the impact of the Classical tradition in Islam.

The first chapter (pp. 17-52) covers the 15th/16th century and deals with the confrontation between the Arabic-Latin tradition of the so-called 'Arabists' (Arabizantes) and those who based themselves on the newly discovered Greek sources and who are usually called 'Humanists'. It seems that K.'s conception of the Western rediscovery of the Greek sources is rather traditional; for a discussion of the question to what extent Greek philosophy was already known in Mediaeval Europe before the fall of Constantinople, see P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin*. Paris 1971: 9-21.

The second chapter (pp. 53-108) deals with the 17th/18th century, which witnessed the beginning of philological studies: the discussion between Orientalists and Classicists concentrated on the question of the value of the Arabic-Latin tradition for a reconstruction and emendation of the Greek manuscripts. Other questions were also discussed in this context, such as, whether the Arab translators used Greek or Syriac originals, or the central problem of the intrinsic value of Islamic philosophy. Much of this chapter is taken up by translations of relevant texts by scholars from this period — about two thirds. These translations are unquestionably very good, lively, and sophisticated. As K. states himself (p. 84), it is not his intention to correct the authors he quotes, but one wishes he had added a few critical annotations. It is puzzling for the reader to find that the caliph al-Ma'mūn is called by K.'s sources the 5th (p. 73), 6th (p. 68), and 7th (p. 80) 'Abbāsid caliph, without any remark explaining the discrepancy. The *Bayt al-Hikma* is mentioned once (p. 63) without any comment on its central role in the period of the translations (cf. Y. Eche, *Les bibliothèques arabes au Moyen Age*. Damas 1967: 9-65).

The third chapter (pp. 109-149) discusses the change of opinion during the 19th/20th century: in the 19th century romantic ideas about the Arabs as torchbearers of Classical tradition prevail; in the 20th century many scholars stress rather apologetically the usefulness of the Arabic tradition for the study of the Greek sources and the thanks we owe the Arabs for their preservation (a good example on pp. 146-

147). One misses references to the political situation of the time: if this book were our only source for the period, we would never guess that during this period there were other Western interests in the area besides the scholarly one. Surely, the colonizing activities of the Western powers must have had some effect, even in this particular field of research. Even if one does not follow Said's and others' conclusions, one can hardly deny that the work of Arabists such as Goldziher, Nöldeke, Müller can only be interpreted within the political and cultural context of the period in which they lived. If one wishes to study the development of stereotypes, he should take these factors into account. The greater part of this third chapter is in effect a reasoned bibliography, useful for the 19th, but incomplete for the 20th century. One notes the absence of, e.g., Merx 1889; Bergsträsser 1925; Badawi 1968; Peeters 1968; Haddad 1970; van Ess 1970; Gätje 1971; Georr 1948; de Lacy O'Leary 1949; the articles in the special Arabica-issue and the Hunayn-Festival book at the occasion of the Hunayn festival in 1974; the editions of the translations of Aristotle's zoological treatises, e.g., by Drossaert Lulofs and Brugman 1971 and Kruk 1979, etc.

Of course, no selection can ever satisfy every reader, and the above given references should be regarded as suggestions, but the omission of Kunitzsch's publications (e.g., 1975 and 1976) is a much more fundamental shortcoming. K. does not discuss at all one of the major developments in this particular field of research, namely the recognition of two different ways of transmission. Since P. Thillet's article "Sagesse grecque et philosophie musulmane" (*Les Mardis de Dar el-Salam*, MCMLV (1958) 57-93) it has become a commonplace in the study of Islamic culture, that many elements from the Classical tradition found their way into the Arab world. Starting in the field of philosophy (e.g., Jadaane 1968) this new insight has led to some remarkable developments in the study of the history of Islamic science. It is precisely in this field — astronomy, pharmacology, botany etc. — that Kunitzsch's contributions have led the way, in combination with Sezgin's theories about the beginning of Arabic science. In our view, a discussion of these matters cannot be left out in a book which purports to be a study of the influence of the Classical tradition in Islam. It seems as if the author has limited himself more or less to (Western ideas about) the elaboration of Greek philosophy by Islamic philosophers, without bothering with central themes of contemporary research such as the meaning of 'influence', the role of the Byzantines, the 'osmosis' of Greek elements (to borrow a phrase from Kunitzsch), particularly in the field of sciences.

A few minor remarks: (p. 17) it is not true that it is customary to discuss Maymonides within the context of Arabic philosophy; (pp. 28-29) it is not true that Arab physicians denied the use of experiments; (p. 69) the statement that Renaudot held that the Arabs used Greek originals is contradicted by the quotations on p. 73; 77; 81; (p. 91) the statement that the Arabs became acquainted with Greek science during the 9th century should be modified in the light of Kunitzsch's and Sezgin's theories; (p. 109) it is ironical that Goethe's alleged opposition to the Classical tradition is an adaption of a Classical poem, cf. Virgil, *Aeneid* VI, 847-850; (p. 114) what does the author mean when he says that for us today the role of

the Arabs as guardians of the Classical tradition is more important "als daß man bei ihnen die Originalität zum Maßstab ihrer Leistungen macht"?; (p. 121) and elsewhere: the name 'Sylvestre de Sacy' should be corrected into 'Silvestre de Sacy'; and the reference in the index — under De Sacy, A. J. S. — into Silvestre de Sacy, A(ntoine) I(saac); (p. 134) in connection with Pirenne's thesis Dennett 1948 should not be left unmentioned; (p. 135) 'Abd ar-Rahman, but p. 143 'Abdurrahman; (p. 136) who is Abu-l-Barakat?

All in all, this book teaches us a very valuable lesson about the biases always lurking behind the objectivity of scholarly research, and above all about the ease with which we put our own cultural labels on Islamic culture. This tendency results in discussions about such pseudo — issues as the Islamic 'Bildungsideal', Islamic Renaissance, Islamic decadence, Islamic humanism. K.'s book gives very good examples of these sterile discussions in the past as well as in modern times (a spectacular example on p. 132). Together with its numerous quotations it may be used as a useful companion to Fück's history of Arabic studies in Europe.

Nijmegen, March 1981

C. H. M. VERSTEEGH

* *

Hans DAIBER, *Das theologisch-philosophische System des Mu'ammār ibn 'Abbād as-Sulamī*. Franz Steiner Verlag, Beirut/Wiesbaden, 1975 (26 cm, XII + 604 pp.) = *Beiruter Texte und Studien*, 19. Price: DM 76.—. ISBN 3 515 01840 9.

The present study is indeed of remarkable proportions, if one considers the scantiness of the data offered by the sources towards the task of discovering and interpreting the teaching of the author to whom it is devoted. The work is divided into seven major sections: I (pp. 1-54), the introduction, II (pp. 55-116) on "the ontological presuppositions of Mu'ammār's theology" (including the notorious thesis of the "*ma'ānī*"), III (pp. 117-281) on Mu'ammār's doctrine concerning God (including his teaching concerning the Koran), IV (pp. 283-337) on his conception of the nature of the physical world, V (pp. 339-441) on his anthropology, VI (pp. 413-421) on his position concerning the Imamate, and finally VII (pp. 423-242) consisting of an appendix dealing with several statements attributed to Mu'ammār that are not readily integrated into the earlier contexts. A very considerable portion of space within each section is devoted to digressions and excursus from the narrower topic of Mu'ammār's teaching as such, in order to treat parallel or variously related teachings of other Muslim authorities and to recall and comment on similar or analogous philosophical problems as dealt with by diverse non-Muslim thinkers, ancient, medieval, modern, and contemporary.

The aim of the work, stated in a section on the method followed (Ch. 1, § 2), is first "to grasp the structure of Mu'ammār's thought in its phenomenality and its intentionality" (p. 17). Daiber explicitly recognises that one ought not to impose just any philosophical conception

or construction whatsoever upon the texts, but must, rather, seek to use the reports themselves as the context of their interpretation (pp. 17f.) in order to come finally to "die in Mu'ammār's Theologie zur Sprache kommende Sache selbst" (p. 19). This he sees as essentially a philosophical undertaking and concludes the section by saying that in sum "die Hauptfrage der vorliegenden Arbeit ist die Darlegung von Denkstrukturen, welche in Mu'ammār's Theologie an historisch gegebenen und bedingten Denkinhalten exemplifiziert worden sind" (p. 21). The direct and formal analysis of the sources and of the reports holds, in fact, a relatively insignificant place in the overall study. The interpretation of the texts, on the other hand, is extensively elaborated and is philosophically subtle and coherent. Though not everywhere easy to follow, it is interesting, not to say challenging, for Daiber has assiduously sought to make consistent philosophical sense of the texts. Viewed as a whole, however, the interpretation is a kind of metaphysical fantasia in which the reports, loosely read, are thrust directly into the conceptual framework of a contemporary (and fundamentally Thomistic) metaphysics, which supplies the language as well as the basic structure and content of the whole in such a way that the lineaments of the Arabic texts, their "phenomenality" in Daiber's expression, become almost totally unrecognisable. The validity of this projection is nowhere evidentially supported. Aristotelian concepts and constructs are frequently, and sometimes elaborately, cited as constituting the historical background and intentional matrix of Mu'ammār's thought, but ever without the kind of systematic analysis of the texts themselves that might lend some reasonable degree of plausibility to such a thesis. The author, indeed, seems largely unconcerned with the multiple difficulties of understanding exactly what the fragmentary and frequently conflicting reports actually say on the primary level, as if one could come intuitively to an understanding of the conceptual content and structure of an historical text without paying serious heed to the language and form in which they were expressed and in which they are presented to us.

Because of the many ambiguities and difficulties of the texts and the complexity of Daiber's interpretation of them, both in its form and content, it is almost impossible to illustrate and discuss the character of the present work briefly. What I propose to do, therefore, is to cite two rather conspicuous examples of his exegesis and then to outline the problem of the *ma'ānī* in a somewhat more detailed analysis, as this will be useful both to the elucidation of the particular question and to the more basic and more general problem of making sense of these and like texts. In doing this I shall not attempt to solve any of the major problems concerning Mu'ammār's teaching, for this is beyond my capacity, nor to deal with the panoply of authors and texts that Daiber cites by way of analogue or background, for the interpretation has finally to establish its own plausibility in terms of the texts themselves.

In the section on "God's transcendence" (Ch. III, § 1.1) Daiber rests his interpretation heavily upon the exegesis of a passage of al-Khayyāt's *Intisār* (ed. A. Nader, Beyrouth, 1957, p. 21, 10f.), in which it is reported that according to Mu'ammār (and several others) "If it is possible that the Eternal has acted from eternity, His act [sc., the creature produced] being temporally contingent,

then it is possible that bodies have been in motion from eternity, their motion being temporally contingent"¹. This text Daiber renders in the following form: Wenn es möglich ist, dass der Urewige (*al-qadim*) nicht aufgehört hat zu wirken, wobei seine Wirkung (in der Zeit) geworden ist (*muhdat*), (müsste es demnach) möglich sein, dass der Körper nicht aufhört, sich zu bewegen, wobei seine Bewegung (in der Zeit) geworden ist", and goes on without further explanation to say that "es besteht nun aber keine Beziehung zwischen Gottes unaufhörlichem Wirken und dem Wirkvollzug, dem in der Zeit gewordenen; sonst müsste die in der Zeit gewordene Bewegung ja unaufhörlich sein" (p. 120). Quite aside from the fact that he has misunderstood the formal sense of *lam yazal* (and has, furthermore, taken it as present rather than past in the second occurrence) and aside from the fact that the text does not tell us whether or not Mu'ammār affirmed or denied the premise, the relationship between Daiber's interpretation of the sense (or implication) of the report and what apparently it says remains obscure and unexplained. What he would seem to have done is to read the two clauses of the premise (*in ḡāza 'an yakūna l-qadimu lam yazal fā'ilan wa-fi'luhū muhdatun*) as a conjunction of two distinct and different propositions and to assume that Mu'ammār affirmed the first while denying the second (and thereby also the conclusion), thus: If (1) it is possible that God has acted from eternity while at the same time (= and if simultaneously it is true that) (2) His [eternal] act is temporally contingent, then... (Read thus Ibn ar-Rāwandī's polemical use of the syllogism is difficult to understand.) The clause "*wa-fi'luhū muhdatun*", however, is not a second proposition in a conjunctive premise, but only an additional note clarifying and making explicit the sense (or implication) of '*fā'ilan*'. That this is so is clear enough from the parallelism of this clause with the second clause of the conclusion (*wa-harakatuhū muhdatun*). It is clear from al-Khayyāt's use of '*fā'ala, yaf'alu*', with whatever subject (as also of its use in his citations of Ibn ar-Rāwandī) in this and in other places where Mu'ammār's teaching is discussed, that it must have an object, implicit if not explicitly expressed, and that the act is the thing produced: *al-fi'l = al-maf'ul*. We cannot, that is to say, here read '*fā'ilan*' as speaking of an activity that is not itself immediately a making, an ἐνέργεια (or better, a ποιῆσαι) that is not itself a ποιῆμα. The texts, again, are unanimous in reporting that what God makes (or creates) is bodies (not "accidents"). What the syllogism, thus, says is, simply paraphrased, "If it is possible that God has acted from eternity (and we know that His act, i.e., what he makes, viz., bodies, is temporally contingent), then it is possible that bodies be in motion from eternity (and we know that their motion is temporally contingent)". The isolation of the citation within the polemical and

¹ I have rendered '*al-ḡism*' here by 'bodies' rather than 'the body', taking the Arabic definite singular to refer to bodies in general, since this would seem best to conform to the normal usage of the *kalām*. If one reads "the body" it will have to be understood as the body of the universe. I cannot cite an instance of such a use of 'the body' (*al-ḡism*, or whatever) in the *kalām* literature; cf., however, the use of '*al-ḡirm*' in al-Kindī's *al-Falsafa al-ulā* (ed. abū Rida), p. 114, 9. In the present context it makes no difference to the sense of the syllogism whether one read '*al-ḡism*' in one way or in the other.

apologetic context of the *Intiṣār* does not allow us to discern what may have been the place and significance of this syllogism in the teaching of Mu'ammār nor, as usual, do any of our other sources shed much light on the problem. It is clear, in any event, that he did not affirm the premise and deny the conclusion.

The following section (Ch. III, § 1.2, pp. 129 ff.), then, treats of "Mu'ammār's negative theology". Here Daiber asserts that according to Mu'ammār "statements about God are possible only by way of negation": Mu'ammār lehnt jede Möglichkeit ab, Gott mit bestimmten Attributen zu versehen; seine Unendlichkeit lässt sich nicht in irgendeiner Weise beschreiben und "definieren". Mu'ammār leugnet die göttlichen Attributen als begriffliche Bestimmungen von Gottes Wesen, ohne eine Ersatzlösung zu bieten; Aussagen über Gott sind nur auf dem Wege der Negation möglich" (p. 129). Here we shall leave aside the question of the unsupported introduction into the interpretation of the notion of attributes as "conceptual determinations" of the being of an entity. What is most immediately perplexing is how Daiber has arrived at the thesis of Mu'ammār's "negative theology" at all. As evidence for this he cites first a passage of al-Baghdādī's *Farq bayn al-firaq* in which the only predicates denied of God are those that imply corporeality ('moves', 'rests', 'hot', 'cold', etc.). The passage is, in fact, polemical. Al-Baghdādī, discussing Mu'ammār's conception of man, says that he attributed to God the very same predicates he did to man; he states explicitly that Mu'ammār employed '*mudabbir*' as a positive predicate of God and plainly implies that he likewise affirmed, in the indicative, also '*ḥayy*', '*qādir*', and '*ḥakīm*', while denying '*mutaḥarrrik*', '*sākin*', etc. This is hardly evidential of any sort of "negative theology". Secondly, then, he cites (p. 131) a passage of al-Aṣ'arī's *Maqālāt* (ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul, 1929-30, p. 514) in which the author says that Mu'ammār "holds that God's willing is not its object and that it is not the act of creation and not [His] commanding [something] or making a statement about it or passing judgement concerning it". Here al-Aṣ'arī does no more than tell us that Mu'ammār expressly refused to accept the definitions of "God's willing" commonly accepted by the Mu'tazila of Baghdad (cf., e.g., *ibid.*, p. 509). How Mu'ammār did understand the term, however, we are not told here. Aṣ-Ṣāhrastānī (ed. M.F. Badran, Cairo, 1375/1955, p. 99) makes an analogous statement (cited by Daiber, *loc. cit.*) at the end of which he adds, speaking in his own voice, "and thus he [sc., Mu'ammār] indicates something that is wholly unknown and unrecognised [by anybody] (*maḡhūlun lā yu'raf*), i.e., he rejects recognised definitions and does not tell us what it is that he understands by 'God's willing'. The text does not say that he denied the predicate 'wills' (*murīd*) and even less that he held it to be valid only in negation. That he affirmed it is, in fact, plain from a number of other texts. Thirdly, then, Daiber cites (p. 132) a passage of al-Bāqillānī's *Tamhīd* (§ 424) in which the author says: "Mu'ammār, one of their masters, denies that speech belongs to God; he holds that the speaking which Moses heard belonged to the bush in which it existed and that God has never at all commanded or forbidden anything nor urged in favor of or against anything at all". Daiber cites only the last part of the passage and is apparently unconcerned that within the polemical context

what al-Bāqillānī is saying is that if speaking (or speech) is denied as a real, intrinsic "attribute"² of God (as opposed to its being in one way or another an exterior act, realised, e.g., in the bush), then according to the Aṣ'arite analysis, which is assumed as forming the accepted framework of the argument, 'speaks' is not predicable of God and if speaking is not predicated of Him, neither can one predicate any of the primary modes of speaking such as command and prohibition. Again here the text tells us next to nothing about how Mu'ammār did in fact understand 'speaks' when it is said of God, but only that having denied what the Aṣ'arites consider to be the ontological basis of the truth of the predicate he will, according to the canons of their analysis, have also to refuse 'commands', 'forbids', etc. That he did affirm 'speaks' of God is explicitly stated in other texts (e.g., *al-Intiṣār*, p. 48, 3f.)³. Daiber concludes, then (p. 133), by saying that "Mu'ammār's Ausgangspunkt für die Leugnung der göttlichen Attribute ist die Erkenntnis, dass Gott sich nicht durch inhaltlich näher spezifizierte Attribute umschreiben lässt". It would have been helpful if Daiber had here told us how he reconciled with this the reports cited by al-Aṣ'arī (*Maqālāt*, pp. 168 and 488) to the effect that "God knows by an act of knowing and his knowing that belongs to Him by virtue of a *ma'nā* ... and so also with the rest of the essential attributes".

Daiber's treatment of Mu'ammār's conception of the *ma'ānī* is complex and interesting by virtue of its very uniqueness. I shall try here to summarise his basic interpretation of the notion and the texts without attempting to deal with the confusion of subsidiary texts and authors that are cited as parallels or analogues.

Concerning the "accidents" (*'a'rāḍ*) he states that "erst im akzidentellen Wirkvollzug wird die Substanz sichtbar und zu etwas Konkretem, Daseiendem" (p. 65), by which I take it he means that it is the "accidental" perfections or properties of a being that are the principles of its availability to our apperception of it and so of its becoming an object for our understanding. The *ma'ānī*, on the other hand, which Daiber says are distinct from the "accidents" (pp. 74 and 75), "verursachen die akzidentelle Bestimmtheit der Substanz" (p. 75). This is more fully set forth in the section on the *ma'ānī* (Ch. II, § 3, pp. 78 ff.) where he says (p. 78 f.): aṣ-Ṣāhrastānī berichtet, Mu'ammār habe behauptet, dass jedes Akzidens in einem Substrat "wegen eines *ma'nā* subsistiert, welches das Subsistieren (des Akzidens) notwendig macht (*awḡaba*)". Damit ist nichts anderes gesagt als dass die Wirkung einer Substanz, nämlich sein Akzidens, durch ein sogenanntes *ma'nā* bedingt ist: das *ma'nā* bestimmt das So-sein des Seienden, d.h.

² "Speaking" (*al-kalām*) for al-Aṣ'arī and his followers is a real, entitative property or attribute (a kind of psychological entity: the mental correlate of spoken utterance) that inheres in the subject (in man, concretely and materially as an accident in the heart, which is the organ and locus of mental acts) of which 'speaks' (*mutakallim*) is predicated. According to their analysis the predicate 'speaks' is validly said only of the subject in which "speech" or "speaking" (*al-kalām*) inheres.

³ The same polemic is applicable to the Mu'tazila in general. The passages that deal with Mu'ammār's conception of God's speaking are complicated, however, by the fact that holding speech to be an "accident" and that "accidents" arise from the operation of the "nature" of the body in which they inhere, he does not consider 'speaks' to be a predicate of action in the same way as do the majority of the Basrian Mu'tazila, even though he does, evidently, take it as a predicate of action.

was das Seiende ist; durch das *ma'nā* unterscheidet sich ein bestimmtes Seiendes, die durch ein Akzidens verwirklichte Substanz, von einem anderen. Dieses bedingt also die Art und Weise der Bestimmtheit des Seienden, d.h. die Verwirklichung eines begrenzten Seinsgehaltes; das Seiende ist das, "was" es ist, durch sein Wesen. *Ma'nā* ist eine Wiedergabe von "Wesen".

In order to make clear our understanding of what the author means here, we may paraphrase this into several statements:

1. A *ma'nā* causes the act ("accident" = *?actus primus?*) of a being, i.e., of a "substance" (a corporeal subject).
2. A *ma'nā* effects and determines the mode of being of a "substance", sc., what it is (*quid est*).
3. A given entity, sc., an individual "substance" that is actualised through an "accident" is distinguished from another which is so actualised by a *ma'nā*; that is to say, the principle of the difference of one being from another in its quiddity is a *ma'nā*.
4. The quiddity of a being is determined by a *ma'nā*, i.e., what an entity is (*quid est*) is determined by its "form" or "essence" (Wesen); the concept of the *ma'nā*, he says (pp. 65, 79, and 88) is equivalent to that of the Aristotelian εἶδος.
5. As the principle of the determinate actuality of the quiddity of a being, i.e., the mode of its being (*modus essendi*), the *ma'nā* is the principle of the specific, real limitation of its being (*ipsum esse*) as such.

We have thus a number of metaphysical distinctions. If I have understood Daiber aright, that is, he says that Mu'ammār distinguished, explicitly or implicitly (i.e., that in his own peculiar vocabulary he is making distinctions that we may appropriately and without distorting the original conceptual content and structure of his thought paraphrase thus): a) the entity or being considered simply in its being as such; b) the mode of its being, sc., its being in being that which it is, considered not abstractly, but in the concrete, real order of its actuality in being; c) a formal principle which is the immediate cause or principle of the actuality of the specifically determined mode of being or quiddity, sc., its "form" or "essence", and finally, in speaking of the *ma'nā* as the principle of "the actualisation of a specifically delimited content of being" he would seem to suggest that, beyond what is understood in the Aristotelian εἶδος, one must recognise in these texts d) an ontological distinction analogous to that of the Thomistic distinction between the act of being (*actus essendi*) and the act of the essence (*actus essentiae*).

Subsequently in discussing Mu'ammār's thesis that the *ma'nā* is the principle of the difference of two "accidents" (e.g., rest and motion), Daiber remarks (p. 82): Mu'ammār geht von einem *ma'nā* aus, "das die Unterschiedlichkeit bedingt" (*awḡaba l-muḥālaḡa*). Dieses ist ein Relationsbegriff von ontischer Qualität. Ein durch sein Wesen begrenztes und bestimmtes Seiendes unterscheidet sich von einem anderen in Bezug auf das Wesensmerkmal beider". Here then, the *ma'nā* is not taken to be the "essence" as an actuality in the entity that is the effective cause of the quiddity but rather as a formal "note" of an essence (here then, more strictly as "form": εἶδος, sc., the essence in its presence to the mind) and so as (the whole or a part of?) an abstract entity or intention, the concrete real entity (Seiendes) in this case being an "accident". (It is on this

basis, evidently, that Daiber considers Mu'ammār to have been a "realist" in his position on the question of universals: p. 58). The "accidents" are "concrete actualisations" (konkreter Wirkvollzug), while the *ma'ānī* are not (p. 224): "every real actualisation (Verwirklichung) of a particular and finite, and as such, concrete entity (wesenhaftes Seiendes) is a primary accident (Grundakzidens) of the substance" (p. 119). The "substances" and "accidents" are thus, in some sense, concrete entities (Seiende), while the *ma'ānī*, though the effective and productive causes of the actuality of the "accidents" have existence only as formal principles or as intentional entities.

Outlined thus briefly Daiber's interpretation seems fairly straightforward in its own terms and gives a reasonable appearance of coherence. Certainly it is ingenious and philosophically interesting. It does not, however, on any level unambiguously represent the apparent sense of the texts which report Mu'ammār's theory of the *ma'ānī*, if these be read strictly within the context of the contemporary and later *kalām* which shared the same technical vocabulary. When Daiber says, for example, that the given *ma'nā* which is the ground of the inherence of a particular motion in its subject is the "form" or "essence" (Wesen) of the motion, he implies, at the least, that it is somehow itself what it is for the motion to be a motion (τὸ τῇ κινήσει κίνησιν εἶναι, in Aristotle's terms), but the texts do not say this; they say only that it is the cause of the motion's inherence in the subject: of the inherence (*ḥulūl*) or presence (*qiyām*) of one entity in another. (Note that 'al-ḥarakah' is not equivalent in meaning to 'ataḥarruk'.) The hypothesis that one is dealing with "essences" and "forms", until demonstrated as the sense (explicit or implicitly demanded) of the texts is gratuitous, as is the thesis that Mu'ammār is a "realist" in the question of universals. The assumption that '*ma'nā*' is equivalent to 'εἶδος' as used in the Aristotelian tradition presumes at the very least that the word is used differently by Mu'ammār than by the other *mutakallimīn*, Mu'tazilite and Aš'arite (including Ibn Kullāb) in analogous contexts and this requires to be shown. The passage from "accident" to "quiddity" ("Was es ist") — the initial step in this process — is accomplished by a kind of conceptual legerdemain that, through the importation of concepts such as "Bestimmtheit", "Wirken", "Wirkvollzug", etc., allows him to pass into the metaphysical context of his interpretation without dealing directly with the detail of the explicit expression of the statements given in the sources, i.e., without analysing what the sources actually say in reporting Mu'ammār's teaching as this is presented within the conceptual context presumed by the sources. That Mu'ammār meant (or was understood to mean by those who report his teaching) to answer the question 'what is it?', when asked of a corporeal being, by 'a movement' or 'an [element of] black' or 'a [quantum of] life', etc., rather than some other question requires at least a modicum of demonstration.

Daiber's interpretation of Mu'ammār's thesis of the infinity of the *ma'ānī* (pp. 88f.) may be summarised thus: God is the first cause of the infinite series, wherefore it is ultimately bounded in God. Any given *ma'nā*, moreover, as the essence or form of a single, finite entity, posits an infinitude of other possible realisations of the same form, which infinitude surpasses the actual regressive infinity of

the series which is the cause of the given accident. The regressive infinity associated with any actual "form", therefore, is bounded or delimited insofar as it is terminated in the given finite being and insofar as it originates in God as its cause.

Here again the interpretation is reasonably straightforward and coherent and furthermore represents a reasonable way of dealing with a problem that may be raised on the basis of Mu'ammār's theory. That it represents the actual teaching of Mu'ammār, however, or that it accurately describes the intentionality of the theory of the *ma'ānī* as presented in the sources, is rather questionable. A brief examination of one of the principal texts in which the theory is reported will be helpful, since a direct analysis of what is presented in the sources will manifest the elements of the problem and allow us to gain a better perspective on Daiber's hermeneutics.

In his *Maqālāt*, p. 372⁴), al-Aš'arī reports of Mu'ammār that he held:

1. "When a body moves it moves solely by virtue of a *ma'nā*, sc., the motion were it not for which it would have no more reason to be in motion than would another and would have no more reason to move at the instant in which it moves than to have moved before this.

2. "Since this is so, thus also in regard to the [particular] motion: if it were not for a *ma'nā* by virtue of which it was a motion of the movent, it would have no more reason to be a motion of it than to be a motion of another.

3. "This [latter] *ma'nā*, furthermore, was a *ma'nā* of the motion's becoming the motion of the [particular] movent by virtue of another *ma'nā* and there is no whole or totality of the *ma'nās*.

4. "Furthermore, they come to be in a single instant.

5. "The same is true of black and white and in the former's being a blackness for one body and not another and in the latter's being a whiteness belonging to one body rather than another.

6. "The same thesis is true of the difference of black and white and also of all the classes of accidents.

7. "They hold that the *ma'nās*, which are infinite, are the action of the locus in which they inhere".

The basic conception of the "ontology" of the *ma'ānī* is here set forth and we can, in a brief analysis of the

⁴) The following text, though it contains several corruptions, is early and has the advantage of covering all the principal aspects of the theory. The corruptions are quite evident and readily corrected: 'idā sakana fa-innamā yaskunu of line 2 has to be emended to read 'idā taḥarraka fa-innamā yataḥarraku (if there is not a line or more in which he passed from talking about rest to talking about motion). Furthermore, the phrase sā'iri l-agnāsi wal-a'rādi of lines 11-12 is to be emended to read sā'iri agnāsi l-a'rād; the text here is talking only about "accidents", not all categories of entities (i.e., not about "accidents", corporeal subjects, incorporeal subjects, and God). The expression 'agnāsu l-a'rād' is quite common in the Basrian *kalām* (and al-Aš'arī is talking in his own voice), while "all other classes [of beings] and accidents" makes no sense in the context. I attempted some time ago (*JAOS* 87/1967/ pp. 248ff.) to deal with some aspects of Mu'ammār's conception of the *ma'ānī* but having, at the time, only an inadequate and relatively unsophisticated knowledge of the language of the early *kalām* and its history erroneously read into the texts that report Mu'ammār's teaching distinctions that were made only by later authors and so went astray in several respects. The following analysis — much simpler withal — albeit it does not pretend to solve all the various problems connected with the subject, may serve at least to clarify the basic conception and to point out the principle elements of the problem.

passage, set out its essential features. The following should be noted at the outset: Mu'ammār seems to have used both 'gawhar' and 'ḡism' (or 'ḡasad') to refer to the corporeal subject in which "accidents" or *ma'ānī* have their being. Though he may sometimes have used the two expressions interchangeably, they are not, however, altogether coextensive in that 'a body' (*ḡismun*) denotes a spatially extended composite of indivisible parts (cf., e.g., al-Aš'arī, *Maqālāt*, p. 302) while 'gawhar', assuming that Mu'ammār did not depart from the usage of his contemporaries, may also be used to denote the individual "part" as the subject of an inherent "accident" or *ma'nā*. He further recognised among created beings an unextended subject of "accidents" and *ma'nās*, viz., the human individual (see n. 7, below). Albeit the examples given in the present text that we shall examine and in most of the discussion that follows here are of materially extended subjects, it should be kept in mind that the "ontology" of the *ma'ānī* extended also to other subjects as well, certainly to the human entity and, if the report given by al-Aš'arī in his *Maqālāt*, pp. 168, 9ff. and 488, 3-7 is reliable, to God also. In order to maintain a reasonable degree of generality (i.e., so as to avoid the prejudicial connotations of 'substance'), it were probably best to employ as the rendering of 'gawhar' a relatively neutral expression, such as 'first level subject'.

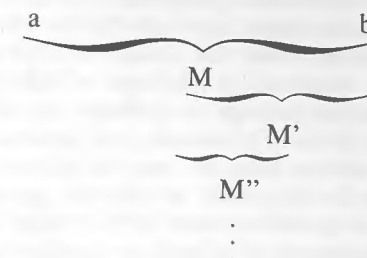
The basic theses stated in the text of al-Aš'arī, then, would seem to be these:

The primary *ma'nās* or "accidents" (e.g., motion, rest, black, life, etc.) are singular, discrete entities that inhere in a first level subject. The original perspective of the theory lies in the analysis of predicates: in 'this body moves' the predicate 'moves' (*mutaḥarrrik*) is analysed into 'lahū ḥarakatun'. Thus the ontological basis of the truth of the statement 'this body has moved from point-a to point-b' is the existence of a particular motion (*ḥarakatun*) that inheres in the body and the body, accordingly, is said to have moved "by virtue of" the motion. The sentence 'this body moves from point-a to point-b' asserts thus that the particular motion exists and that it inheres or resides (*ḥalla*: cf. *al-Intiṣār*, p. 46, 19) in the given first level subject, that it belongs to (*hiya ḥarakatun li-*) the first level subject (§§ 1, and 5 of the text translated). The predicate 'moves' asserts the existence of the motion. Both the subject and the predicate, thus, are taken to be referential, the referent of the former being the particular body or first level subject and that of the latter the particular motion or *ma'nā*. The referent of the predicate (where it is not identical with that of the subject) is termed as such a '*ma'nā*'. One says thus that a body moves by virtue of a *ma'nā*, which *ma'nā* is a motion (§ 1). The *ma'nā* as inherent in a first level subject is also called an "accident" (*'araḍ*).

Since the predicate is referential, a term that denotes the referent can be made the subject of another proposition: 'this motion belongs to this body', in which the predicate 'belongs to' (or 'inheres in') will also be referential, asserting the existence of another entity which, for lack of a specific name is called by the generic name '*ma'nā*'. As the body is said to move "by virtue of" the particular motion whose presence in it is implied by 'moves', so also the motion is said to belong to the body and inhere in it by virtue of the particular *ma'nā* whose

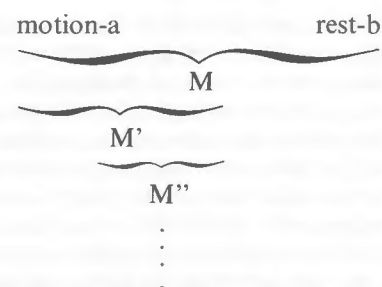
existence is implied by 'inheres in' or 'belongs to'. The process, in brief, originates in an analysis (following the technique of the grammarians) of '*mutaḥarrrik*' that posits two entities, viz., the movent (the first level subject) and the motion (the *ma'nā*) and the process is thus continued at the next level. It makes no difference, however, whether one view the process as one of the analysis of the ontological implications of a predicate or as the inference of a regression of effective causes, the result is the same.

Likewise, then, the latter *ma'nā* is the *ma'nā* by virtue of which the particular motion came to belong to the given subject "by virtue of another *ma'nā*", and so on unto infinity (§ 3). Given, then, a particular body (a) and a particular motion (b) inherent in it, the infinite series of *ma'nās* (M) can be schematically pictured thus:



The case with the similarity and difference of any two "accidents" is analogous (§ 6), though one begins, so to speak, on a second level and triples the number of infinities. It is plain from the texts that the difference and similarity of one subject from another is conceived as being a distinct *ma'nā* and the succeeding *ma'nā* that grounds the presence of the similarity or difference in its subject, far from being the note of an essence, as Daiber would suggest (a "note" of the *ma'nā* which is immediately associated with the "accident" that is said to be similar to or different from another), belongs to another, distinct series that originates in similarity and difference. That is to say, of a motion that inheres in one body and a rest⁵) that inheres in another, one says that they differ (*iḥṭalafā*) one from the other, i.e., that the one differs from (*ḥālaḥa*) or is unlike the other. Accordingly, then, when one says 'motion-a, inherent in body-x differs from rest-b inherent in body-y' the predicate 'differs from' implies the existence of an entity, sc., "a difference" belonging to motion-a by virtue of which it differs from rest-b and this difference will belong to motion-a by virtue of another *ma'nā*, and so forth, so that we have another infinite series:

⁵) The difficulty of rendering nouns such as '*sukūnun*' into English should be noted. To render it by something like 'an act of being at rest' raises a number of problems, particularly in the present context where 'act' and 'being at rest' must inevitably tend, employed thus in a formal context, to evoke concepts and contexts of concepts whose correctness and proportionality in representing the ontological interpretation of *yaskunu* (or *sākin*) by Mu'ammār and the *mutakallimīn* whose vocabulary and analysis most closely resemble his, is altogether dubious. (Note that '*ḥarakatun*' is not equivalent to '*taḥarrakun*': the first is directly denotational, the second indirectly referential as it implies the first.) There is also a problem with rendering the indefinite ('*sukūnun*') as also there is with '*sawādun*', for these indefinites are taken to denote concrete singulars: individuals; '*sawādun*', for example denotes "a blackness", "a [quantum of] black". (Note that Arabic, unlike English or Greek, can say, e.g., *mā'un* or *ḥaṣabun*, where we must say "a pond of water" or "a piece of wood".)



It may be noted that of our earliest sources, neither al-Aṣ'arī (*loc. cit.*) nor al-Ka'bī (*Maqālāt*, ed. F. Sayyid, Tunis, 1393/1974) in reporting the teaching of Mu'ammār states expressly that the difference inheres in the particular *ma'nā* or "accident" which is said to differ from another; this is, however, quite clearly implied by al-Khayyāt (*Intiṣār*, p. 46, 22-24) and is stated expressly by Ibn Ḥazm (*Fiṣal* 4, 46: *wa'inna fī s-sukūni ma'nān fāraqa bihi l-ḥarakata*). It is, indeed, plainly required by the logic of the system; each higher level *ma'nā* belongs to (inheres in) the one next below it in the series. The ontological implications of the statements 'a differs from b' and 'b differs from a' — the basis *in re* for the truth of the two propositions — are not identical therefore, since 'differs from' in the latter sentence is predicated of b and so implies the existence of another, distinct difference in b by virtue of which it differs from a and the sentence is true. We have, then, another infinite series of *ma'nās*. By extrapolation, then, we should be able to get several more series. Difference-x, for example, by which motion-a differs from rest-b will, in the first place, require a separate and distinct *ma'nā* by virtue of which it belongs to motion-a and so also difference-y, by virtue of which rest-b differs from motion-a, will require a separate *ma'nā* by virtue of which it belongs to rest-b; and, in the second place, difference-x will be similar to difference-y, as they are reciprocally related differences, and two similarities will be thus be posited by 'difference-x is similar to difference-y' and 'difference-y is similar to difference-x', and so forth. The system, though wholly logical and consistent, is a trifle hairraising, unless one has a taste for proliferated infinities.

It is clear that the "similarity-*ma'nā*" by which x is similar to y (xSy) is a separate and distinct entity from the "similarity-*ma'nā*" by virtue of which y is similar to x (ySx) and that they are both distinct from that by virtue of which z is similar to x (zSx), since they are discrete entities that subsist in separate and distinct subjects. The sources do not tell us, however, whether the similarity-*ma'nā* by virtue of which x is similar to y is the same as that by which it is similar to z and to all other entities to which it is similar (being, so to speak, "the similarity of x") or whether it is specific to another individual, so that there will be a "similarity of x with respect to" for each of the entities to which x is said to be similar: xSy, xSz, and so forth. In the latter case, since both S and S' will belong to x each by a separate *ma'nā*, the infinite series will immediately be multiplied by the number of beings to which x is similar, both by the inherence-*ma'nās* and the similarity-*ma'nās*. Whether or not Mu'ammār or his disciples (exiguous withal, it would appear) ever carried the matter so far as to raise these secondary issues is questionable. So much for the basic thesis.

One has, then, to ask concerning the nature and status

of the entities that are called *ma'nās*. The system seems to pose various levels of *ma'āni*, so that we have to ask the significance of this: did Mu'ammār conceive of various beings, i.e., of beings ontologically distinguished by their levels within the infinite series, or was being taken to be predicated similarly of all, regardless of where a particular *ma'nā* might fall within the series. (Or, indeed, did the question ever cross his mind at all?) Furthermore, did he conceive (i.e., does the system as represented in the sources and read within the context of the early *kalām* directly require) other distinctions, formal or real, concerning the nature of the *ma'āni* with respect to their levels within the series and their relationship to one another? Finally, does the system posit any other kinds of entities, real or abstract? In regard to the terminology we should note that any entity whose inherence in another is implied by a predicate (or, in an alternate perspective, whose inherence is posited by the presence of another, lower level *ma'nā*) is called a *ma'nā*. The primary, phenomenal properties of subjects (which, for corporeal bodies, Mu'ammār seems in other contexts to have termed *hay'āt*) may be called "accidents" (*'arād*), especially when the body or first level subject in which they have their being is expressly categorised as a *ḡawhar*, since these two terms are associated thus in the inherited tradition of lexical usage, but the "accidents" belong to the general category of *ma'nās*, as we mentioned earlier. This is evident in the usage of al-Aṣ'arī's report translated above (§ 1) and that of the *Intiṣār* (p. 46, 19 and 22) and belongs to the common lexical tradition of the Basrian *kalām*, according to which '*ma'nā*', when used in connection with created subjects, is equivalent to '*arād*'.

Al-Aṣ'arī, reporting Mu'ammār, speaks of "classes" (or "kinds") of accidents (§ 6 of the passage translated above) and so also we may have to distinguish classes of what we might call "higher level *ma'nās*"⁶). Now it is true that all higher level *ma'nās* are in one way or another relational; any predicate that implies the existence of a *ma'nā* in a subject (whether a first level *ma'nā* or "accident" in a first level subject or a higher level *ma'nā* in the *ma'nā* of the next lower level) posits the existence of another *ma'nā* at the next higher level which grounds the relationship between it and its subject. This is the original basis of the theory. Since they are posited on the basis of relational predicates (predicates whose referents are not identical with those of the subject), then, we might consider all higher level *ma'nās* as relational. It is evident, however, that this was not done by Mu'ammār. (Within the present context 'is related to' would imply another, distinct series of *ma'nās* besides those we have already seen!) We may, therefore, distinguish, on the basis of the texts, three (and probably no more than three) classes

⁶) By 'higher level *ma'nās*' I mean only higher in the series that ascends from the first that inheres directly in the first level subject; I do not mean, that is, to imply that one has to do here with what properly speaking we should call higher level predicates or, to borrow a term from later scholasticism, "predicates of predicates". Though the higher level *ma'nās* are posited in the analysis of predicates and though, also, they involve the relationships of the entities referred to by such predicates and so appear, to this extent, to be analogous somewhat to second intentions as treated by some scholastic authors, they are not conceived by the system as intentions nor are they conceived as aspects, really or formally distinguished, of the being of an entity.

of higher level *ma'nās*. There is no proper name or descriptive expression for the *ma'nā* that is implied by 'inheres in' or 'belongs to' (or, to paraphrase the language of the reports of al-Aṣ'arī and al-Ka'bī, that grounds the relationship of inherence), but there are names for the two other higher level *ma'nās* mentioned in the texts, i.e., "difference" (*iḥtilāf*) implied by 'differs from' and "similarity" implied by 'is similar to' in the examples cited above.

Classes, however, are not discussed as such. It is to be noted that although al-Aṣ'arī seems to speak of classes (e.g., *kaḍālika l-qawlu fī s-sawādi wal-bayādi: Maqālāt*, p. 372, 9) as does al-Ka'bī ('inna l-ḥarakata 'innamā ḥālafati s-sukūna li-ma'nam huwa ḡayruhā ...; *op. cit.*, p. 71, 6f.), in each case the author returns to speaking of individuals in order to explain what is meant. The class, of course, (either as an abstract unity or as many) cannot be predicated of the individual, first level subject. If, however, one had to do, as Daiber seems to say, with quiddities of first level subjects one should be able to predicate it so, but this is not the case. One cannot say of a first level subject either 'it is a motion' (*huwa ḥarakatun*) or 'it is motion' (*huwa l-ḥarakatu*). The matter of how classes (*'aḡnās*) were understood by the *mutakallimīn* of the early and classical periods is too complex a matter to deal with here. (Daiber's discussion, pp. 86f., does not touch the context at hand.) What we may note here, however, is that albeit they do occasionally talk of a class as if intentionally of one, predicating properties of it as such, classes are basically regarded as distributed to their members. They certainly are not accorded any formal recognition as abstract entities. Nor, moreover, does the system formally recognise (or even call implicitly for) objective intentions understood as the objective presence to the mind of the form or nature of the known. Such notions belong to a theoretical context that is fundamentally alien to that of the early *kalām*. (An intention or, in the terminology of Mu'ammār and the *kalām*, "a knowing" [or "act of knowing": *ilmun*] is conceived as what we should call a psychological entity, i.e., a concrete, singular entity, a *ma'nā* or "accident" that inheres in the individual subject that by virtue of its inherence is said to know.) It is apparent, thus, that within the terms of the system predicates are properly said only of concrete, singular individuals.

Beginning with the first level, primary "accident" one can distinguish levels of *ma'nās* so that *ma'nā*, we might say, belongs to a higher level than *ma'nā*ⁿ⁻¹ which is, in turn, higher than *ma'nā*ⁿ⁻² and so on, down to the first level, phenomenal *ma'nā* that inheres in the first level subject and is asserted to exist in the predicate about it. There is no evidence, however, that Mu'ammār, though he would doubtless have had to allow that *ma'nā* belongs de facto to a lower level than *ma'nā*ⁿ⁺¹, because it falls in a higher position in the series than *ma'nā*, held that *ma'nā*ⁿ⁺¹, because it falls in a higher position in the series than *ma'nā*, is ontologically distinguished from *ma'nā*ⁿ in the mode of its being or that the higher levels are so distinguished from the first level *ma'nā*. To judge from the information supplied by the sources, indeed, it would seem likely that no such question was ever raised either by Mu'ammār or his disciples or his opponents. One might suggest, perhaps, that it ought to have been raised, but it was not nor is any such distinction implicitly posited;

and it is the historical texts that we must deal with and their intention and sense that we wish to understand. It is amusing, in fact, to speculate on the consequences of positing such ontological classes: *ma'nā*-x of level n of a given series (A) will be ontologically similar (equivalent or similar in its mode of being) to an otherwise different (*muḥālif*) *ma'nā*-y belonging to level n of another series (B) and ontologically different from any *ma'nā*-z of level n+1 within its own or within another series. By the logic of the system, then, these similarities and differences will posit their own proper *ma'nās* (higher level *ma'nās* of the second degree, one might say), so that multiple infinities of second (and then third and fourth, etc.) degree higher levels of *ma'nās* will be spawned at each higher level *ma'nā* within the original series. *Al-ḥamdu lillāh!*

Ma'nās, then, all of them, are apparently taken as distinct, discrete entities ('aṣyā'u mawḡūdatun mutagāyirah: Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal* 5, p. 46, 20, cited by Daiber, p. 84). They are originally posited on the basis of an analysis of the ontological implications of simple propositions said of first level subjects ('x is alive', 'y is black', 'z moves') and similar propositions are made of each *ma'nā* regardless of its level; e.g., 'motion-a belongs to body-y', 'black-a differs from white-b', 'difference-z belongs to black-a', etc. The *ma'nās*, in brief, are ontologically undistinguished and belong to a single category of entities, viz., those that inhere in or subsist in another.

It is clear that Mu'ammār distinguished two basic categories of created entities: 1) primary or first level subjects and 2) the *ma'nās*. These are distinguished in that the former exist as independent beings, the subject of *ma'nās* but never themselves inherent in another, while the latter exist only inherent in another, though they may themselves (in fact are always, because of the infinitude of every series of *ma'nās*) be the subjects of other *ma'nās*. The first category, then, is subdivided into two classes, viz., the material and extended (i.e., the indivisible "parts" and the bodies that are composed of them) and the unextended entity that is called 'man'⁷). We have, there-

⁷) 'Man', for Mu'ammār, denotes not a corporeal body but rather an indivisible, incorporeal entity which is the "regent" (*mudabbir*) of the body (cf., e.g., 'Abd al-Jabbār, *al-Muḡnī* 11, p. 311, al-Aṣ'arī, *op. cit.*, pp. 311f. and al-Ka'bī, *op. cit.*, p. 71, 11f.). The human entity, however, is a primary subject of *ma'āni* or "accidents" (e.g., of life, knowing, willing, etc.: al-Aṣ'arī, *op. cit.*, pp. 318, 3f. and 332, 1f.). How he categorised the human entity, however, is not altogether clear from the sources. Aṣ-Ṣāhrastānī (*Milāl*, p. 99, 10) is unclear, saying that "he held man to be a *ma'nā* or a *ḡawhar* distinct from the body (*ḡayru l-ḡasad*; this Daiber, p. 339, reads as if *ḡayru ḡasadin*: kein Körper). Daiber gives a complex metaphysical explanation of this text, but the sense of the formula is not immediately certain. Aṣ-Ṣāhrastānī may simply be expressing doubt. He understands the basic position of the *mutakallimīn* as recognising only two categories of created beings, viz., the corporeal atoms (*ḡawāhir*) together with composite bodies and "accidents" (= *ma'āni*); these are distinguished by the fact that the former occupy space (*taḥayyaza*) and the latter "subsist in what occupies space" (cf. *Muṣā'arat al-falāsifa*, ed. S. M. Mukhtar, Cairo 1396/1976, p. 20). Aṣ-Ṣāhrastānī, thus, has no category for a created entity that neither occupies space nor, strictly speaking, inheres in another and may here, therefore, be expressing his uncertainty concerning how such an entity may have been classed within the context he assumes for the interpretation of Mu'ammār's teaching. If this is not the case, then we cannot here understand *ma'nā* as we do in the case of the *ma'āni* we have been discussing, for it is not understood denote the referent of a predicate that is ontologically distinct from that of a subject term and "man" does not inhere in a subject as an "accident". We should therefore likely have to take '*ma'nā*' here (as in the passage of al-Aṣ'arī cited below)

fore, to ask whether or not, in Mu'ammār's teaching, being was predicated differently of the two basic categories: whether the being of what exists only in another is in some sense diminished in comparison to the being of that which does not exist in another (or whether in a secondary sense relative to a primary sense proper to the being of a first level subject) and also whether the being of a first level subject that is material and extended differs ontologically from one that is unextended. The question, once again, is not what distinctions Mu'ammār ought to have made (he ought, maybe, to have gotten out of the *kalām* business altogether!), but rather what distinctions are thematically made or plausibly indicated by what he did hold as this is represented in our sources.

Distinctions of what we should call "modes of being" would seem in some way to be recognised in the distinction between beings that inhere in another and those that do not as also in that between those that strictly speaking are corporeal and have "place" and those that, strictly speaking, are incorporeal and do not have "place". It is most probable, however, that Mu'ammār did not thematically distinguish modes of being, for the distinction is not attested in the *kalām* until later. The explicit distinction of "modes of being", moreover, is made in a context that recognises perfections as aspects — states — of the being of an entity, e.g., its "being alive" or "being black" as distinct from the existence of the concrete "accidents", a distinction that Mu'ammār plainly did not make. If, then, we will abstain from imposing on Mu'ammār (and on the sources) concepts and conceptual constructs that are not demonstrably found in them, we must acknowledge that the different senses of being recognised by the Aristotelian tradition and the modes of being found in the hierarchically ordered realisations of being analogically distinguished by St. Thomas have no place in the conceptual horizon of the thought of Mu'ammār and the early *kalām*.

What would seem most evident from the texts (and would demand the least introduction of distinctions not expressly made in the sources and not unavoidably required in order to make sense of them) is that for Mu'ammār, as for most of the early *mutakallimīn* for some time after him, the primary or first level subjects and the *ma'nās* alike are concrete, individual entities of which being is

in a general sense as "something" (an entity: *šay'un*; cf. 'Abd al-Jabbār, *op. cit.* 5, p. 253, 12 and cp. Greek πᾶν, which 'ma'nā' sometimes translates in the philosophical literature). In this case aṣ-Šahrastānī is simply saying that Mu'ammār holds man to be "a first level subject or being distinct from the body". Al-Aṣ'arī, on the other hand, in a passage that Daiber does not discuss in this section, (*Maqālāt*, p. 405, 5) reports that Mu'ammār said that man is "an indivisible, discrete part and an indivisible *ma'nā*" (*guz'un lā yatağazza'u wa-ma'nan lā yataqasim*). This may be the source of aṣ-Šahrastānī's report, in which case he has paraphrased *guz'un lā yatağazza'u* by *gawharun* and doubled the final 'alif of *yatağazza'u* (if, indeed, the 'aw is not the correct reading!). Al-Aṣ'arī would seem to say here, then, "a being without parts and an indivisible entity". Whether we can understand 'guz'un' to refer to something that is, strictly speaking, immaterial would seem uncertain. 'Abd al-Jabbār (*op. cit.* 11, 311) employs the expression "a [primary] entity" (*aynun minā l-a'yān*), which is happily neutral, but he is plainly paraphrasing, so that we cannot, even though 'ayn' would seem to be an appropriate and thus plausible term in the context, know whether Mu'ammār used it or not. For our present purposes, in any case, it is sufficient to recognise that the human individual is taken to be a first level subject.

predicated univocally. Put into contemporary jargon (which is not entirely disproportionate to the sense of the texts), they are equivalent as values of the lowest variables of the system. ('This body moves' is analysed into 'a motion exists in this body' and both 'body' and 'motion' refer to concrete, individual entities, and so also with the next level and the next, as one analyses the predicates endlessly.) The thesis that the *ma'ānī*, like the first level subjects, are taken to be distinct, concrete entities would seem, furthermore, to be implied by the phrase "in the former's being a [unit of] black belonging to one body and not to another and in the latter's being a [unit of] white belonging to one body and not another" in the text of al-Aṣ'arī translated above (§ 5) as also in the fact that every *ma'nā* can be (is, in fact, always) the subject of another. When he says that but for a particular *ma'nā* a given motion would have no more reason to belong to the body in which it actually exists than to another, al-Aṣ'arī quite clearly implies that Mu'ammār fully reified the motion and as we have seen no ontological distinction is suggested to obtain between the *ma'ānī* by virtue of their level within the series.

The only common or universal predicates concerning Mu'ammār's treatment of which the texts inform us directly are those that imply the presence of a *ma'nā* in the subject (whether a first level subject or a *ma'nā*). They do not tell us how he treated simple, non-relational predicates, sc., those that the tradition terms "essential predicates", such as in 'x exists' or 'y is a motion'. Most likely (and this may well be indicated by the silence of the texts, which tend often to report only idiosyncratic theses) he analysed these in the same way as did al-Ġubbā'ī and al-Aṣ'arī and most of their followers for some centuries, i.e., as simply "the assertion of the reality of the entity itself" (*ḥabātu š-šay'i, ḥabātu nafsi š-šay'i*)⁸. The case of the basis of the universality of what we have called "relational predicates" (i.e., *ma'nā* predicates: *ṣifātu l-ma'ānī* or *aṣ-ṣifātu l-ma'nawīya*, in the common terminology) is clear enough. 'Moves' is said of two corporeal subjects because there subsists in each of them a like *ma'nā*, viz., a motion (*ḥarakah*). We are not informed, however, of what he considered as the basis of the universality of simple names, i.e., why it is that two individual, atomic entities share the same name: that '*ḥarakatun*', for example, names each of the *ma'nās* in the above example. The system, as represented in the sources, would seem to require that Mu'ammār have said that two entities are called by the same name because they are alike. That they are alike, however, does not imply for Mu'ammār that there is a common nature or quiddity which they share and which is presented to and grasped by the mind in

⁸ It is for this reason that Mu'ammār and a number of other *mutakallimīn* consider "remaining" or "continuance in existence" to be an "accident" or *ma'nā*. That is to say, if to affirm '*bāq*' of an entity is simply to assert the existence of the entity that remains (*ḥabātu nafsi l-bāqī*), i.e., if 'remains' (*yabqā* or *bāqin*) simply asserts the essential reality of the entity that is said to continue to exist, then that it exist at all, in any instant, is that it continue to exist and it will be, in the language of the *kalām*, *bāqin bi-naḥsihi* (as opposed to *bāqin bi-ma'nan/ li-ma'nan*), but if to assert the reality of the entity is to assert that as such and *per se* it continues to exist, then given its reality in existence it cannot cease to exist; even God cannot cause it to cease to be. Daiber (pp. 71 f. *et alibi*) fails to see this.

abstraction as a form or εἶδος in which they both participate, but, on the contrary, posits two more entities on the next level: two "similarities" (each of which founds its own distinct series of *ma'nās*). (Intentions, as we have noted, i.e., "acts of knowing, are understood to be distinct *ma'nās* that constitute a separate class of accidents.") If our analysis of the texts thus far is correct, then within the formal terms of the system the proposition '*ma'nā*-x is a motion and *ma'nā*-y is a motion' has totally different ontological implications from 'x is similar to y'. The first asserts only the reality of two discrete and separate individuals while the second asserts the existence of a third, sc., the *ma'nā* "similarity" (and 'y is similar to x' asserts a fourth). No universal is posited either *in re* or *in abstracto*; the only thing that two like entities share would, thus, seem to be the name and the system would appear, consequently, to be fundamentally nominalistic in the traditional sense.

Now the sources say that according to Mu'ammār the phenomenal, first level "accident" inheres in its immediate subject "by virtue of a *ma'nā*" or "because of a *ma'nā*" (*li-ma'nan*, al-Aṣ'arī and al-Ka'bī; or *bi-ma'nan*, al-Ka'bī and Ibn Hazm) and aṣ-Šahrastānī, probably paraphrasing this '*li-ma'nan*' (or '*bi-ma'nan*'), speaks of the *ma'nā*'s "causing" or "necessitating" (*awḡaba*) the subsistence of the "accident" in its subject. Analogously, then, at each level the particular *ma'nā* inheres in its immediate subject "by virtue" of an appropriately associated *ma'nā* on the next succeeding level. We have, therefore, to ask in what sense the *ma'nā* of one level is the principle or cause of the being of the one next below it in the series: whether this apparent causality is to be understood as producing or effecting the being of the next or in some other sense. The matter is not altogether clear, for the same sources state that according to Mu'ammār the "accident" or primary, first level *ma'nā* is produced by the nature of the body which is its immediate subject (*yaf'aluhū ṭibā'an*).

According to Daiber's interpretation, the *ma'ānī* are effective causes in the strict sense and the infinite series of *ma'nās* in any given series is ultimately bounded (eingeschränkt) insofar as God "is the first cause of chain of *ma'ānī*" (pp. 88 f.). This, he explains in the section on "God as Creator" (Ch. III, § 5.1, pp. 222 ff.), where he says that the "infinite of God and the finitude of creation" are related through the infinite series of *ma'ānī* (p. 222); God is "die erste bestimmende Ursache einer unendlichen Reihe von *ma'ānī*, welche das akzidentelle Wirken der Substanz wesentlich bestimmen" (p. 224). God's action is, thus, not direct, since the final "accident" is the act or result of the "nature of the corporeal body" and only the here final term, viz., the first level "accident", is a "concrete actuality" (konkreter Wirkvollzug: *ibid.*). The *ma'ānī* Daiber identifies with God's acts, e.g., of "causing color" (*talwīn*), "causing motion" (*tahrik*), "causing life" (*ḥayā*), etc.; thus "the concrete color which is brought forth by a *ma'nā* of coloration that is caused by God is the act of the body in which the color inheres as an accident" (*ibid.*), so that God's infinite act is not limited by the act of nature (*ibid.*). This is interesting, although Daiber does not remark on the fact, in that viewed within the terms of his earlier interpretation of the nature of the *ma'ānī* and their relation to the "accidents" and of the two to their first level subject or

gawhar, the *ma'nā* as "essence" or "form" (Wesen) becomes God's causation of the "quiddity" of the thing. The matter, however, is not really all so clear. If "coloring" (Färben = *talwīn*), for example, is a single *ma'nā* (ein von Gott verursachtes *ma'nā* des Färbens, p. 224) in the infinite series, then where does it fall within the series relative to the first level, primary "accident"? The elements of the series, moreover, are plainly understood by the sources to be discrete and it is difficult to see how there can be a term at each end of a linear series of discrete elements the existence of which does not take place in a temporally extended sequence of moments (*awqāt*) (cf., e.g., al-Aṣ'arī in the text translated above, § 4) and of which the sources state explicitly and without qualification there is no whole (*kull*) or totality (*ḡami'*) and no limit (*ḡāyah*) (e.g., al-Aṣ'arī, *Maqālāt*, p. 372, 8 and 11 and p. 373, 1).

Though some of the sources speak of "God's making *talwīn*" (*yaf'alu t-talwīna*, e.g., al-Aṣ'arī, *Maqālāt*, p. 405, 15 and *al-Intiṣār*, pp. 45 f.) they do not anywhere suggest that God's *talwīn* is to be identified with the *ma'ānī*. Quite to the contrary, the logic of the system would seem to exclude God's creating *ma'nās*, for they are unanimous and unequivocal in insisting that Mu'ammār held that God creates only bodies or first level subjects and not "accidents" and "accidents", as we have seen, belong to the general class of *ma'ānī* or inherent entities. The thesis that "accidents" are ontologically distinct from (and belong to a different category of inherent entities than) the *ma'ānī* and that, according to Mu'ammār, God creates upper level *ma'ānī* (or at least some of them) and that God's action in creation is mediated through them, in short, cannot be substantiated on the basis of the sources⁹.

⁹ In support of this thesis Daiber (p. 225) cites al-Aṣ'arī's *Maqālāt* (p. 253, 2 f.), where it is reported that Mu'ammār said: "God created creation [or, mankind?] *li-illatīn* and this *illah* is *li-illatīn* and there is no limit or whole to the *illah*". Daiber takes '*illah*' here to be an equivalent to '*ma'nā*', as is common enough in the usage of the earlier *kalām*. The sense of the report, however, is not immediately certain, as there are a number of ambiguities, with none of which Daiber seems concerned. One has, first, to be sure that '*illah*' does not mean here "motive" or "purpose" as it does in the citation of an-Nazzām which immediately precedes that of Mu'ammār (and in which '*al-ḥalq*', moreover, plainly means "mankind" and not "creation"). If the '*illah*' of the report concerning Mu'ammār is to be read thus, then he posits an infinity of purpose-*ma'nās* in God, thus raising a remarkable set of theological questions. If, on the other hand, '*illah*' is here equivalent to '*ma'nā*' as employed in the theory of the *ma'ānī* we have been discussing, then one will have to determine the locus or subject of it, whether it resides in God or in another. In any case, '*li-illatīn*' cannot in this context mean "by means of an '*illah*'", since '*li*' is not used instrumentally. The sense, rather, will be that '*ḥalāqa*' (or '*ḥāliq*') as predicated of God is true "by virtue of an '*illah*'", i.e., it implies a referent whose existence is the ontological basis of the truth of the predication. When al-Aṣ'arī, in the beginning of the same section (p. 252, 12 ff.) says that abū l-Hudhayl held that God creates *li-illatīn*, he means that the affirmation of '*ḥalāqa*' implies the reality of something that is asserted to exist when we say '*Allāhu ḥāliqun*'; this abū l-Hudhayl identifies with God's act of willing and His saying 'Be'; they are, that is to say, the ontological basis of the truth of the predicate and what one means to assert as real and existent when he affirms the predicate. What Mu'ammār may have understood this '*illah* or *ma'nā* to be (if, indeed, this is how we are to interpret the report) al-Aṣ'arī does not tell us and perhaps did not know. There is, however, nothing to indicate that this series of *ma'ānī* is to be read any differently than the others. That is to say, barring cogent evidence to the contrary, the infinite series of creation-*ma'nās* must also be read as an open, ascending series, not as a descending series that originates in God and terminates in the

Al-Aṣ'arī, in fact, in a passage that Daiber discusses neither here in treating "God as Creator" nor in the section on "Gott als Wollender" (pp. 213ff.), explicitly identifies God's *talwīn* with His act of willing (*'irādah*), which "subsists in Him" (*qāma bihī*) (*Maqālāt*, pp. 584f.; another source identifies *talwīn* with the action of the moon: aṣ-Ṣāhrastānī, *op. cit.*, p. 97, 9). Again, if, following Daiber, we identify the *talwīn*, etc., with the series of *ma'ānī* or with an element of the series and if the entire series, in any particular instance, comes to exist in a single instant (*tahduṭu fī waqtin wāhid*: al-Aṣ'arī in the text translated above, § 4), then God's action (and willing?) is directly, though not immediately, correlated to the realisation of the "action" (sc., the realisation of the existence of the individual "accident") and the function of "nature" in the "nature of the corporeal subject" will be otiose; 'nature' will name the occasionalistic function of God's causation through the instantaneous "causality" of an infinite series of "causes". Furthermore, if all the members of the series come to exist simultaneously and only one is a "*talwīn*", how are the rest to be described? Besides the individual elements of the "color series" as such (e.g., black-x by virtue of *ma'nā-y* which exists and grounds the existence of black-x in its relation to its primary subject by virtue of *ma'nā-z*, etc.) we shall have also to account for the immediately associated, secondary *ma'nās*, e.g., with those of similarity and difference at the first and at every succeeding level: do they also originate in God's action? In the original creation of the *talwīn* or in separate acts? Here again Daiber's interpretation fails to solve the difficulties presented by the texts.

The evidence of the sources is full of ambiguities and difficulties that are scarcely to be resolved. Nevertheless, it would seem clear that a closer analysis of the texts in their own terms might tend at least to clarify the elements of the problem, even if we may not be able to come to a definitive resolution of it in all its multiple aspects.

It would appear that in attempting to account for the phenomenal properties of created beings (we need not here enter into the problem of the divine attributes) Mu'ammār employed two formally distinct frameworks, one of them that of the "physical" nature of bodies (to what extent conceived and elaborated analogously to the teaching of the other and better known *aṣḥāb al-ṭabā'i* is not here important) and the other that of the "ontology" of the *'arād* or *ma'ānī*. To what extent he managed to bring the two into a comprehensively unified and coherently integrated system we cannot tell from the fragmentary and often (at least in appearance) conflicting reports that are available. The following, in any event, would seem reasonably clear: the former framework is concerned with the physical production and origin of the phenomenal properties of corporeal entities. Such properties (e.g., motion, color, life) are referred to in this context

creature, as Daiber would have it. Finally, if we are to take the *'illal* neither as the "motive" or "purpose" nor as the cause or basis of the truth of the predicate (i.e., as equivalent of *ma'nā*), but strictly as a "cause" of God's creating, then God's act will not be deliberate but by the necessity of His nature and the infinite series of *'ilal* will have obviously to reside in God. This last interpretation, however, would seem to be highly unlikely on the basis of the normal usage of *'li-illal* in the language of the earlier *kalām*.

as *hay'āt* (cf., e.g., al-Ka'bī, *op. cit.*, p. 71, 10f. and *al-Intiṣār*, p. 45, 23f.); they are the product of the nature of the particular body: it produces them by its nature (*yaf'aluḥā fībā'an*). God is said to dispose bodies (to create them having such intrinsic, latent properties: *hayya'ahā*, cf. al-Ka'bī and *al-Intiṣār*, locc. cit.) that they operate so. The phenomenal properties, thus, are produced by the body as the products of its "nature" or intrinsic properties. Here, then, we have clearly to do with the temporal priority of one property (or set of properties) to another; the latent or intrinsic properties which produce the phenomenal, "accidental" properties, are already present in the subject before they produce in any given instance, a particular, manifest property (*hay'ah*).

The theory of the *ma'ānī*, by contrast, has its source, quite independently of the "physical" theory of the natural operation of the nature of bodies, in a logical or "ontological" analysis of such predicates as 'moves' (*mutaḥarrik*), 'is black' (*'aswad*), 'lives' (*ḥayy*), etc., an analysis that originates in and is largely modelled on a method of grammatical (sc., the semiotic) analysis of descriptive words, verbs and adjectives: 'moves' = 'there is a motion': the verb implies the *maṣdar* as its *ma'nā*. As we have seen, Mu'ammār extended this analysis so as to posit an infinite series of *ma'nās*. What is important to note here is that the presence of the infinite series is posited simultaneously with the existence of the first term (e.g., with the motion that is asserted to exist in 'x moves'): "they come to exist in a single instant". Mu'ammār then says that the particular body moves because there is a motion in it or that it is black (*'aswad*) because there is "a black" (*sawādun*) in it, and the series is read as if it were a causal series: if it were not for a *ma'nā* (*ma'nā-b*) there would be no more reason for *ma'nā-a* to exist in subject-x than for it to exist in subject-y, and so on. The first term of the series (e.g., motion-a that exists in subject-x, or similarity-b that exists in black-y) is given de facto or, if you will, is posited with the initial predicate ('x moves' or 'c is similar do d'), but there is no last term, for the series is infinite, "without whole or totality". Here the texts are quite unambivalent: though starting from any given point in the series one can read the series downwards as a sequence of discrete causal determinants, no first causal term is posited, nor can be, since 'x belongs to y' always implies another, ontologically prior element, *ma'nā-z*, by virtue of which x belongs to y. All are posited simultaneously by the implication of the first predicate (e.g., 'this body moves') and are asserted by its affirmation and the existence of all is denied with the negation of the first predicate, so that the temporal priority of any member of the series over another is logically excluded.

On the other hand, the term that is originally given (e.g., motion-x in body-y) is explicitly said to be the act (i.e., the product; *fī'l* = *ma'fūl*) of the body in which it immediately inheres. How Mu'ammār coordinated these two schemes (if, indeed, he did) we cannot know, nor will I attempt to speculate on the question here. Regarding the two apparent forms of causation we can say, however, that the one, the theory of the body's natural production of its phenomenal properties, is meant to account for the real, physical origin of these properties (which originates ultimately in God's creation of the bodies as such with their intrinsic properties or natures), while the other, the

theory of the ascending series of *ma'ānī* each of which is grounded in the next higher one in the series, is meant, by contrast, to account for the truth of the proposition the referent of whose predicate (sc., the property or attribute that is produced by the body through the operation of its intrinsic nature) is said to belong to the body: the ontological assertion of 'x moves' is analytically given in 'motion-y inheres in body-x' which implies that there exists a *ma'nā* (z) which belongs to motion-y and grounds the relationship of *ma'nā-y* to body-x, and the truth of 'x moves' is thus founded immediately in the existence of motion-y in body-x and thereafter in the existence of *ma'nā-z* and of each succeeding *ma'nā* in the series *ad infinitum*. Now, if Mu'ammār had only said that the *ma'ānī* (either beginning from the first, sc., the original motion in the previous example, or beginning from the next level) were intentional entities, the whole thing might not seem so bizarre; it is evident, however, that he made no such distinction. It has no place within the conceptual structure of his teaching as presented in the sources or within the *kalām* of the early and classical periods generally. If, indeed, he had tried to formulate such a distinction, it would have formed a crucial element in the conceptual structure of the system (and one which he and his disciples would doubtless have had to insist on explicitly and often against their opponents) and one, moreover, so remarkably unique in the early *kalām* that it would not likely have escaped the attention of every one of our sources. There is no need to pursue the question of Mu'ammār's teaching any further here.

In a formally elaborated philosophical or theological system the conceptual content and structure are directly reflected in the formal language in which it is expressed. It is inevitable that the interpretation of this at an historical distance must paraphrase and recast the original formulation and go beyond it as the interpreter represents the content and structure of the text to himself within an horizon and through the medium of a formal language that are not those of the original author. The interpretation must, however, be able to account coherently for what is said in the texts as it is said in them in their own terms. If it is to be a likely account, in short, it must preserve the phenomena which are the texts themselves, systematically in their own formulation; it should be able to explain them systematically as an historically natural and reasonable way of articulating what it is they have to say. It is only thus that one may plausibly claim to have grasped the primary sense of the texts within the terms of their original context. Having achieved this one may then wish to view the sense and significance of the author's thought and to consider them within the terms of another context that differs, in whatever manner and to whatever degree, from that which was recovered as belonging to the original author. These two contexts of interpretation (primary and secondary, if you wish) are formally distinct and the distinction has got to be recognised and respected. To the extent that the distinction between the two contexts of interpretation is not recognised and their differences taken carefully into account, the interpretation becomes ambivalent in its relation to the text of which it purports to be an interpretation.

Though Daiber seems to have taken cognisance of this distinction in discussing the "method" of his study (pp.

12ff.), he ignores it in practice when he comes to the task of interpreting the texts themselves. Little or no effort is made to deal with the texts and to analyse them on the primary level. The interpretation, consequently, follows its own course in relative independence from the sources, to which it is bound only by a kind of free association of themes and motifs. Convinced, evidently, of the "Allgemeingültigkeit und Überzeitlichkeit der ... zugrundeliegenden Fragestellungen" of the teachings presented in them (p. 21), he does not seek to determine what specific questions, precisely and narrowly defined, were perhaps thematically intended to be answered by the formulations reported in the sources, if perchance they might not be identically conceived with those that he brings to the task of interpretation out of other philosophical and theological contexts.

The groundwork of historical text interpretation takes place in an arid region that is not immediately contiguous to the transhistorical "noëtic sphere" in which "every great philosopher of the past has a contemporary meaning for us" (p. 21) and the gap between the two cannot be bridged by structures that are not based on a firm foundation.

Washington, D.C., January, 1981

R. M. FRANK

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Richard MacDonough FRANK, *Beings and their Attributes, The Teaching of the Basrian School of the Mu'tazila in the Classical Period*. Albany, State University of New York Press, 1978 (24 cm., x + 216 pp.) = Studies in Islamic Philosophy and Science. ISBN 0 87395 378 9.

A student of Arabic and Islamology, and even a beginning specialist in the domain of Islamic thought, could very well be discouraged by Frank's book from choosing the *kalām* of the Mu'tazila as his field of study and research. The book shows how complicated Mu'tazilī thinking can be, how difficult to analyse its vocabulary, and how detailed its distinctions. And Frank's avowal that even he himself, a specialist in the field, after many years of research did not grasp the meaning of all texts he studied leaves the reader in a state of resignation.

Nevertheless, Frank's study is a good work, that really helps to understand the complicated structures of the Mu'tazilī *kalām*. Any one who has read and studied the excellent articles that Frank did already write on several topics of Mu'tazilī thinking, must have waited with some impatience for a more general survey and a synthesis of his analytical studies in the field to be presented by him. And so he does in this work, and the reader in question will not be disappointed.

Frank considers his book to be an introduction to the *kalām* of the Mu'tazila of Baṣra in the classical period — namely Abū-Hāšim (d. 321/933) and his followers including 'Abd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1025) whose works are best known now by the publication of some of his major works — limited to the question of the attributes of beings: "the essential and the accidental properties,

characteristics, and qualities of entities and their being in general" (p. 1). In this book, he follows the distinction made by the Mu'tazila between the various categories of attributes, describing and analysing them successively and quoting many examples from the texts. To copy here the table of contents would therefore be no more than to enumerate the various categories of attributes.

Frank's work is more than a description: he traces the origins of the Mu'tazili vocabulary — where he quite rightly stresses the influence of the vocabulary of the grammarians upon that of the *mutakallimūn* and its purely Arabic (i.e. non-Greek) origin —, analyses the development of the various concepts, and the reasons why the system developed in the way it did. To support his own observations, the author frequently quotes from the original texts, giving in the notes the entire Arabic quotation in transliteration and adding a considerable number of emendations in the published texts. With the comprehensive English-Arabic and Arabic-English vocabularies — which could very well be used to standardize the terms used in English translations of Mu'tazili texts, and I would suggest we should do so —, the emendations suggested and the Arabic texts quoted enhance the value of Frank's study.

Maybe, after all these compliments, it is allowed to make a few disconnected remarks.

First of all, the book is in fact very difficult to read. One of the reasons may be that *kalām*-texts, even in a correct English translation, remain complicated in their style of arguing and debating; but sometimes I got the impression that Frank not only tried to imitate the Mu'tazili style of explicating but even succeeded in surpassing the Mu'tazila in complication. That makes the book a difficult one for a foreign reader and maybe even for one whose native language is English or American. Moreover, the printing also — with very long paragraphs — does not facilitate the reading of the book; more subdivisions and headings could add to the necessary convenient clarity of arrangement.

In a few instances (e.g. p. 77), the text suggests that the Arabic word discussed there is always, or nearly always, used in the technical sense indicated; one has to read the notes to discover that the reality is not as unambiguous as the text might suggest. The author has in fact discovered that many words and expressions in *kalām*-texts have a specific technical meaning; maybe he is, in one or two instances, looking for too much systematization in its vocabulary.

On pages 72-79, the author is treating the *ṣifāt al-jins* ('specific attributes'); in that context he also deals with the acts of willing, 'the units of *qudra*', and the convictions. He states, quoting some texts by 'Abd al-Jabbār, that a concrete act of willing or a concrete conviction is a *jins* (class) of its own, because the fact that it has a correlation with a single object is because of its *jins*. My suggestion, however, is that all acts of willing belong to the same class, just as all convictions and all 'units of *qudra*' belong to one and the same class, and that — because of their belonging to that class — they can only have a correlation with one single object. I think, this interpretation is attested by 'Abd al-Jabbār in the texts quoted and elsewhere in his works.

The way in which the author speaks about the will

(*irāda*) might suggest that he is using the term for a free choice (p. 124 and p. 132) or free determination (p. 131 and p. 133). Because of the limitation of the subjects treated in his book, he does not discuss the attribute of willing in its relation to human behaviour in its totality. In fact, for 'Abd al-Jabbār the act of willing is not free, determined as it is by the motives (*dawā'i*), nor does it necessitate the subject to act; it only gives a special dimension to the act by adding to it a kind of intention. Thus, for instance, an act of willing cannot cause someone to speak, but it can make the words spoken into a command or a statement; but even then the act of willing is entirely determined by the motives.

Finally some minor remarks:

The text on p. 45 might suggest that the 'intent' (*qaṣd*) is a form of knowing; in fact it is a form of willing which is simultaneous with the act. The 'motivation' also is not necessarily a form of knowing, but can be one of the other forms of conviction, like, for instance, opinion or conviction based solely on authority.

When the author deals on pp. 133-134 with the pointless act (*abaḥ*), he in fact only treats that form of pointless act the pointlessness of which is caused by the lack of purpose (*ḡaraḥ*); other acts are always pointless because there is a clear disproportion between the act and the result reached by it.

As a translation of *mutamāḥil* I prefer 'similar' (cf. vocabulary p. 197) to 'altogether alike' (p. 73) or even 'essentially identical' (p. 75) because these terms could suggest a complete identity while, in fact, accidental differences remain possible.

The translation on p. 124, l. 11 'whether they are such as to have their own actuality or not' can be misleading by suggesting that the text deals with separate forms of actuality; in fact, it says: 'whether they come to be (at this very moment) or not'.

Summarizing: this book is, in Frank's best tradition, a penetrating analysis of the Mu'tazila's vocabulary and conceptual system and an attempt to render the *kalām*-texts carefully and accurately into modern English. Though rather difficult for the non-specialist, it really is an indispensable work for all those who wish to specialize in the domain of Mu'tazili thinking.

The book ends abruptly, without summary or conclusion. I hope that this open end can be interpreted as Frank's promise to continue the publication of his analysis of Mu'tazili *kalām*.

Nijmegen, January 1981

JAN PETERS

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Gerhard BÖWERING, *The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam, The Qur'ānic Hermeneutics of the Ṣūfī Sahl at-Tustarī* (d. 283/896). Berlin-New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1980 (25 cm., x + 286 pp.) = Studien Zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur des Islamischen Orients, Neue Folge, Band 9.

Böwering's work is in fact a comprehensive study of one of the earliest Muslim mystics, Sahl at-Tustarī, and

as such an introduction into the ideas and beliefs of the formative period of the *taṣawwuf*-movement. In spite of all obstacles to a correct understanding of at-Tustarī, caused by the lack of reliable sources and the uncertain authenticity of the works ascribed to him, Böwering finds his way through the available texts, minutely comparing and analysing all possible information, and he succeeds in delimiting our real knowledge about at-Tustarī and in outlining his major ideas.

The book falls apart into two major parts; the first one is an analysis of historical sources and a study of the works ascribed to at-Tustarī as well as of the manuscripts available. Thus the author reconstructs the life, works and intellectual and spiritual milieu of at-Tustarī, and comes to the conclusion that the *tafsīr*, attributed to him, contains much authentic material and is in fact our major source for the reconstruction of his ideas. Böwering distinguishes three structural levels in this *tafsīr*, and doing so arrives at the authentic words and ideas of at-Tustarī himself. He considers this work to be 'the principal, substantially authentic and oldest extant work of the Tustarī tradition' (p. 263).

In the second part of the book all attention is given to the contents of the *tafsīr*. Böwering analyses Tustarī's ideas, and describes them under the headings: God in His events (day of covenant and day of resurrection), mystic man and his grasp of infinity, the struggle for infinity in the soul of mystic man. Böwering's description gives the impression of closely following at-Tustarī's expositions; it contains a mass of quotations and is interlaced with transliterations of Arabic words, which render the text rather difficult to read.

The scope of the book is limited to the personality of at-Tustarī himself; some hints are given to a possible dependence upon other mystics and upon the spiritual environment, but the author concludes that other similar studies must be undertaken before a real comparison and a more general description of the early period of Islamic mysticism can be given. Anyhow, Böwering's book certainly is a standard work in this domain.

Nijmegen, January 1981

JAN PETERS

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Mahmoud AYOUB, *Redemptive Suffering in Islām, A Study of the Devotional Aspects of 'Āshūrā' in Twelver Shi'ism*. The Hague-Paris-New York, Mouton Publishers, 1978 (24 cm, 299 pp.) = Religion and Society, volume 10. ISBN 90 279 7943 X. Price: DM 64.—.

Ayoub's book is about the idea of suffering in Islām, especially about the meaning of purposeful suffering. It does not trace the history of the Sunnī concept of *jihād* as a kind of meaningful suffering, but concentrates upon the Shi'ī concept of the sufferings of the prophet's family and the martyrdom of his grandson Husayn. In doing so, it poses the question in what way this martyrdom has been regarded as 'redemptive'. In the author's opinion, redemption must not be limited to its technical use in Christian theology; he uses the concept in a much broader

sense to mean 'the healing of existence or the fulfillment of human life' (p. 23). Nevertheless, he discovers in his study that the idea of redemption is used in Shi'ī Islām to indicate the belief that a *imām* can take the evil deeds of his followers upon his own shoulders and thus 'redeem' them (p. 205), as is also stated in the Christian theology of redemption.

As he says in the subtitle of the book, the author has confined his research to Shi'ism, namely to Twelver Shi'ism, and he bases himself upon devotional texts from the fourth to the ninth century of the Islamic era. Consequently, his study is not aiming at discovering historical facts concerning Husayn and the other *imāms*, but at describing and analysing the beliefs and sentiments of Shi'ī writers and the Twelvers' community.

His thesis is that 'all suffering can be in some way redemptive. More particularly, the suffering of *Imām* Husayn has been taken by the Shi'ī community to be a source of salvation through the interiorization and emulation of that suffering by the community and through the high favor of the *Imām* as a intercessor ... Redemption in Shi'ī piety must be understood within the context of intercession'. (p. 15) His method is rather descriptive: he quotes many texts from representative Shi'ī works which reflect the point of view of popular devotion, without offering a framework within which the various quotations have to be analysed and explained.

The division of the book is clear and logical: having discussed the value of suffering in general and of the suffering of the Prophet, Fātima, and the twelve *imāms* (chapter 1) and the role of the *imāms* during the creation of the universe and in the course of human history (chapter 2), the author relates the Shi'ī narratives about Husayn's birth and his life till the events leading to his martyrdom (chapter 3), and about his martyrdom itself (chapter 4). Then he deals with the various ways in which Shi'īs take part into Husayn's suffering by weeping, composing poetry, attending memorial services, and visiting Husayn tomb in Karbalā' (chapter 5). Finally, he speaks about Shi'ī eschatology, and especially about the role of the Mahdi and the other *imāms*.

The reader may be surprised by the many comparisons with Christian ideas, Christian quotations, and even a typical Christian vocabulary. This can be explained by the author's concern for dialogue between Muslims and Christians. In my opinion, this does not interfere with the objective description of Shi'ī thought.

A few remarks about this book have to be made:

= first of all, the author repeatedly declares that he is not describing the real facts of Husayn life, but only the vision of the devotional literature concerning his life; nevertheless, the reader gets the impression that the author is reconstructing the historical events, especially where he refers to Sunnī traditions to support his own reconstruction (e.g. p. 101), or when his style becomes totally 'historical' (e.g. p. 106);

= in a few instances, when referring to Sunnī ideas, he bases himself in his quotations upon Shi'ī texts, which could suggest that the Sunnī texts are not as revealing as he pretends them to be (e.g. p. 95 and p. 96);

= finally, the translations are not always entirely accurate, and sometimes the author deduces from a quotation more than he really can (e.g. p. 83).

But notwithstanding these minor shortcomings, Ayoub's work is very valuable as a description and schematization of early Shī'i popular concepts about the *Imām* Ḥusayn, his martyrdom, and his permanent role in Shī'i devotional life.

Nijmegen, December 1980

JAN PETERS

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Miguel Asín PALACIOS, *The Mystical Philosophy of Ibn Masarra and his Followers*, tr. E. H. Douglas & H. W. Yoder, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1978 (25 cm., xiv + 204 pp.). Price: fl. 60.—. ISBN 90 04 05749 9.

This volume is a translation of Asín's lecture to the Real Academia de Ciencias Morales y Políticas on the occasion of his becoming a member in 1914, published under the title *Abenmasarra y su escuela: Orígenes de la filosofía hispano-musulmana*. It remains an extremely lucid and valuable monograph, and, since it is probably no longer widely accessible in its original form, a translation will certainly be a welcome addition to many libraries. The translators have not attempted to up-date the references or bibliography; they have confined themselves to reproducing the proper names in a more generally acceptable form.

Ibn Masarra is important as being primarily responsible for the introduction into the western Islamic world of the influential pseudo-Empedoclean (in reality, largely neo-Platonic) doctrine of emanation. None of his own works survive, and what we know of his teachings derives from such writers as Ibn Ḥazm and Šā'id of Toledo, and from his own disciples and opponents. Asín argues cogently for his having had a great effect upon the development of mysticism, both Muslim and Christian.

It is unfortunate that this translation appears to have been made in a hurried and slipshod way. I have not found any errors of substance, but there are far too many instances of unidiomatic English, awkwardness of style, infelicity of expression, and, indeed, simple mistakes of translation, to allow the reader to relax and concentrate on the subject-matter. A few examples will suffice:

"Y añade que, después de la conquista, tampoco hubo filósofos y hombres de ciencia, hasta muy entrado el siglo III de la hégira. Los nombres de Séneca o de San Isidoro, glorias de la España ante-islámica, le son en absoluto desconocidos, cuando tan al pormenor conocía, no sólo los nombres, sino las obras y las ideas de los sabios griegos, persas o cristianos, extraños a su patria y a su religión".

"And then he added that after the conquest there were no philosophers or men of science until the very beginning of the third century of the Muslim era. The names of Seneca or St. Isidor, the pride of pre-Islamic Spain, were absolutely unknown when not only the names but the works and ideas of the Greek, Persian or Christian scholars, foreigners as to their country and religion, were known even in detail". (p. 15)

"Con la muerte del maestro, su escuela, lejos de desaparecer, subsiste, ensanchase el círculo de sus adeptos y se perpetúa hasta más de una centuria".

"With the death of the master, his school, far from disappearing, lived on, expanded the circle of his adepts, and was perpetuated for more than a century". (p. 95)

"... consagróse a fomentar las disciplinas filosóficas y a proteger a los sabios ..."

"... he dedicated himself to encouraging the philosophical disciples and to protecting the learned men". (p. 95)

"Y como a imitación de los príncipes se moldeaba casi siempre, en aquellos imperios absolutos y teocráticos, la psicología social, muy pronto sintieron movidas las gentes a consagrarse al estudio de los libros de filosofía y de ciencias griegas, sin el temor de incurrir en el anatema de los ortodoxos, que perdía mucho de su fuerza ante el ejemplo del califa, suprema autoridad religiosa en el islam".

"The social psychology was almost always molded in imitation of the princes in those absolute and theocratic empires. Very soon the people were moved to dedicate themselves to the study of the books of Greek philosophy and science without the fear of incurring the anathema of the orthodox who lost much of their power before the example of the caliph, the supreme religious authority in Islam". (pp. 95-6)

"... cuyas obras, divulgadas hasta nuestros días por los más remotos confines del Oriente ... e inspiran aún inconscientemente las extravagancias y supersticiones ..."

"His works have spread to our day throughout the most remote confines of the Orient ... and have inspired, even unconsciously, the extravagances and superstitions ..." (p. 143)

I am afraid that for 60 guilders I should want a more competent translation than this.

Glasgow, February 1981

J. N. MATTOCK

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Danielle JACQUART et Gérard TROUPEAU (Edd.): *Yûhannâ Ibn Mâsawayh (Jean Mésué), Le livre des axiomes médicaux (Aphorismi) [K. an-Nawâdir at-tibbiyya]*. Édition du texte arabe et des versions latines avec traduction française et lexique. Genève, Librairie Droz, 1980 (8vo, iii + 368 S.) = Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie ... de l'École pratique des Hautes Études. II. Hautes Études Orientales. 14.

Die Aphorismen des Ibn Mâsawayh († 857), geschrieben für seinen berühmten Schüler Hunayn b. Ishâq, bilden die erste Sammlung humoralpathologischer Einsichten und ärztlicher Vorschriften in der arabischen medizinischen Literatur. In ihrer Topik und dem Verzicht auf thematische Gliederung ist diese Sammlung ihrem Vorbild, den hippokratischen Aphorismen, deutlich verpflichtet. Welche Popularität — sicherlich nicht nur beim ärztlichen Publikum — dies Genre im Mittelalter erreichte, zeigt sich im Fortleben sowohl der hippokratischen Aphorismen als auch der des Ibn Mâsawayh. Sie haben ihrerseits bedeutende Aphorismensammlungen mit angeregt — die interessantesten sind ar-Râzîs *K. al-Murşid* und *K. al-Fuṣūl* des Maimonides — und sind vor allem selber reichlich kopiert und ausgeschrieben und dann auch gleich zweimal ins Lateinische übersetzt worden: anonym unter dem Titel *Aphorismi Iohannis Damasceni*, vermutlich vom Ende des

12. Jahrhunderts, sowie als 6. (zusätzliches) Buch der lateinischen Version von ar-Râzîs *De secretis in medicina*, ein Werk des portugiesischen Dominikaners Gilles de Santarem († 1265). Die verschiedene Zuschreibung der Übersetzungen, wesentliche Unterschiede in ihrem Stil und — geringfügige — Änderungen in der Anordnung der Aphorismen haben dazu geführt, daß die letztliche Identität der Texte bis hin zu den Editionen der Renaissance nur ein Verdacht geblieben ist, der in der vorliegenden Ausgabe erstmals verifiziert wird. Als ein Beispiel für die Verschiedenheit der Übersetzungen möge der 45. Aphorismus (S. 148) dienen:

Yanbağî li-l-aṭibbâ'i an yata'arrafû ahlâqa l-'alîli fî ḥâlî siḥḥatihî wa-mawâḍi'a âmâlihî tumma yuṣawwirûnahâ lahû wa-yurgûnahû fihâ wa-yunṣiṭûnahû ilayhâ.

Anonymus (S. 149):

Circa infirmum constitutus sani qualitatem sui et animi affectionem convenit agnoscas; ea vero, que illum noveris pre ceteris amasse aut concupisse, ad memoriam revocando laudare, et, si licitum sit, ante oculos representare aut se mox facile habiturum constanter promittere, et sic in eorum spem illum animare non desinas.

Gilles de Santarem (S. 236):

Decet magistrum complexionem egri noscere in salute ut, cum res ipsi placentes in sanitate cognoverit, ei promittat cum ab egritudine captus fuerit.

Die französische Übersetzung des Juristen Jean Brèche († 1559), einigen Editionen der ersten Version aus dem 16./17. Jahrhundert beigegeben (S. 262):

Toy estant medecin de quelque malade, il te seroit fort proufiable de connoitre sa nature et disposition quand il estoit sain, et lors remettre en ta memoire ce que tu connoissois lui avoir esté agreable et plus plaisant, et en avoir, s'il se peut faire, ou promettre d'en avoir en brief, à fin de le resjouir et recreer la vûe et faire jouir, ou pour le moins lui donner bonne esperance.

Die Edition des *K. an-Nawâdir at-tibbiyya* nimmt Bezug auf die Erstausgabe von Paul Sbath, Kairo 1934, stützt sich aber in erster Linie auf die beiden ältesten westlichen Handschriften, Leiden und Escorial. Dem arabischen Text ist in der unteren Hälfte der Seite (jeweils der linken des aufgeschlagenen Buches) eine französische Übersetzung beigegeben; ihm gegenüber (auf der rechten Seite) steht die lateinische Version des Anonymus mit ihrem umfangreichen kritischen Apparat. In einem Anhang wird die Übersetzung des Gilles de Santarem geboten, in einem weiteren die französische Übersetzung des Jean Brèche. Die Einleitung enthält die wesentlichen Daten zur Person und zum Werk des Autors, speziell zum Text der *Nawâdir*, und erörtert ausführlich die breite handschriftliche Grundlage, die alten Editionen und die (mutmaßlichen) Autoren der beiden lateinischen Übersetzungen. Das Vokabular des arabischen Textes ist in einem arabisch-lateinisch-französischen Glossar (mit Stellenangaben) erschlossen, der gemeinsame Grundwortschatz der beiden lateinischen Versionen ist mit seinen jeweiligen arabischen Entsprechungen in einem weiteren Glossar knapp zusammengestellt. — Für den an der Medizingeschichte des islamischen und christlichen Mittelalters Interessierten, aber auch für denjenigen, der allgemein sich mit den Problemen der Wissenschaftstradition, der Übersetzung oder der komplexen Überlieferung literarischer Kleinformen befaßt,

bildet das Buch von Melle Jacquart und Professor Troupeau eine instruktive zuverlässige Grundlage.

Bochum, Dezember 1980

H. H. BIESTERFELDT

* *

Abū Sa'id IBN BAḤTĪŠŪ, *Über die Heilung der Krankheiten der Seele und des Körpers [Risāla fî ṭ-ṭibb wa-l-aḥdāt an-naṣāniyya]*. Erstmalige Veröffentlichung des arabischen Textes von Felix KLEIN-FRANKE. Beyrouth, Dar el-Machreq Éditeurs, 1977 (8vo, 171 + 67 S.) = Recherches ... Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines de l'Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth. Nouvelle série: B. Orient chrétien. Tome 4.

Von der bekannten nestorianischen Ärzte-Familie Baḥtīšū ist Abū Sa'id 'Ubaydallāh b. Ġibrīl (gest. nach 450/1058) derjenige Autor, dessen Produktion, so spärlich sie erhalten, uns noch am besten bekannt ist. P. Sbath hat (Kairo 1927) sein *K. ar-Rawḍa at-tibbiyya* herausgegeben, eine mit Zitaten antiker Autoren angereicherte Sammlung von fünfzig Definitionen philosophischer und medizinischer Begriffe. Die hier anzuzeigende kleine Schrift ist ähnlich jenem Kompendium um ausführliche Dokumentation der „Lehre der illustren Alten“ (*kalām al-mašhūrīn min al-qudamā'*, S. 22.15 der Edition) bemüht und weist stellenweise auch textliche Überschneidungen mit ihm auf (vgl. besonders sein Kap. 21 *fî mā al-'iṣq*, S. 34-39 Sbath). Dem Titelverzeichnis bei Ibn abī Uṣaybi'a I 148 ist die Schrift ebenso hinzuzufügen wie die von ihr genannten Werke *Fî Ṭibb al-aḥlāq* (S. 38.11) und *Ṭibb an-naṣ' wa-mudāwāt al-aḥlāq* (64.11) — falls die beiden Titel nicht dasselbe Buch meinen —, sowie der im selben Ms. Leiden 1332 erhaltene Kommentar zu der (ps.-) galenischen Schrift *De prohibenda sepultura* (u.d.T. *K. Tahrim dafn al-aḥyā'*).

Der vollständige Titel des vorliegenden Sendschreibens *fî Hall masā'il wa-ṣukūk su'ila 'anhā wa-* (am Schluß: *Hall ṣukūk su'ila bayānuhā wa-taḥbīt) Wuğūb an-naẓar 'alā ṭ-ṭabīb fî l-aḥdāt an-naṣāniyya wa-fī kaww al-'iṣq marāḍan* offenbart seinen Thesencharakter und seine Funktion als Responsum, über dessen Anlaß Abū Sa'id selbst in einer Vorrede (S. 22) Auskunft gibt: eine Debatte nämlich, in Bagdad im Jahre 429/1037, über die wissenschaftliche Autonomie der Medizin, das „Berufsbild“ des Arztes, seine philosophische Kompetenz, insbesondere über die Frage, ob die seelischen Affekte in sein Ressort fallen, und, sozusagen als Testfall, ob die Liebe (*'iṣq*) eine Krankheit sei. Abū Sa'id, um Beistand gegen die Position des (anonymen) Opponenten dieser Ansprüche gebeten, wartet nun mit einer umfangreichen Batterie von Argumenten und Zeugnissen auf, die zusammen ein instruktives Bild vom Stande der zu seiner Zeit schon ehrwürdigen Diskussion um die Funktion der Medizin ergeben.

Das Problem, dem diese Diskussion ihre Langlebigkeit und Virulenz verdankt, ist das des Verhältnisses von Körper und Seele und des entsprechenden Kompetenzstreites zwischen Medizin und Philosophie. Während schon die frühen Schriften des *Corpus Hippocraticum* offenbar mit der gegenseitigen Einwirkung von körperlichen und seelischen Funktionen im Prozeß der Krankheit rechnen

und daher die Beobachtung der seelischen Komponente des Patienten in den Aufgabenbereich des Arztes einbeziehen, setzt die platonische Ethik der Körper-Heilkunde, wie sie praktiziert wurde, eine postulierte Therapie der Seele entgegen, die nach Intention und Methode philosophisch ist und ein Programm sanktioniert, das in aller Schärfe schon von Demokrit (fr. 31 Diels-Kranz) überliefert wird: „Die ärztliche Kunst heilt die Krankheiten des Körpers, die Philosophie (σοφία) befreit die Seele von ihren Leiden.“

Diese Trennung der Zuständigkeiten, die Statuierung einer eigenständigen οὐσία für die Seele bei gleichzeitiger Abwertung der Bedürfnisse des Körpers, hat in ihrer stoisch-christlichen Prägung die Anthropologie der Spätantike und des christlich-islamischen Mittelalters weitgehend bestimmt. Reklamationen von Seiten der Medizin klingen, bis hin zu Abū Sa'īd, defensiv und ständen vielleicht auf verlorenem Posten, gäbe es nicht unübersehbar die Doktrin Galens. Sie rekurriert auf die hippokratische Anschauung der funktionellen Einheit von Körper und Seele und beansprucht, die Affekte und Krankheiten der Seele als humorale Störungen zu erklären und auf diätetischem Wege zu heilen. Ein solches Programm formuliert Galen mit charakteristischem Selbstbewußtsein in der kleinen und bemerkenswerten Monographie *Quod animi virtutes corporis temperamenta sequantur*, deren arabische Übersetzung Abū Sa'īd ausgiebig benutzt, zumal sie schon wertvolle Argumente antiker Autoritäten bequem bereithält — z.B. Platons Spekulationen über die Wirkung der κακοχymia auf die Seele (*Tim.* 86c-87a) und Aristoteles' Bemerkungen zum Zusammenhang zwischen der Konstitution des Blutes und den psychischen Affekten (*De part. anim.* 648a, 650b). Ein kleines Indiz dafür, wie dicht Abū Sa'īd gerade diese Galenschrift vor der Nase hatte, ist eine Stelle (S. 43.2-3), an der im Galentext einem Platon-Zitat die Worte folgen: *fa-anā as'alu l-Aflātūniyyin*, während Abū Sa'īd sich an eben dieser Nahtstelle zu dem Appell inspirieren läßt: *anā as'alu l-munkira 'alā ṭ-ṭabībī nazarahū fī l-aḥdāt an-naṣāniyya* ... Der Autorität Galens sind nicht nur eine lange Reihe von Zitaten verpflichtet (darunter wertvolle Fragmente aus dem VI. Buch des *Epidemienkommentars*, in einem Anhang (S. 66f.) ergänzt um die Fassung des Ms. Escorial 805, und aus dem XI. Buch von *De demonstratione*), sondern auch die Allgegenwart der fachlichen Autorität des Hippokrates — auf Kosten der Platons — (*De plac. Hipp. et Plat.*), einer Autorität, der, nach Abū Sa'īd, sogar Aristoteles folgt, wenn er über die physiognomischen Manifestationen etwa des Zorns oder der Liebe handelt.

Die wenigen Spuren der Galenkritik bei Abū Sa'īd verdienen umso mehr festgehalten zu werden. Zum einen ist sie erkennbar in der impliziten Feststellung, daß auch die Umkehrung der These gilt, die Kräfte (bei Abū Sa'īd „Dispositionen“: *aḥlāq*, ἡθῆ) der Seele seien eine Folge der Mischungen des Körpers (S. 35.2-3, nach der ps.-aristotelischen *Physiognomik*, vgl. den interessanten Kommentar von Hunayn b. Ishāq, 36.20-37.1). Zum andern ließe sich der Abschnitt über die Notwendigkeit für den Logiker, vor seinem Studium der medizinischen Lehrbücher sich der medizinischen Praxis zu widmen (S. 25-27), als bewußte Abwandlung der galenischen These verstehen, *Quod optimus medicus sit quoque philosophus*. So ist denn das Terrain der Seele für die Ärzte ein für alle Mal zurück-

gewonnen, und zwar, wie Abū Sa'īd vergnügt feststellt, mit der Schützenhilfe der Philosophen — also gegen ihre eigenen Interessen (*ṣāhidina 'alā nufūsihim*, S. 39.20), was die Kraft des Arguments nur erhöht. Damit ist auch der Adel (*ṣaraf*) der Medizin gesichert, der ja nicht nur durch die Ansprüche der philosophischen Ethik sondern auch immer wieder durch eine mangelhafte institutionelle Legitimation, das bedeutet, durch alle Formen der Scharlatanerie, gefährdet ist.

Im letzten und längsten Abschnitt seines Sendschreibens (S. 45-65) bestimmt Abū Sa'īd *'iṣq*, die maßlose Liebe, als eine Krankheit. Da es zur Definition von *'iṣq* gehöre, über die natürliche Liebe (*maḥabba ṭabī'iyya*) etwa des Vaters zu seinem Sohn und zu seiner Familie oder die generische Liebe (*maḥabba naw'iyya*) bei Tieren oder die konventionelle Liebe (*maḥabbat al-ḥāḡa*) zwischen Herr und Knecht usw. hinauszugehen, und da andererseits Krankheit sich definieren lasse als ein körperlicher Zustand, der den natürlichen Status verläßt (*ḥāl li-l-badan ḥārīḡa 'an al-amr at-ṭabī'i* u.ä.), sei schon erwiesen *quod erat demonstrandum*. Wo auch immer der Ursprung der Liebeskrankheit zu lokalisieren sei, ob im sinnlich begehrenden (*ṣāḥwānī*) oder im vernünftigen (*nuṣqī*) Seelenteil, ihre Symptome seien charakteristisch und die verschiedenen Arten ihrer Behandlung probat (Ablenkung durch Musik oder Schauspiel, Bäder, Weingenuß usw.); schon die Existenz einer spezifischen Therapie beweise im übrigen, daß *'iṣq* eine Krankheit sei. Die Diagnose dieser Krankheit (besonders eindrucksvoll durch Beobachtung des Pulses) gehöre zu den Wundertaten der ärztlichen Kunst (*mu'ǧizāt aṣ-ṣinā'a*, S. 58.17) und sei geeignet, ihre Gegner zu bekennen und die Jugend zum Medizinstudium zu gewinnen.

In der antiken medizinischen Literatur spielt der Eros als Krankheit neben verwandten Leiden wie Melancholie, Manie und Epilepsie nur eine geringe Rolle. Abū Sa'īd hat die wesentlichen Zeugnisse der griechischen Tradition zusammengetragen: den Artikel περὶ τῶν ἐρῶντων des Paulus von Aegina (III 17, I 160 Heiberg), der, mit Oribasius, dem Thema als einziger Autor zu Handbuch-Ereihen verhilft, die davon angeregten Bemerkungen im *Kunnās* des Ishāq b. Hunayn, Platons Bemerkungen über den Unterschied zwischen sinnlicher Begierde und maßvoller Liebe (*Rep.* 402e-403c), Galens Polemik gegen die „göttliche“ Ätiologie der Epilepsie oder des Eros (*In Hipp. Progn.* 205.28-207.14 Heeg), mit der er auf der Heilbarkeit dieser Krankheit durch den Menschen-Arzt insistiert, die wohlbekannten Berichte über seine Erfolge bei der Pulsdiagnose der Liebeskrankheit (*ibid.* 218.14-219.4 Heeg) und ein ähnliches Genrestück mit den Akteuren Tiyaḍūq und al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ b. Yūsuf, ein Kurzreferat des Mythos aus dem *Symposion* von der sphärischen Urgestalt des Menschen, sowie eine Reihe von gnomischen und anderen Äußerungen (Sokrates, Aristoteles, Themistius) zum Thema, welche eher Reflexe der literarischen Tradition sind (die, auch wenn sie sich medizinisch gibt, schon früh ein eigenständiges Leben führt: vgl. etwa die Aufzählung der konventionellen Symptome der liebeskranken Charikleia und die Überlegungen zu ihrer Heilung in den *Aethiopica* (IV 7) des Heliodorus Emesenus (3. Jh. n. Chr.)). — Leider hat der Herausgeber übersehen, daß mit fol. 98a des Leidener Unicum die Schrift des Abū Sa'īd noch nicht beendet ist. Gleich im Anschluß heißt es nämlich, der Verfasser sei nach Abschluß seiner Arbeit auf ein

Buch gestoßen, aus dem er im folgenden noch weitere bemerkenswerte Zitate antiker und neuerer Autoren zum Thema mitzuteilen habe. Der Name des (mir unbekannten) Verfassers erscheint an zwei Stellen (98a und b) als al-Ḥusayn/al-Ḥasan b. as-Sirrī (?) an-Nuṣaybī/an-Naṣībī, der angegebene Titel *Mā lā yasa'u ṭ-ṭabīb ḡahluḥ* ist uns nur als Pharmakopöe des Yūsuf b. Ismā'il al-Kutubī bekannt. Sie wurde 1311 geschrieben, die Leidener Handschrift ist 717/1318 (nicht 617, wie Klein-Franke liest) datiert: ob der Kopist den formelhaften Titel verwechselt hat? Die im Anhang (fol. 98a-101b) mitgeteilten Pseudepigrapha (unter den Namen Hippokrates, Platon, Mahrārīs al-ḥakīm u.ä.) sollten jedenfalls auch publiziert werden; der Beginn des Appendix ist mitgeteilt und eines der darin enthaltenen Zeugnisse ist herausgegeben und erörtert worden von D. Gutas und dem Rezensenten in der Festschrift für F. Rosenthal.

Klein-Franke hat dem arabischen Text ein Vorwort über dessen sprachliche Eigentümlichkeiten (S. 1-12), ein Siglen- und Literaturverzeichnis (39-45), eine deutsche Übersetzung (unter dem irreführenden Titel „Geschichte der Medizin im Islam“, 47-101), ein Glossar zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungstexten (103-162) und Personen- und Titellindices (163-171), sowie eine *muqaddima* (S. 9-18 des arabischen Teils) beigegeben. Die Einleitung (S. 13-37) behandelt den ideengeschichtlichen Hintergrund der Diskussion, während die sozialgeschichtlichen Bedingungen nur am Rande zur Sprache kommen. Abū Sa'īds Verhältnis zur Tradition wird erörtert — vielleicht mit etwas zu heroischem Resultat, wenn es heißt: „Es war erst Ibn Baḥṭīšū, der die volle Harmonie zwischen Seele und Körper wieder herbeiführte“. (S. 30) Man denke etwa an die ganz ähnlichen standesethischen Konzepte und ihre anthropologischen Prämissen in *Adab at-ṭabīb* des Ayyūb ar-Ruhāwī, in der auch von Abū Sa'īd genannten Schrift *at-Ṭibb ar-ruḥānī* des Rāzī oder in Abū Zayd al-Balḥīs *Maṣāliḥ al-abdān wa-l-anfus*¹⁾. — Gewissen Parteien des Buches ist anzumerken, daß es unter schwierigen Umständen gedruckt worden ist. So sind die Stellenangaben im Vorwort, soweit sie sich auf die Edition beziehen, offenbar unverändert die der Druckvorlage, auch die Zeilenangaben und Querverweise im Apparat führen hin und wieder in die Irre. Einzelne Quellen werden nach verschiedenen Ausgaben zitiert, wie etwa die *Libri septem* des Paulus von Aegina nach der Ausgabe Basel 1538 (S. 33, Anm. 2) und in der Bibliographie (S. 43) nach der ed. Heiberg im *CMG*. Bedauerlich ist auch, daß der Herausgeber namentlich für die Werke Galens auf die Ausgabe von Kühn angewiesen war; an manchen Stellen hätten die neueren Editionen für die Herstellung des arabischen Textes weitergeholfen — beispielsweise im Falle der oben erwähnten, von Abū Sa'īd reichlich zitierten Schrift *Quod an. virt.*, die I. v. Müller in den *Scripta minora* II 32-79, Leipzig 1891, ediert hat und deren arabische Übersetzung in der Ausgabe des Rezensenten (AKM XL, 4, Wiesbaden 1973) vorliegt. Auch in anderen Hinsichten

¹⁾ [Korrektur-Zusatz: Auch die Behauptung, Ibn Baḥṭīšū habe als erster „die Loslösung der Medizin von der Philosophie“ gefordert (S. 30 unten), ist nicht richtig. Die Abhandlung bedient sich philosophischer Argumente und Belege auf Schritt und Tritt und teilt die Konventionen der medizinischen Literatur des islamischen Mittelalters weitgehend.]

wird die Edition der Bedeutung des Textes, die Klein-Franke mit guten Gründen betont, nicht ganz gerecht. Schon die selbstgewählten kritischen Zeichen (S. 19 des arabischen Teils) werden nur halbherzig verwendet, Hinzufügungen des Herausgebers werden sowohl im Text als auch im Apparat, manchmal aber auch nur in einer der beiden Etagen signalisiert, die Marginalien des Kopisten oder eines Lesers mit ihren *ṣahḥa*- und *nusha*-Vermerken sind — bis auf eine Ausnahme — kommentarlos in den Text integriert, die Repräsentation des *rasm* im Apparat ist oft genug überflüssig oder falsch. Die folgenden Bemerkungen beruhen auf einem Vergleich zwischen ediertem Text und Manuskript, die Noten zur Übersetzung erheben keinen Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit. Die Ergebnisse des Vergleichs mögen Quisquilien enthalten (offensichtliche Druckfehler und Differenzen wie *Buqrāt/Abuqrāt* bleiben freilich unerwähnt), sie lassen sich aber, wenn nicht durch das auf S. 1 mobilisierte Pathos Hippolyte (nicht Henri) Taines, so jedenfalls mit der Wichtigkeit des Textes rechtfertigen, für dessen Publikation und Auswertung wir dem Herausgeber zu Dank verpflichtet sind. — Es gelten die folgenden Abkürzungen: A: Kritischer Apparat, E: Edition, M: Manuskript, Qa: arabische Version von Galens *Quod anim. virt.* in der o.a. Edition, Qg: die griechische Edition des Traktats von I. v. Müller, S: Similienapparat, Ü: Übersetzung.

21.2 *ibn* (mit *alif* im M) *Ġibril* — 21.9 *bi-taḡribāt*: plausible Emendation, vgl. aber die (spärlich punktierte) Schreibung ohne *-ta-* im M, ebenso 25.4 und 11, sowie 26.8 — 21.10: *YA* — 22.7-8 *wa-lam ... faylasūf*: fehlt in Ü — 22.10 *wa-dawwana lahū tadbīran*: fehlt in Ü — 22 A 17 'd' M — 23.3 *wa-qāla: qāla* — 23.3 *afāḍil: fā* am Rande des M präzisiert — 23.7 *al-ḥaḡra ra'yuhū* (sicherlich so zu lesen): *al-hidāya* (unpunktiert) M, am Rande ein einzufügendes *r* — 23.13 *naṣṣa: naṣara* — 23.16 *al-'ilm: al-'ālim* — 23.20 *wa-man ... aṣwab*: übersetze „am besten ist es, vor einem solchen Menschen die Flucht zu ergreifen“ (52.21 Ü) — 24.1 *ṣinā'a: einer Kunst* (52.24 Ü) — 24.1 *bihā*: am Rande des M — 25 A 2: 5 — 25.14-15 (55.1-3 Ü): Entweder muß man für das zu ergänzende *verbum dicendi* eine negative Bedeutung ansetzen, oder *an* ist zu *allā* zu emendieren. — 25.14 *aḡzā'* (so sicher richtig): *uḡar* M — 25.17 *yatabayyanu: yubayyinu* (unpunktiert). „Galen hat gesagt (Z. 15) ... was für seinen Leser die Richtigkeit dessen darlegt, was wir gesagt haben“. Die Ü 55.3 harmonisiert den etwas befremdlichen Wortlaut. — 26.5 *baraka*: lies *tarkihī* und übersetze statt des absurden „Daher sollten wir ihn für die segensreiche Mühewaltung rühmen und preisen, mit der er die Dinge erwähnt, die er in Wirklichkeit gar nicht kannte“. (55.19-21 Ü) „... rühmen und preisen dafür, daß er darauf verzichtet (vgl. V 696.13 Kühn), Dinge zu erwähnen, die er nicht wirklich kennt.“ — 26.8 *ḥirfa: ḥrbh* (unpunktiert) M. Ist *taḡribiyya* zu lesen? Vgl. die Bemerkung zu 21.9 — 26.8 *lam yumkin Falāṭūn an yubayyinaḥā* ist asyndetischer Relativsatz (55.-6 Ü). — 26.16 *an yataḥarrakūna: an yuridū (yuridūna M) an yataḥarrakū (yataḥarrakūna M)* — 27.4 *annahū: annahū kāna* — 28.2 *munāqada: fī munāqada* — 28.8 *aṣab*: lies *ḡaḍab* — 28.12 *allaḡina ... mudāwātiḥi*: fehlt in Ü — 28.17 *ṣāra: ḥ'r* M, ist *ḡāza* zu lesen? — 29.4 *al-aḡsan*: so M, sollte man *al-aḡṣan* lesen? — 29.8: *mawḍū'*: *mawḍū'* im Text, *mawḍū'* am Rande des M mit *nusha*-Vermerk — 29.8 *min sā'iri l-wuḡūh*: „in allen

möglichen Hinsichten“ (58.21 Ü) — 29.13 *ammā*: *wa-ammā* — 29.13 *sababan*: „Ursache“ (58.-4 Ü) — 29.17 *fassarū*: Der *rasm* sieht eher wie unpunktiertes *bayyanū* aus, allerdings mit einem *fā* anstelle des *bā*. — 29.18 *wa-l-marāḍiyya*: ergänze „und Krankheit“ in Ü²⁾ — 30.9 *ihdā*: *aḥad* — 30.11 *wa-l-faza*: am Rande des M — 30.12 *wa-š-šidda*: *wa-š-šarah* — 30.13 *ma'ahū*: *ma'ahā* — 30.13 *wa-taḍurru*: am Rande des M — 30.18-19 *al-a'rād* ... *al-amrād*: übersetze „die Symptome von den Ursachen und die Ursachen von den Krankheiten sondern“ (60.4-5 Ü) — 31.1 *wa-š-šidda*: *wa-š-šarah* — 31.10 *huwa*: *wa-huwa* — 31.19, 20, 21; 32.1 *tušabbahu*: *šabiha* — 31.19 *fa-in*: *wa-in* — 32.15 *lāzimun darūri*: fehlt in Ü — 33.1 *tafsir*: so M, lies *wa-tafsir* „und Galens Kommentar“ (62.24 Ü) — 33.4 *bimā*: so M, lies *bihā* — 33.12 *an-naḥṣāniyya*: *an-naḥṣiyya* — 33.16 *al-mudira*: *al-mudabbira* (vgl. 34.3) — 33.21 *bi-qiyāsin wa-naẓar*: übersetze „mit den Mitteln des Analogieschlusses und der Theorie“ (63. ult. Ü) — 34.1 *fi*: *fi awwal* — 34.11-12 *man kāna* ... *kalilan*: Hippocr. *Epid.* II 5, V 130 Littré — 34 A 10: 11, 12, 14 (alle weiteren Zahlen im Apparat dieser Seite plus 1!) — 34.16 *al-ḥidda*: *ḥidda* — 35.3-4 *wa-matā* ... *sahnatu n-naḥṣ*: fehlt in Ü — 35 A 8 *wa-matā*: *wa-min* — 35.11 *al-awāriḍ*: „Akzidentien“ 65.22 Ü — 35.15 *laḥiqa*: so M, zu lesen *laḥiqat*? — 36.1 *tuattiru* ... *al-ḡasadiyya*: übersetze „die seelischen Eigenarten die körperlichen Erscheinungsformen beeinflussen“ (66.5-6 Ü) — 36.3 *wa-naḥṣuhū bāšša*: übersetze „freundliches Gemüt“ (66.10 Ü), was auf die (sinnwidrige) Variante εὐθυμος ο (I 34.12 Foerster) zurückgeht — 36.6 *aḥad* (so richtig): *aḥadan* M — 36.7 *'an*: *yakūnu 'an* — 36.16 *fa-man*: *wa-man* — 37.8 *al-mašlū*: fehlt in Ü — 37.11 *ḡazr*: vielleicht doch *ḡawr*, wie im M? „... entsteht durch das Abziehen der Hitze und des roten Blutes von der Oberfläche des Gesichts und (von) der Abwesenheit beider (Hitze und Blut) im Körper“ (68.1-4 Ü) — 37.14 *al-aḡba*: streiche „angenehmer“ 68.6 Ü — 37.16 *tawliduhū*: *ta'liduhū* M — 37.17 *wa-qillati n-nuḥāma*: übersetze „und dem Mangel an Schleim; dieser geht zurück auf ...“ (68.12-13 Ü) — 37.19 *ar-ra'isiyya*: *ar-ra'isa* — 38.5 *wa-annahum*: *wa-annahumā* — 38.9 *dūna kulli wāḥid*: fehlt in Ü — 38.11 *kayfa* (so richtig): *kbq* M — 38 A 16: 15 — 38 S 15-17: vgl. auch Qa 24.9-11, woraus Abū Sa'īd sicherlich direkt zitiert — 39.1-15: vgl. auch Qa 24.20-23, 25.4-19 — 39.1 *wa-ammā*: *wa-qāla wa-ammā* — 39.5 *naḡidu*: *yaḡibu* — 39.7 *wa-ka-dālika* M: lies *wa-li-dālika*, wie 25.9 Qa (δὲ 53.5 Qg) — 39.9 *inba'ata* M: lies *inba'at*, wie 25.11 Qa — 39.12 *saḥḥanat akṭar*: *aḥanat akṭar* M — 39.12 *fa-taḡūmu*: *fa-taḡūmu min aḡli dālika* — 39 A 13: tilge *at-takmil* — 39.14 *wa-li-dam*: *wa-dam* — 40.1 *qad taḡidu*: *wa-qad naḡidu* — 40.2 *wa-mra'atuhū*: *w'r'h* (die Punkte bedeuten Häkchen ohne diakritische Punkte) M, fehlt 49.4 Qg und 22.9 Qa, wohl als Dittographie zu streichen — 40.5 *al-ayni* ... *li-l-baṣar*: lies, nach 22.12-13 Qa, *al-ayni mina l-qadā awi l-mā'i l-muṣātiri li-l-baṣar* (korrigiere *al-baṣar* in Qa) — 40.9 *taḥūlu* M: lies *taḡūlu*, wie 22.22 Qa (εἰλλόμενοι 49.17 Qg) — 40.15 *ḡakarahū* M: lies *naḡkuruhū*, wie 23.7 Qa — 40.17 *wa-ka-dālika*: *wa-kānat* 23.9 Qa — 40.18 *ḡāhila*: korrigiere entsprechend *bi-aḥla* 23.11 Qa — 40.19-41.1 *ḥāli l-badani*

²⁾ [Korrektur-Zusatz: 29.18 *šibh*: lies *sitta* und übersetze „sechs notwendige Ursachen“ (nämlich die sog. causae non naturales; Ü 59.6-7).]

... *min qibal*: emendiere, nach 23.11-13 Qa, vielleicht ohne *insān* 12 zu *ḥāli l-badani wa-l-lāḍi 'alayhi r-ra'yu fi man kānat ḥāḍihī ḥāluḥū [insānun] sū'un (sayyi'un?) lā min qibali annahū mariḍu n-naḥṣi bal min qibal* — 41.3 *taḥallul*: *taḥallul* 23.15 Qa, μανότητος 50.16 Qg — 42.3 *yub'idūna*: *yanfirūna* M, 34.20 Qa — 42.6-7 *yanbaḡi an*: entbehrlich, vgl. 35.1 Qa — 42.9 *wa-'aqlan*: 35.4 Qa ist entsprechend zu korrigieren — 42.9 *u'allimuhum*: so auch 35.5 Qa zu lesen — 42.10 *wa-mizāḡ*: *wa-amzāḡ* M, 35.6 Qa — 42.13 *urida*: lies, wie 35.11 Qa, *azida* — 42.15 *qāla*: am Rande des M — 42.17-18 *yabtadi'ū l-aḡḍ*: wohl vorzuziehen der Lesart *ya'tudū fi l-aḡḍ* 35.16 Qa — 42.18 *min ḥāli š-šibyāni l-ḡunūniyya* / *min aḡli š-šibyāni l-ḡunūniyya* 35.17 Qa: beide Passagen zu emendieren zu *min aḡli ḥāli* ..., vgl. τὴν ἐμμανῆ εὐλαβοῦμενοι ἔξιν τῶν νέων 68.5 Qg — 42.20 *du'ū*: lies *wa-du'ū* 35.20 Qa — 43.1 *as-salwa* M: *as-suluww* 35.22 Qa, λήθην 68.14 Qg — 43.1 *ḥaytu* ... *an-naḥṣ*: lies, wie 35.22-23 Qa, *wa-ḥubī n-naḥṣi wa-yulīnu ḡasāwata l-aḡlāq* — 43.2 *yulīnu*, *yusayyiruhū*: lies *tulīnu*, *tuṣayyiruhū* — 43.5 *fi l-asnān*: übersetze „in den (verschiedenen) Lebensaltern“ 74.9 Ü — 43.12-14 *mina š-šarri* ... *tuwallidu l-faḍila*: emendiere, nach 37.23-38.2 Qa, zu *mina š-šarārati wa-ḥtiyāra ḡiddihā bi-t-tadbiri bi-l-aḡḍiyati wa-bi-mā yuzāwīlu mina l-a'māli wa-bi-ta'ālīm. fa-ka-mā anna mina l-a'māli wa-ta'ālīmī mā yanfi š-šarārata wa-yuwallidu l-faḍila* — 43.19 *tufṣilu*: *tufsidu* M und 38.16 Qa — 44.3 *laḥū*: steht im M — 45.13 *sabbara*: lies *sabara* — 45.16 *allaḍi* ... *al-iṣq*: am Rande des M, mit *ṣaḥḥa*-Vermerk — 46.9 *man yaḡa'u*: *murtafi* M — 47.9 *wa-huwa*: *wa-hādā* M — 47.10 *bi-l-haliḡa* (vgl. 48.15): scheint *bi-ṣay'in* *mina l-ḡunūn* 8 (μανικὸν Rep. 403a10) zu paraphrasieren, ebenso wie *bi-l-qatam* den Ausdruck *bi-ṣay'in muḡānisin li-l-ḡulma* (συγγενὲς ἀκολασίας ibid.). Ist *halīḡa* synonym mit *halaḡa* „narravit incredibilia“ (Freytag)? — 47 A 11 *nsn*: *nsnn* M — 47.16 *huwa*: *huwa fi* — 47.16-18 *wa-l-insān* ... *al-iṣq*: fehlt in Ü — 48.2-4 *wa-qāla* ... *wa-l-āsiq*: fehlt in Ü — 48 S 6: vgl. D. Gutas, *Greek Wisdom Literature* ..., New Haven 1975, S. 259ff. — 48.8 *at-tasmiya*: *as-sima* M — 48.10 *al-āsiq*: *al-āqil* M — 48 A 14: *dālika* ... *sr* M, zu lesen *bi-ḡidd*? — 49.2 *aṭ-ṭabī'yina*: übersetze „Naturwissenschaftler“ 81.-3 Ü — 49 A 5: lies *zāhirun li-l-hiss* — 49.14 *wa-fasādi t-taḡayyul*: übersetze „des Verfalls der Einbildungskraft“. Die Übersetzung des Folgenden bis Zeile 17 (82.24 bis -2 Ü) ist unklar. — 50.12 *li-faḍli ṣaḥwatihī l-iṣḡiyya*: fehlt in Ü — 50.12 *qāla*: *qāla inna* — 50.20 *ḥāḍi'an*: *ḥāḍi'an mahinan* — 51.6 *wa-'araḍiyyan*: *wa-'araḍan* — 51.10 *yuḡbaḍu*: lies *yafīḍu*, s. 40.16 E — 51.13 *al-ḥāriḡiyya*: *al-ḥāriḡa* — 52.9 *bi-ināṭ*: *bi-unā* M — 52.13 *wa-min ṭinatihī wa-ḡawharihī*: übersetze „und aufgrund seiner (ursprünglichen) Beschaffenheit und seines Wesens“ 86.10 Ü — 52.12-14 *wa-innamā* ... *bihi*: übersetze „Wir haben diese Geschichte für den überliefert, der bezweifelt, daß schon die Alten darüber gesprochen und geschrieben haben, und kritisieren (damit) seine Behauptung (lies *wa-nantaḡidu 'alā ḡawlihī*), niemand von denen, auf die man sich verlassen kann, habe diese Sache erwähnt.“ (86.12-15 Ü) — 52 A 15: *min ba'du* M — 53.5 *fa-innahā* M: lies *fa-innamahū* — 53.14 *allā yaṣtabiḥa*: übersetze „keinen Zweifel zu hegen“ 87.17 Ü — 53.17 *bāḡiyan* (so richtig): *bāḡi* M — 54.2,5 *summiya*: *yusammā* — 54.4 *ilā*: am Rande des M — 54.19 *mālan*: *fa-mālan* — 55.2 *wa-ḡyātiḥā* (so richtig): *wa-'ayiliḥā* (o.ä.) M — 55.13 *yamilu*: am Rande des M, mit *ṣaḥḥa*-Vermerk — 55 A 21:

18 — 56.6 *an-naḡda*: *az-zaḡra* M, wie 55.18 — 56.11,14 *ar-ra'isiyya*: *ar-ra'isa* — 56.13 *mā*: am Rande des M — 57.4 *wa-dālika li-anna*: die Emendierung ist unnötig — 57.17 *simāwiyya*: *as-simāwiyya* — 58.1-7 ist immer noch Galen-Zitat (bis S. 19.12 Kühn). Der gesamten Passage 56.17-58.7 E entspricht 205.28-207.14 Heeg (CMG V 9,2). — 58.1 *min*: *fi* — 58.12 *aḡaqq* (so wohl richtig): *ḡaqq* M — 59.2-14: vgl. dazu den Similienapparat in der Ausgabe von Heeg (s. die Notiz zu 58.1-7), 206-207 — 59.2 *lam*: *yarani*: lies *lam* *yara anni* — 59.3 *wa-andaru*: *fa-andaru* — 59.5 *bnā* M: mit *alif* zu schreiben — 59.7 *'alā*, 8 *manzilihi*, 9 *'alayhi*: alle am Rande des M — 59.19 *aradtiḥā* E (?) : *'rdyth* M, lies *aradtiḥā* — 60.1 *fi šinā'ati ṭ-ṭibb*: fehlt in Ü — 60.9 *mimmā* (so wohl richtig): *mā* M — 60 A 20: zu streichen — 61.2 *mā fi l-aḡḍi ṭabib*: übersetze „es gibt auf der Welt keinen Arzt, der ...“ (96.16 Ü) — 61.4 *yūḡālu*: *yūḡālu laḥū* — 61.7 *sammi* (so richtig): *sammi* M — 61.10 *al-ḡawār* M: *al-ḡawāri* — 61 A 19: zu streichen — 62.10 *yadiḡqu*: übersetze „schwache“ 98.12 Ü, λεπτῇ I 160.22 Heiberg — 62.17-18 *wa-ammā* ... *minhum*: übersetze „Was die neuzeitlichen Gelehrten betrifft, so haben viele von ihnen sich darüber geäußert.“ (98.-7 Ü) — 62.19 *taḥuddu*: lies *taḡidu* wie 98.-6 Ü — 62.19 *wa-kāna* ... *ḡinan*: fehlt in Ü³⁾ — 63.10-15: vgl. *Firdaws al-ḡikma* 90. letztes Wort — 91.7 *Siddiqi* — 64.8 *aryāḥ* (so richtig): *irtiyāḥ* M — 64.10 *wa-iḡā*: *fa-iḡā* — 64 A 18,11: 10 — 64.11 *wa-l-ilāḡu minhu ziyādatun fihi*: übersetze „ihre (der Liebeskrankheit) Behandlung führt nur zu ihrer Verstärkung“ (101.3-4 Ü) — 64.13 *al-fikar*: lies *al-fikr* „das Denken“ (so einigemale schon vorher).

Bochum, Februar 1981

H. H. BIESTERFELDT

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Emilie SAVAGE-SMITH, et Marion B. SMITH, *Islamic Geomancy and a Thirteenth-Century Divinatory Device*, Malibu (Californie), Undena Publications, 1980 (23 cm., ix-91 p., 11 pl. + tableaux) = *Studies in Near Eastern Culture and Society* 2. G. E. von Grunebaum Center for Near Eastern Studies — University of California — Los Angeles. ISBN 0 89003 038 2.

La géomancie, ou plus précisément l'art d'interpréter les traits ou les points tracés sur le sol (sable ou poussière), qu'en Occident, on a désigné quelquefois par *astrologia terrestris*¹⁾, titre que précise celui d'un anonyme intitulé *Neusten Punktierbüchlein*²⁾, a joué tout au long du Moyen-Age d'un grand prestige en Occident. Les auteurs y font une brève allusion, dans la note 1. (p. 1) et dans la note 28

³⁾ [Korrektur-Zusatz 62.20 und 63.16 *Iṣḡāq b. Ḥunayn*: Ü 98 unten und 99 unten hat die Namen vertauscht.]

¹⁾ Cf. Nic. Catani, *Geomantischer Schöpfungstuhel*, Freystadt 1715, à propos de l'ouvrage d'[Abū] 'Alī b. 'Umar dont l'écrit a été traduit de l'arabe en italien et en allemand (Steinschneider, *Europ. Übersetz.*, II,3, n° 133).

²⁾ Berlin, E. Bartels, 1850, pour que l'adjectif *terrestris* ne soit pas pris dans le sens de phénomène géologique que laisse entendre la définition de la divination donnée par Varron (citée dans l'ouvrage recensé, p. 1, n. 1).

(p. 8). Outre les écrits mentionnés, à savoir Hugo Sanctalansius (XII^e), traducteur de l'arabe d'un écrit intitulé en latin: *Super artem geomantie*³⁾, Gérard de Crémone, traducteur de l'arabe d'un autre écrit intitulé en latin: *Liber geomantiae de artibus divinentibus (divinatoriis, etc.) qui incipit: (a) estimaverunt Indi*⁴⁾, le *Liber Alfodhol*⁵⁾, l'*Experimentarius* de Bernard Sylvestre de Tours (XII^e s.), traducteur d'une géomancie suivant les 28 mansions lunaires, dont il existe de nombreux manuscrits⁶⁾, il convient de rappeler, pour illustrer la vogue de cet art divinatoire en Occident médiéval, la traduction de l'œuvre du principal géomancien arabe, Abū 'Abdallāh az-Zanātī, du persan en vers grecs, par le moine Arsenius en 1266⁷⁾, et la multiplication des écrits géomantiques médiévaux, portant souvent des noms illustres, tels Martin d'Espagne, Bartholomée de Paris, Michael Scot, Bartholomée de Parme⁸⁾, Rolandus Scriptoris⁹⁾, Nicolas Monvel¹⁰⁾, sans compter les écrits anonymes¹¹⁾. Que la géomancie était considérée comme une science foncièrement arabe, en témoignent les noms, souvent inidentifiables, des auteurs auxquels sont attribués les écrits du genre. Le traité attribué au géographe Ptolémée, intitulé *De reductione geomantiae ad orbem*, traduit par Bernard Gordon, le 22 déc. 1295, commence par cette phrase: *Incipit arcanum magni dei revelatum tholomeo regi Arabum* ...¹²⁾, si grande était la renommée des Arabes dans ce domaine. Les noms d'Alkardianus ou alchandiandus¹³⁾, Alcherinus¹⁴⁾, Alpharinius filius Abrahae Judeus¹⁵⁾, Albedatus ou Albedachus¹⁶⁾, Salcharie (ou Falcharie) Albassarith (= al-Baṣrite)¹⁷⁾, Abdalla filius Ali¹⁸⁾, Candas Astrologus¹⁹⁾ attestent cette renommée.

³⁾ dont Tannery donna une édition partielle dans *Mémoires scientifiques*, IV/1920, 373-402 (cf. Thronike, *Catalogue*, 127). On lui prête un autre titre: *Liber geomantiae* (Tannery, *loc. cit.*, 405-409; Thronike, *Catalogue*, 515). Le prologue en a été édité par Haskins, in *Studies in the History of Medieval Science*, 78-9. Sur l'identification de l'original arabe, cf. Tannery, in CRAIBL 25/1897, 519 (probablement at-Tarābulṣī).

⁴⁾ Dont il existe un ms. à Oxford, Bodl. Angl. I, 80, n° 1675, ms. Digby, 74. Le texte fut édité parmi les œuvres d'Agrippa (cf. Steinschneider, *op. cit.* 30, n° 84).

⁵⁾ Ou Alfadhoul (= al-Faḍl) de Merengis, astrologue de Marāgha (voir, sur les écrits qui lui sont attribués, Thronike, in *Speculum*, 2/1927, 326-31; 4/1929, 90; 22/1945, 88-90). Il s'agit vraisemblablement d'al-Faḍl b. Nawbaḥt, astrologue à la cour 'abbāside, qui acquit une solide renommée dans ce domaine.

⁶⁾ M. B. Savorelli, in *Rivista critica di storia della filosofia*, 14/1959, 283-342.

⁷⁾ Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, 7, n° 22.

⁸⁾ Thronike, *Catalogue*, 583.

⁹⁾ Auteur d'un *Compilatorium artis geomantiae* (ib., 146).

¹⁰⁾ Cf. Wickersheimer, *Dict. biogr. des médecins en France au Moyen Age*, 574a; Thronike, *op. cit.*, 1080.

¹¹⁾ Thronike, *op. cit.*, index, p. 1807.

¹²⁾ Ib., 727, 1032.

¹³⁾ Ib., 324.

¹⁴⁾ Ib., 485.

¹⁵⁾ Auteur d'une *geomantia*, traduite par Platon de Tivoli (ib., 568). Il semble qu'il s'agit du même écrit édité à Vérone, en 1687 et 1704, sous le titre: *Alfakini arabici filii Quaestiones geomanticae a Platone in latinum translatae ex antiquo ms. ...*, in *Fasciculus geomanticus*. Steinschneider (64b) l'identifie avec Abizarch (= Ibn Abī Zar').

¹⁶⁾ Devin du roi de Perse (Thronike, 399; cf. 728, 7, 30; 845).

¹⁷⁾ Auteur d'une géomancie astrologique, traduite de l'hébreu par Salio, chanoine de Padoue, à Tolède, le 27 fév. 1218 (1 folio). Cf. *Speculum*, 32/1957, 116-7; Thronike, *op. cit.*, 665.

¹⁸⁾ Il s'agit de 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Alī b. Masuphi (= Maḥṣūfi) b. al-Munāḡḡim (Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, II, 1, n° 125), auteur d'une *geomancia*.

¹⁹⁾ Auteur de trois écrits: le *Liber de figura Almandal* (al-mandal),

La littérature géomantique est aussi abondante en arabe qu'en latin. Elle révèle deux tendances fondamentales : la première prend en considération le nombre des points et fait intervenir des raisonnements mathématiques. L'étude de Robert Jaulin²⁰) illustre cette tendance. La seconde fait une grande place aux considérations astrologiques et astronomiques, l'étude que nous recensons en est une parfaite illustration.

Les principes qui régissent la géomancie ont été largement développés dans les écrits que nous connaissons ; manquait une description pratique. Il y a la pratique populaire qui réduit l'art géomantique à sa plus simple expression et le banalise ; mais jusqu'ici, il était difficile de mettre en pratique toutes les données scientifiques requises pour une utilisation rationnelle des principes de l'art géomantique. La tablette décrite et étudiée dans cet ouvrage fournit une idée précise sur le procédé d'exploitation des données combinées de l'art géomantique et de l'astrologie. Il faut rendre hommage aux auteurs qui ont réussi à déchiffrer tous les éléments qui figurent au *recto* et au *verso* de cette tablette, lesquels résument tout ce qu'il faut faire et savoir pour manipuler cet ingénieux dispositif.

Après une introduction (pp. 1-10), où ils font le point sur la littérature géomantique dans d'abondantes annotations, les auteurs formulent (pp. 11-14) le principe suivant lequel est conçue cette tablette : il s'agit de quatre figures principales (les *ummahât*) dont découlent douze figures secondaires (les *banât*), constituant ainsi seize figures, mises en correspondance avec les mansions lunaires (cf. p. 32 sqq.), partant du principe de l'action des astres sur les diverses parties du corps humain et de l'influence des constellations sur les diverses contrées du globe. Ce qui permet, aux yeux des astrologues et géomanciens, de prévoir le sort des hommes et de prédire les révolutions et les guerres.

Le chapitre 3 (pp. 15-58) qui constitue l'ossature de cette étude, est consacré à une description détaillée de la tablette : c'est un dispositif métallique, conservé au Département des Antiquités Orientales du British Museum, qui est d'une facture remarquable, signée par un certain Muḥammad b. Khutlukh al-Mawṣilī et datée de 634/1241-42. Les auteurs tentent d'identifier l'artiste et Muḥammad al-Muḥtasib al-Bukhārī qui lui commanda la tablette et dans la boutique (*buayt*) duquel le travail a été réalisé (pp. 15-21) ; puis ils donnent une description détaillée de tous les éléments dont se compose la tablette (les petits cadrans, les arcs mobiles, le large cadran central, les quarts de cercle, le revers) et les nombreuses inscriptions qui y figurent. C'est une analyse minutieuse, illustrée par des planches et des tableaux. La lecture des inscriptions présente de sérieuses difficultés, en dépit de la beauté de l'écriture kûfite utilisée, certaines chevilles s'intercalant dans le corps des mots. En général, les inscriptions sont bien lues et bien traduites. Quelques-unes, cependant, pourraient être améliorées. Par ex., pour ce qui concerne les désignations des

16 figures géomantiques (p. 24), la première, *al-jamâ'a*, devrait être traduite par "place publique" et non "groupe d'hommes" (à comparer avec le nom de la place centrale de Marrakech : Jema'a' el-fnâ). La figure XV (*ijtimâ'*) contient le sens de "réunion" et celui de "liaison". La XIII^e figure, lue *aurâ'* pourrait être lue *audâ'* (dépôts) ; *jaudala* (XIV^e) pourrait équivaloir à *mujâdala* (discussion, dispute). Je lis 'atba et non 'ataba, au sens de 'itâb, *mu'ataba* (blâme, reproche). *Dâkhil* indique un événement familial, domestique, alors que *khârij* désigne un événement extrafamilial. *Inkîs* (X^e) équivaut à *intikâs* (échec) et *jarîq* (II^e) à *safar* (voyage).

Dans l'inscription n° 6 (p. 71), on pourrait lire : فتميز au lieu de فتنيز, حذ au lieu de حد, موضع au lieu de وضع.

Dans l'inscription n° 9 (p. 71), on pourrait lire : كتابي au lieu de كتابي, طياني au lieu de طياني, الحسن au lieu de الحسن, في au lieu de في.

P. 33, n.c. : le féminin ne serait pas fautif, si on lisait le pluriel (a)s'ud.

P. 46 : sémantiquement parlant, il existe un rapport entre réunissent et pondent les autruches.

P. 4, n° 9 : *barîd* est plutôt le *veredus* latin.

Malgré la difficulté de l'entreprise, les auteurs ont réalisé une excellente recherche. Il aurait été souhaitable, cependant, de mettre cette tablette en rapport avec la *zâ'irja* (cf. notre *Divination*, p. 243sqq.). Deux écrits géomantiques nous y invitent :

— 'Umar al-Khiṭā'i, Zayn ad-Dīn, *al-Jadâwil az-zuhariyya fî idâh 'ilm ar-raml wa-z-zâ'irja l-khafiyya* (ms. Ghotha 1317, Land. Br. 476; cf. GAL S II, 1041).

— Ahmad b. 'Abd as-Salâm ash-Sharîf as-Saqalî (!) at-Tunisi qui écrivit, sous Abû l-Fâris 'Abd al-'Azîz al-Hafṣî (796-837/1394-1433) à Tunis, un ouvrage intitulé : *Kanz al-asrâr al-khafiyya fî ahkâm az-zâ'irja l-ramliyya* (Bank. XXII, 126, 2457; cf. GAL SII, 367; III, 1279).

Il n'est pas impossible que ces écrits puissent projeter de nouvelles lumières sur le contenu de cette tablette.

Strasbourg, février 1981

T. FAHD

* *

Duncan HALDANE, *Mamluk Painting*. Warminster, Aris and Philips, England, 1978 (30 cm., pp. xii, 108). Price : £ 15.00. ISBN 0 85668 118 0.

Dr Duncan Haldane, in setting out to provide a basic catalogue of Mamluk illustrated manuscripts, gives descriptions of thirty-one manuscript (or more properly, thirty; for his Kuwaiti item is part of the same manuscript as that listed under the Freer Gallery of Art). They are arranged under alphabetic order of their location accompanied by reproductions of miniatures from all but seven of these manuscripts. It might be suggested that an arrangement by the text illustrated and in chronological order within those headings might have been more helpful to the reader, especially since it is made clear that different traditions are exemplified in the three principal categories of subject which are distinguished; the *Maqamat* of Hariri; the *Kalila wa Dimna*; and the scientific treatises and manuals of military training. In the latter connection it

may be mentioned that one of the manuscripts described but not illustrated, of the *Nihâyat al-Su'l* (B.L. Add 18866) has since formed the subject of special study by Geoffrey Tatum in a volume on Islamic Arms and Armour, edited by Robert Elgood and published in London in 1979 (pp. 187-201).

The late Dr Richard Ettinghausen in his pioneer study of Arab Painting (1962) wrote of the Bahri Mamluks (1250-1390) as the 'last Arab dynasty with a sustained style of miniature painting', though he added that they were 'the most rigidly composed miniatures in the Islamic world'. Dr Haldane does not attempt any formal defence of the school, though he claims that its style is 'spirited and memorable'; showing a 'remarkable clarity through simplification of compositions to their most basic essentials' and corresponding to the hieratic formality and rigidity of Mamluk society. His line of approach is analytic, tracing the various elements present in this art to their sources and identifying contributions from the native Syrian tradition, the earlier schools of Arab painting in Mesopotamia and influences from Persia and the Mongols.

He follows Dr Buchthal in recognising Islamic influence on the non-iconographic characteristics of the Christian Syriac manuscripts of North Syria and Mesopotamia but fails to press home the antiquity of some of the features inherited by the Mamluk school. The framing of miniatures and the use of gold or colour as a background is a heritage from pre-Islamic East Mediterranean art, to be seen in the Codex Rabulensis of A.D. 586 and other North Syrian works of that period (e.g. Bib. Nat. Add 14591), in which decorative frames surround the crosses that decorate the opening and closing pages. This tradition was renewed in the twelfth century and culminates in the two Gospel books of c. 1220 in the Vatican Library (Syr 559) and the British Library (Add 7170). The fact that both R.P. Jules Leroy and Buchthal recognise the islamisation of the decoration in these two manuscripts does not destroy their basic heritage as framed pictures clearly separated from the text, in contrast to the open page found in the Arab schools of Baghdad and Mosul. Haldane cites Persian practice in framing the miniature and colouring the ground; but there is an important distinction to be drawn; after the Il-Khanid period no Persian miniature is framed; it is delimited by ruled lines only; while gold is indeed used freely for the depiction of skies but never as a general ground to a miniature. The only uses of decorative frames in Iran occur in the Edinburgh manuscript of al-Biruni dated 1307, *Athar al-Baqiya 'an al-Qur'un al-Khaliya* (Chronology of Ancient Nations) in which three miniatures have frames enhanced with gold pearl borders; and the 'Demotte' *Shah-nama* of 1330-36, two miniatures in which show coloured frames. Although neither of these famous manuscripts has a documented place of origin, there is little doubt that both were produced in the Il-Khanid capital of Tabriz or possibly in one of their other main centres in Azarbaijan, and in any case where Christian models abounded. It must be stressed however that these framed miniatures differ in no way from the other illustrations to these two manuscripts which are in quite different traditions, the al-Biruni turning westwards towards Mesopotamia and the *Shahnama* eastwards towards China.

The gold background of Mamluk miniatures on the

other hand tends to stress their formal, decorative character which is enhanced by the decorative frames applied to some miniatures between 1337 and 1400. The use of architecture to form a kind of framework, as noted by Haldane, is already seen in some Mesopotamian *Maqamat* manuscripts and is also evident in some of the Demotte *Shahnama* miniatures; but it does not serve the same purpose of separating miniature from text.

A useful feature of Haldane's book is his pursuit of Kurt Holter's analysis of textile patterns to be found in the Mamluk miniatures. These are distinguished under three categories; first, and oldest, the scroll-fold system for rendering dress-folds, which though now quite flat is, strictly speaking, not a dress pattern at all. It had been transmitted from classical art through the frozen folds of Christian manuscripts of early thirteenth century Northern Mesopotamia to become by at least 1337 a completely stylised system in Mamluk art, conforming to its rigid system of design. This is most directly exemplified in the second, or geometric system of design whose hexagons and interlace conform to patterning in all Mamluk arts from silks to wood and metalwork.

The third type of pattern is the all-over floral arabesque scrollwork, which had been the main dress design in the Arabic manuscripts of the Baghdad school and is also frequently found in illumination as a background pattern right through the Mamluk period. In fourteenth century manuscripts all three of these types of dress patterning are to be seen, sometimes, as in the *Maqamat* of c. 1300 in the British Library (Add 2214), in a single one.

Haldane has little to say about the landscape elements. He notes the form of plant with large coloured leaves and lotus blossoms, found especially in the Bodley (Marsh 458) and Vienna (A.F.5) Hariri manuscripts of 1337 and 1334, both attributed to Egypt and betraying a Mongol or Far Eastern origin, but 'probably transmitted indirectly through Persian paintings of around 1300' (unspecified). In fact this feature is far more conspicuous in Marsh 458 than in the Vienna manuscript, though both frontispieces include figures wearing Mongol hats, as Ettinghausen has pointed out. In Marsh 458 (on folios 40b, 67b, 77b, 85b and above all 92a), these scrolling plants with lotus flowers are a conspicuous element; in the last including also another exotic tree. The Mesopotamian thirteenth century trees are much more stylised and less naturalistic; the only Persian miniatures which show this feature are of the Shiraz school of 1333, and therefore almost exactly contemporary. The influence of Mongol/Il-Khanid art in the Mamluk area is too big a question to be treated here; it was fundamental, in spite of their mutually hostile stance. It is worth noting that lotus scrolls appear on a costume design in the Chester Beatty Library manuscript of 1366 (pl. 5).

In the applied arts its use is much commoner; as on enamelled glass mosque lamps, flask and footed bowl in the British Museum (*Masterpieces of Glass*, 1968, 154, 155, 159). R. Pinder-Wilson points out that many mosque lamps of this type were made for the *madrasas* of ibn Qala'un and Sultan Hasan in Cairo between 1300 and 1362. Inlaid metal vessels made for Mamluk amirs and Sultans c. 1300 to 1350 show this flower in Chinese form (D.S. Rice, BSOAS, 1953, pls. V, before 1362), Atil, 1975, pl. 78; Wiet, 1930, no. 55; Keir collection, no. 155; The

le *Liber novum annulorum* et le *Liber de tribus figuris spirituum* (Thronike, 190, 833, 1481). Le dernier rappelle par son titre les *Muḥallaṭât* d'Ibn Maḥfûf al-Munagḡim (m. avant 664/1265) qui, avec az-Zanâfî, est l'un des premiers codificateurs de l'art géomantique arabe.

²⁰) La géomancie : analyse formelle, Paris, 1966 (École Pratique des Hautes Études-Cahiers de l'Homme, n.s., vol. IV).

Arts of Islam, London, 1976, no. 224). In the applied arts however the lotus appears more often as a single bloom and not in a scroll design. Even in manuscript illumination of 1363-76 where lotus and peony flowers decorate a frame in continuous sequence they are drawn as a series of repeated flowers and not as a running scroll.

Haldane remarks on the Mongol appearance of some of the figures in the Mamluk miniatures; he does not however recall in this context that many of the Mamluks were in fact of Qipchak race, imported as slaves through the market at Sivas from areas north of the Black Sea, and ultimately from the area of the Golden Horde on the Volga. It is true also that there was an evident fashion among the Mamluk amirs for Mongol dress and accoutrements.

One of the most attractive later Mamluk illustrated manuscripts is the *Kashf al-Asrar* in the Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul (Lala Ismail 565) on the animal kingdom and plants. Following Ettinghausen, Haldane sees Persian influence in the symmetry and decorative quality of these miniatures, though he rightly revises Ettinghausen's date for the manuscript of mid 14th century to early fifteenth. The architecture represented is however distinctively Syrian, so that an Egyptian provenance appears improbable. As to Persian influence there seems to be no connection with the style of Shiraz; if any influence from Iran is to be seen it must surely be with Baghdad, then of course within Persian cultural sphere. The closest connections for these miniatures with their framing spandrels and semé of tufted plants is surely with the *Kitab al-Bulhan* manuscripts in the Bodleian and Keir collections of 1399-1400, which show some resistance from the native tradition of manuscript painting to the new Jalayr style strongly based on the school of Tabriz. The rigidity and symmetry of the Süleymaniye miniatures is certainly Mamluk rather than Persian, developing tendency already visible in the Escorial *Manafi al-Hayawan* of 1354.

Dr Haldane is to be congratulated on identifying a subject which badly needs further study and we should be grateful for his pioneer work.

Abingdon, February 1971

BASIL GRAY

* *

Marcel A. BOISARD, *L'humanisme de l'Islam*. Paris, Albin Michel, 1979 (1980) (21 cm., 440 p.). ISBN 2 226 00800 4.

M. Boisard has for a dozen years been the representative of the International Red Cross in several Arab countries. He codirects training programmes in diplomacy in Geneva. His concern is with an international order — not economic but moral and perhaps legal — to prevail under present circumstances, now that most of the world is responding to the wane of Western dominance. It is in this perspective that he ventures upon a presentation of Islam as a religious-social-cultural system and as a norm-oriented life style. In so doing he makes a major effort to steer clear of the distortions that will mar such

presentations as a result of Western ethnocentrism. There exists by now something like a standard list of traps to avoid, and M. Boisard observes it diligently. The trouble with ethnocentrism is that its symptoms are as many tips of the proverbial iceberg. Underneath are the tacit pre-suppositions: and that is what really matters. The question could, indeed should, be asked whether the concept of a universal humanism as the mainstay of an international order is Western-inspired, and if so, to which extent. Depending on the answer, the further question arises whether a presentation of Islam in this perspective could be properly congenial to Islamic thought and living. Neither question is asked, let alone addressed. This reviewer is not aware of instances of Muslim authors addressing Muslim readerships with presentations of the teachings of Islam keyed into terms of humanism or whatever be its properly Islamic terminological equivalent. M. Boisard himself shows remarkable restraint — for quite good reason — where he inquires into an Islamic theological anthropology. Under the circumstances, the answer to the second question is neither self-evident nor, to this reviewer's mind, to be taken for granted: as M. Boisard does.

To a large extent, the arrangement of M. Boisard's presentation follows the more or less standard patterns of Western scholarship. The chapter headings tend to hide this somewhat where they fall in with current French custom, of turning the oblique catchy phrase: evocative profundness in danger of turning out elusive. The opening chapter deals with the prophetic message and doctrine. The next two chapters look at man: individual and collective, respectively. The one on the individual wrestles with substitutes for a theological anthropology that has necessarily remained rudimentary under the impact of tauhid: human rights as corollaries to obligations, the condition of women and that of slaves (in the latter context the opportunity for a penetrating discussion of liberty in the Islamic sense is passed up), and justice in alleged interplay with charity. The chapter on the community (the term "collective man" does not seem to have been very carefully weighed), presents umma and khalifate, universalism and its significance as regards the outside world. The next chapter, not quite so traditional in general surveys but rather recalling important monographic work, attempts a conspectus of Islamic ethics. In it, the heading "patience" takes the sting out of the Western-centric debate about alleged Muslim fatalism, and "effort" — correct term — does the same for "holy war"; in the same vein, violence features under the sway of magnanimity. In a way, the subject matter of this chapter is expanded by references, throughout the book, to moderation and social control (admonition to do what is recommended and dissuasion from doing what is forbidden). The presentation is rounded off in the usual fashion, by a rapid survey of current trends in Islamic thought. An epilogue repeats M. Boisard's motivating concern and attempts to tie it to Islamic features picked from the preceding presentation.

In doing a presentation of something so vast as Islam, it is proper to ask what exactly is going to be presented. M. Boisard poses the question and answers it by proposing to avoid both the systematic and tightly argued presentation of the norm as an ideal image, and the broad description of actual practice in its astounding diversity

and complexity. He thus seems bound for a middle course: in line, perhaps unwittingly, with what he repeatedly argues Islam recommends most. The question is what this middle course amounts to. To the orientalist-islamologist of Western background it would mean having recourse to the astounding wealth of the literature of Islam in the languages of Islam: writings by Muslims for Muslims; and, in face of such wealth, his problem would be how to achieve a firm hold. Not so for M. Boisard. He relies on a rich collection of Western sources, and of works by Muslims that have appeared in or been translated into Western languages, notably French. Amongst these, works intentionally sympathetic to Islam as a creed and as a praxis receive preference to serve as source materials. Besides, there are occasional, inevitably eclectic, quotations from the Qur'an in some French translation. It is this preference for the rounded presentation on the basis mostly of secondary sources that places M. Boisard's work directly in line with the kind of apologetics with which more or less superficially westernized Muslims will reassert their Islamic identity in face of the West as they perceive it. Indeed it puts it into one basket with works by certain sympathisants and converts such as F. Schuon. This is a hazardous position to say the least, both in view of the intended Western readership and with regard to the Muslims who should find themselves adequately portrayed. Indeed it is potentially false, inasmuch as sympathy thus expressed can hardly avoid posing as identification, and the outsider's observation as total immersion. The issue does not really come to a head thanks to M. Boisard's elegant, somewhat wordy style of careful phrasing and rephrasing. If problem this causes, it is rather that diplomacy will from time to time verge on benevolence.

The crucial problem, in this presentation as in any, is that of the discontinuity between the two frames of reference: the Islamic one and the Western one. Neither is effectively timeless; neither is firmly defined. Still, the value of the cross-cultural presentation depends upon the degree to which it remains faithful to the original setting and is comprehensible in that of its addressees. In this respect, the focussing on humanism appears as a drawback rather than as an advantage. It places the burden of the exercise on the subject matter that is to be presented, as a passive object, rather than on the intelligence and empathy of the addressees. Like practically everybody else, M. Boisard has relied, much more than is really admissible, on presenting Islam in terms of what it is not: through comparison, and the noting of similarities and differences, with things Western. But even in the many passages where he tries to describe it in its own terms and for its own sake, there is an overlay of suggested or anticipated awe that, in recalling the mood of the Enlightenment, risks detracting from rather than enhancing the proper conveyance of the message.

This reviewer finds himself in strong and cordial agreement with M. Boisard where he postulates that in the international order we all long for, the level and impact of the dialogue between the Western and Islamic civilizations needs significant improvement. He salutes this book as a purposive and honest attempt in this direction. He hopes that the analysis of the merits and weaknesses of this and similar books will contribute to the further

clarification of the proper method by which to improve dialogue as communication.

Cairo, March 3, 1981

C. A. O. VAN NIEUWENHUIJZE

* *

John L. ESPOSITO, ed., *Islam and Development, Religion and Socio-political Change*, Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1980 (23 cm., xxii + 268 p.). ISBN 0-8156-2229-5 hardcover \$ 20.00, ISBN 0-8156-2230-9 paper \$ 9.95.

From time to time one wonders whether so many collective volumes would have to appear if more periodicals would accommodate papers of varying sizes and styles in thematic issues. The non-book is perhaps attractive to the editor, who gets his name on the cover, and to a group of scholars whose common interest happens not to be favoured by the editors of the periodicals in their field. With the thematic periodical issue it shares the problem of achieving an acceptable level of cohesion and that of having to be fashionable.

In this case, one seems to deal with a group of more or less like-minded persons, many of them younger academics, not nearly all of them in orientalist establishments. They share a common interest or concern, curiously not signalled by the book's title, namely the so-called resurgence of Islam. "(...) the scholarly community (Orientalists and Social Scientists) have been surprised by Islamic revivalism" (p. 9). The term 'resurgence' features in the title of Ch. 9.

Clearly this is the latest fashion in U.S. academia, and there can be little doubt that credit for its introduction goes to Imam (no longer Ayatollah) Khomeini.

Nor is there any doubt that those now intent on developing this new reading of the Islamic Orient have had to re-orient themselves to it: having been preoccupied hitherto with the previous fascination in academic circles, inspired by a different reading of the same Islamic Orient. The catchwords of this earlier mood remain very visible throughout this volume: modernization, secularization, and, of slightly more recent vintage, identity. Indeed, one of the papers seems to lag behind the rest precisely in remaining trapped in the previous mood: for no obvious reason unless Senegal would be proven to be such a backwater that there the tide of resurgence of Islam could not yet have reached.

The question to arise, of course, is whether the change in outlook to which these American (including, of course, some expatriate Arabs, properly adjusted to the U.S. scene) writers give diverse expression corresponds to an at least equally significant turn of the tide in the world of Islam. This is an issue about which one could conveniently and amusingly dispute: arguing, for instance, that Khomeini is a freak development, however shocking; or that one additional fundamentalist movement in Egypt, or for that matter a counter-punk fashion for young ladies, are not necessarily of critical significance.

The point here is, simply, that neither the editor nor any of his collaborators has raised the question, let alone

answered it. Is it necessary to add that similar ease of scholarly manner is shown with regard to such crucial questions as the way Islam and the prevailing order are or are not distinguishable?

The thematic organization of this collection appears somewhat elusive. There are, first, two pieces of a broad nature, more or less distantly echoing the new assertive tone in which the mood of Islamic apologetics and that of the Third World Forum seem to be in close harmony. One is on political, the other on economic matters; neither goes much beyond principles as more or less gratuitous assertions. Then follow pieces on various countries: two on Egypt, and one each on Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Malaysia, Nigeria and Senegal (omitting, as usual, Indonesia, the country inhabited by more Muslims than any other); subjects selected for each vary nominally, but the underlying concern is resurgence. For descriptive purposes, resurgence is a convenient theme, as it will accommodate quite a few facts, properly marshalled, by way of illustrations. Unfortunately, such description is not necessarily cogent proof that, first, resurgence is predominant, and, secondly, amounts to more than a normal swing of some pendulum.

Perhaps the authors did not feel the need to address this more fundamental issue. Their presentations suggest that the book addresses a fairly broad public; and so does the easy, occasionally almost careless, use of technical-sounding terminology. Academic titles for authoritativeness; a kaleidoscopic presentation of bits and snippets of information; problems made to appear as trends or developments; conflicts as signs of transition; a theme to connect it all according to the demands of fashion: — a book as a television programme. The public, in being served, may yet be shortchanged.

This is not merely a period of fads: it is also a period of concern about fads and image-making. The modus vivendi between expatriate Arabs and Zionist-leaning Jews that has for some decades put its imprint on U.S. oriental studies has caused a number of salient issues to be ignored or soft-pedaled and, according to some, put the causes of Arabs and other Muslims in an unfavourable light. Here for once a group of authors have come together whose outlook seems rather congenial to Arab standpoints. Still, to the extent they fall in with fashion and present Islam — indeed some fundamentalist and xenophobic variant of a sociocultural complex bearing the imprint of Islam — as resurgent, their ultimate effect, if any, will be to resuscitate and reinforce what Rodinson has recently exposed as the ever-lingering medieval-European image of Islam as a threat to Christendom, indeed to civilization (as the West sees it). Their chances to succeed in this regard, whether intentionally or not, are the better as they have chosen to address the public at large. No stronger fad than the one that builds on atavism.

The Hague, March 1981

C. A. O. VAN NIEUWENHUIJZE

* * *

Raphael ISRAELI (Ed.), *The Public Diary of President Sadat*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1978-79 (25 cm., 3 vols.) = Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East. Études sociales, économiques et politiques du Moyen Orient, vol. 25. Price, Part I: fl. 112.-; Part II: fl. 112.-; Part 3: fl. 140.-. ISBN 90 04 05701 3.

Speeches of political leaders are made to mean (or to hide) something. Therefore it is always worthwhile listening to what political leaders have to say, and consequently interpreting their words in the light of the prevailing circumstances, of recent events, and of possible long-term policy.

Mr. Israeli has collected in these three volumes (and 1385 pages; index to p. 1425) the essentials of some 344 speeches and statements of Egypt's President Anwar al-Sadat. The work comprises Sadat's first term as president (1970-1976) and is divided into three phases: The Road to War (September 1970-October 1973); The Road of Diplomacy (November 1973-May 1975); and The Road of Pragmatism (June 1975-October 1976). The speeches are arranged in chronological order, selected analytically, eliminating repetitions, and subsequently placed in their proper historical context, which is expressed in the headings of the 25 chapters and in the brief introductions to each chapter. The work is concluded with an analytical index, in which some 13 themes can be found. Certain observations of President Sadat are also catalogued under a specific word, even when this particular word was not explicitly said.

Political observers and analysts no doubt are occupying themselves with the question of how Sadat will act in the future, and to what extent and in what manner he will be influenced by the ever changing circumstances, friendships and enmities, in the Arab world.

This collection of speeches provides the researcher with a handy "tool" (to be used of course carefully) in his attempt to understand the politician Sadat. The political analyst is provided with a source to give more depth to an analysis of some recent speech of Sadat's, when he is trying to solve the question of how Sadat could probably react to recent events: he can easily retrieve what Sadat has said in the past on a certain subject under either similar or different circumstances.

After the painful experience of the October 1973 War, the Israelis (and others) most probably have posed the question: Could we have foreseen this? Have we overlooked or underestimated indications in Sadat's speeches? Likewise Israeli as well as other political observers nowadays most probably are asking themselves how exactly Sadat's peace initiative must be interpreted in the long run. It is perhaps this kind of questions that gave Mr. Israeli the incentive to undertake the enormous task of which these three volumes are the result.

As to everything else, to this work also the words apply: "it could have been better", which however — it must be stressed — does not diminish its unique value. These three volumes would have provided a still handier "tool" for the interested reader, the researcher, and the political analyst, if in the introductions to each chapter the events significant for Sadat's speeches and statements had been described more fully and in more detail, for instance in the form of a chronology of events. The relationship

between events and observations would thus have been clearer and the general impression of these introductions especially when reading them one after another without reading the speeches, would have been less confusing. They would have formed a handy reference work for a period of Middle East history. From these introductions it also becomes clear to the reader, that Mr. Israeli certainly has looked at things with a not unbiased Israeli eye (...).

Nevertheless, to sum up: The Public Diary of President Sadat is indispensable in every political library. Besides this, President Sadat's speeches are interesting and very agreeable reading for specialist and amateur alike.

In the copy under review pages 421-428 were missing and the clearness of the printing ink was very irregular from page to page.

Leiden, May 1981

M. CUSTERS

* * *

TURKIJE

Thomas F. MATHEWS, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul. A Photographic Survey*. University Park and London, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976 (29 cm., xx + 405 pp., frontispiece, 1 map). Price: £ 40.00. ISBN 0 271 01210 2.

The author aims in this book to set before those interested in Byzantine architecture "a reasonably complete photographic documentation of the churches of ancient Constantinople". Hitherto the most comprehensive single volume devoted to this subject has been that of A. van Millingen (1912), who studied twenty-two churches in Istanbul. Thanks to archaeological exploration and restoration many more churches have since come to light. Included in M.'s survey are forty ecclesiastical buildings, some surviving more or less complete, some only partially standing, or in a deplorable state of repair, and a further group of churches or chapels which have been levelled or dismantled or whose foundations alone remain. In so far as a photographic documentation can be compiled for this group, it is gathered from photographic archives and occasionally from old engravings. Indeed, M. emphasises the important role which three photographic archives played in the whole of his work, namely those of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments in Istanbul, the German Archaeological Institute of Istanbul, and Dumbarton Oaks, including the collection of N. V. Artamonoff. The archives of the Society provided M. with several unpublished photographs of the Beyazit churches, and the German Archaeological Institute with two photographs taken in 1938 of Kasim Ağa Mescidi, a hitherto unpublished site. In addition to the thousands of photographs to which he had access in these and other archives, M. himself took 10,000 photographs of the various sites. Drastic editing has reduced their number in this book to 655.

Each church or group of churches is dealt with in a

short historical and archaeological introduction, followed by a bibliography of secondary works, a plan of the church or churches with a key to the positions from which the photographs were taken, and the photographs themselves. Wherever possible, M. gives both the Greek and Turkish names of the monument.

Some will consider M.'s decision to photograph only in natural light as a limitation, others may be disappointed that the various bibliographies, especially those concerned with the less well known sites, do not include the most significant ancient literary sources, but the fact remains that, like M.'s previous book on the early churches of Constantinople, this is an important, helpful work.

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam,
May 1981

P. ALLEN

Carter V. FINDLEY, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1980 (24 cm., xxxiii + 456 pp.). \$ 31.50. ISBN 0-691-05288-3.

A study of Ottoman bureaucracy and its reform in the last century-and-a-third of the Empire had been long overdue. Professor Findley, of the Department of History at Ohio State University, has now set out to fill this gap in our knowledge. As the subject is truly vast in nature, Findley limited himself to one of its most important aspects — the apex of the bureaucratic civil service pyramid, the Sublime Porte and those who staffed it. The author intended to "examine the development of this complex over the whole era of reform, paying particular attention to the evaluation of the organizational and procedural apparatus of administration, to the elaboration of the relevant body of laws and regulations and to change in the corporate state of the branch of the bureaucracy that staffed the agencies under study" (Preface, p. xx).

He has carried out this objective painstakingly, sifting through a multitude of Ottoman archival and other sources. The impressive result is a study which is rather extensive even though limited chiefly to the upper echelons of the Ottoman scribal service. The book covers the following main topics: The evolution of the ruling class and the emergence of the scribal service; the Sublime Porte and its officials on the eve of reform; reassertion of the Sultanate and foundation of the civil bureaucracy; the civil-bureaucratic hegemony of the *Tanzimat*; the First Constitutional Period and the return to Sultanate dominance and redefinition of the political balance.

The picture which emerges from Findley's detailed but coherent account and analysis indicates zig-zag patterns of reform in the top bureaucracy, several of which were frustratingly slow, while others were well-nigh revolutionary. The gradual transformation of the Sublime Porte into a large and structured organization was evidently only one facet of change in the Ottoman Empire. However, as Findley has also demonstrated, bureaucratic expansion in the nineteenth century was also one aspect in the rise of modernizing elites in the Empire. Growing rational

specialization was not merely a matter of mechanics, but rather a component of new social patterns, many of which are characteristic of Westernizing elites (one would be tempted to add, perhaps, 'and counter-elites') in the Ottoman Empire. As with other pioneering studies, one may learn about a great deal more from Findley's book than its main theme alone. In this particular case, considerable information is provided not only concerning bureaucratic reform, but also social, economic and legal change during the last generations of the Empire.

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, JACOB M. LANDAU
January 1981

MODERN IRAN

Gernot L. WINDFUHR, *Persian Grammar, History and State of its Study*, The Hague, Paris, New York, Mouton Publishers, 1979 (8vo, ix + 303 pp.) = Trends in Linguistics, State-of-the-Art Reports 12, ed. Werner Winter. Price: \$ 75.50. ISBN 90 279 7774 2.

While the insights and achievements of the linguistic approach to Persian grammar — with its vast store of technical terms and unfamiliar concepts — are not always easily accessible to most non-specialist Iranists, the specialist, too, may find it difficult to keep abreast of all developments in his field, especially those outside his own school. In providing a critical survey of the most important historical developments and current theories — mainly on questions of nominal and verbal syntax and morphology, and to some extent on phonology — the author therefore has a twofold aim: to enable the non-specialist to follow the main arguments and to offer the specialist a fairly comprehensive survey of the history and present state of the study of Persian grammar in the West (including the Soviet Union) since its beginning in the 17th century. The emphasis is naturally on problems and methods which continue to interest the present-day linguist. In most parts of the book, a general historical survey is followed by more detailed discussions of particular problems. There, advantages and disadvantages of various theories are briefly discussed and the author occasionally adds suggestions of his own.

The descriptive part of the book is followed by a bibliographical section, with an extensive alphabetical bibliography which includes an impressive number of Soviet publications, and an Appendix containing a topical bibliography.

In the Foreword, the author states that this book is the first volume of the whole survey, and is to be followed by a similar study on 'West Iranian dialectology'. Curiously, there is no indication of this on the title-page.

One of the problems in preparing a survey of this kind for specialists and non-specialists alike is, obviously, the difficulty of arranging the material in such a way that it will be useful to one group without becoming meaningless to the other. In this task the author has, on the whole, been successful. The non-specialist will find that the book

provides him with a good introduction to the problems, methods and results of this discipline. Specialists may welcome the concise summing-up of the various theoretical approaches, as well as the criticisms and personal contributions by the author, and will certainly be grateful for the bibliography. Special mention must be made of the interesting discussion of the Persian verbal system.

The success of the book in this respect is due, it would seem, to its scope, to the intrinsic interest of the subject and to the many examples which illustrate the text, rather than to any marked attempt at clarity in vocabulary or style. Even relatively simple propositions are couched in technical, or merely 'learned' terms, overlong sentences are the rule rather than the exception and the division of the paragraphs at times seems arbitrary.

For the specialist, the chief interest of the book may lie in the bibliographical part. The Alphabetical Bibliography draws from a wide range of sources and, apart from Persian grammar, partially covers such topics as lexicography, lexicology, language and writing reforms, borrowings and statistical studies. In view of its scope and importance, it is disappointing to find that a considerable number of publications referred to in the topical bibliography (by name of author and year of publication only), are not included in the alphabetical list. Thus of the eighteen references given under 'Mood/aspect' (p. 179), six are missing from the alphabetical bibliography altogether, and one (Qarib 1944) is listed under a slightly different name (Qarib-e Garakāni (p. 272), the name Qarib being used to refer to other authors).

Outside his own immediate field, the author sometimes makes strangely inaccurate statements. Thus, the definition of modern colloquial Persian as "the style which, according to Hodge, is used between persons *very well-acquainted* (my italics, GK), though they may not be on familiar terms as regards politeness level" (p. 7), scarcely seems to do credit to either Hodge or Windfuhr. The reference to "the 10th-11th centuries, when (Eastern) Dari-Persian gradually spread over the Western non-Dari, non-Persian speaking parts of Iran" (p. 158), leaves one wondering what language the inhabitants of Fars can have spoken, if not some form of Persian, and the statement that "it is quite uncertain which features of the early texts should be attributed to (late) Middle Persian and which to early modern Persian" (p. 169), seems to be begging the question why features of early New Persian texts are not *eo ipso* to be attributed to early New Persian.

Probably owing to careless use of language, the author seems to be saying on p. 94 that in his opinion the verbal prefix *bi* in contemporary Persian may be a marker of punctual or highly circumscribed action.

Although some of the points mentioned above, such as the obscurity of style and the lack of coordination between the two bibliographies somewhat lower the quality of the book, there can be no doubt that it will be very much appreciated by students of Persian grammar, both 'traditional' Orientalists and linguists.

Utrecht, January 1981

G. KREYENBROEK

* * *

Lutz RICHTER-BERNBURG, *Persian Medical Manuscripts at the University of California, Los Angeles. A Descriptive Catalogue*. Malibu, Cal., Undena Publications, 1978 (22,5 × 28,5, xxii + 297 S., 6 Abb. auf 4 Tafeln) = Humana Civitas. Sources and Studies Relating to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Published under the auspices of the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, UCLA. Vol. 4. ISBN 0 89003 026 X.

Innerhalb der Geschichte der islamischen medizinischen Literatur ist die persische Komponente noch weniger bekannt als die dominierende arabische Tradition. Für den Bereich der handschriftlichen Bestandsaufnahme gibt es außer A. Fohnans *Zur Quellenkunde der Persischen Medizin* (Leipzig 1910, nachgedruckt ebd. 1968) und C. A. Storeys Faszikel seiner *Persian Literature* (II 2 E, London 1971) nur Verstreutes; die umfangreiche Darstellung von C. Elgood, *A Medical History of Persia and the Eastern Caliphate* ..., Cambridge 1951, beruht zum großen Teil auf den Angaben der arabischen medizinhistorischen Tradition und der westlichen Sekundärliteratur und entbehrt der Grundlage einer kritischen Untersuchung der Werke selbst, von denen viele nach wie vor unveröffentlicht sind. Auch das Werk von M. Nağmābādī, *Tārīḫ-i ḡibb dar Īrān pas az Islām*, Tihṙān 1353, bietet methodisch nichts und materiell nur wenig Neues. Das unentbehrliche Handbuch von M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden/Köln 1970, das, *first things first*, die Darstellung ihrer literarischen Quellen zum Ziel hat, gibt über deren persischen Anteil keinen vollständigen oder gar in sich geschlossenen Überblick. Mit gewissem Recht: Wie in anderen Literaturzweigen dominiert das Arabische die anderen islamischen Sprachen durch schiere Quantität, über weite Strecken ist die 'persische' Medizin übersetzte oder anders adaptierte 'arabische' Medizin, und beide Bereiche haben weitgehend dieselben autoritativen Quellen. Daß dennoch die persische medizinische Literatur ihr eigentümliche Quellen, eigene Traditionsstränge und eine Reihe eigenständiger und wichtiger Autoren aufzuweisen hat, macht der vorliegende Katalog eindrucklich klar.

In der Sammlung orientalischer Handschriften der UCLA gehört die Medizin zu den besonders gut vertretenen Disziplinen. (Ein Katalog der arabischen medizinischen Handschriften wird von A. Z. Iskandar publiziert.) Die hier vorgestellten 134 Handschriften können fast die ganze Spanne der medizinischen Literatur in Iran repräsentieren; sie reichen vom ersten augenkundlichen Werk in persischer Sprache, *Nūru l-'uyūn*, verfaßt im Jahre 480/1087 von Abū Rawḥ Muḥammad b. Maṣnūr 'Zarrindast', bis in die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Die meisten Autoren gehören in die safawidische Periode, wie etwa Bahā'uddawla Nūrbahāšī, Yūsufi, Muzaḥfar 'Sifā'ī, 'Imāduddīn Maḥmūd Šīrāzī, Faḥruddīn b. Murtaḍā Maḥābādī, Nūruddīn Muḥammad, Muḥammad Mu'min Tunakābunī, Muḥammad Ḥāšim Ṭabīb-i Ṭihṙānī und Muḥammad Arzānī. Bekanntere Namen unter den vertretenen vor-safawidischen Autoren sind: Ismā'il Ġurġānī, Nağmuddīn Maḥmūd Šīrāzī, Ḥāğġī Zaynu l-'Aṭṭār, sein Sohn Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-'Aṭṭār und Maṣnūr b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Faqīh Ilyās. Spätere nennenswerte Autoren sind: Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Ḥādī und Muḥammad 'Alī al-Fānī. In seinem Vorwort (S. ix f.) weist Richter-

Bernburg freilich mit Recht darauf hin, daß unser jetziger Kenntnisstand nicht ohne weiteres erlaubt, von bekannten und unbekannten, nennenswerten und obskuren Autoren zu sprechen. Gerade das genaue Studium der handschriftlichen Überlieferung nötige zur 'Aufwertung' mancher bislang als *medici minores* geltenden Autoren, mache uns mit neuen Namen bekannt oder fördere Werke zutage, die vorerst anonym bleiben und bei aller offensichtlichen Bedeutung nicht zu datieren oder sonstwie einzuordnen sind. Für die zukünftige Identifizierung gerade solcher Exemplare ist die außerordentlich detaillierte Beschreibung der Handschriften besonders hilfreich.

Die Beschreibung orientiert sich am einzelnen Text, d.h., Sammelhandschriften (41 von den 134) werden als solche anlässlich des ersten in ihnen enthaltenen Werks vorgestellt, auf diese Stelle wird von den weiteren zugehörigen Werken verwiesen. Die Anordnung der datierbaren Texte (68 Titel, Nr. 1-149) ist chronologisch, es folgen einige undatierbare persische Übersetzungen arabischer Werke, die restlichen undatierbaren Texte (64 Titel) sind nach Sachgebieten geordnet: Anatomie, Hygiene u.ä., Handbücher, Therapie, Augenheilkunde, Sexualmedizin, *materia medica*, Glossare, Metrologie, Pharmakopöen und weniger zentrale Themen. Alle erwähnten Buchtitel und Personennamen (also auch der Schreiber, Besitzer, Herrscher usw.) sind in Registern erschlossen. Ihnen folgen zwei Indices der Incipits (mit und ohne Eulogien), welche die Identifizierung neuer oder problematischer Texte erleichtern sollen. Den Abschluß des Katalogs bilden chronologische Listen der datierbaren Werke und der datierten Handschriften, sowie Konkordanzen zwischen den Ms.-Zählungen der Bibliothek und des Kataloges. Die Beschreibung der Handschriften zeichnet sich durch große Sorgfalt und Umsicht aus. Sie verzeichnet alle wichtigen äußeren Daten, auch des Einbandes und des Papiers, gibt Auskunft über Schreiber-, Leser-, Geschenk- und Besitzvermerke, Stempel und andere Notizen und teilt, in der Orthographie des Manuskripts, Incipit und Explicit mit, in problematischen Fällen auch Kapitelfanfänge und -schlüsse, hier und da auch charakteristische Zitate. Diesen Angaben folgen Bemerkungen über den Text und seinen Autor. Abschließend sind weitere Handschriften des Werks zusammengestellt, auch solche entlegener Sammlungen, soweit sie nicht in Storeys *Survey* und in Munzavis Katalog persischer Handschriften (I, Tihṙān 1348) vorkommen.

Gerade die Diskussion der Werke und, soweit bekannt, ihrer Autoren enthält in konzentrierter Form eine große Zahl neuer Aufschlüsse über das einzelne Werk, seine Quellen, seine Überlieferung und sein Nachwirken, sowie über andere Werke des Autors und seinen biographischen Kontext. 'Deskriptive' Kataloge wie dieser sind nicht nur geeignet, der Historiographie der Medizin im Islam Impulse zu geben, sondern stellen mit der Fülle von Materialien erster Hand und ihrer Analyse für die Erforschung der islamischen Kulturgeschichte wertvolle Orientierungspunkte bereit.

Bochum, Oktober 1980

H. H. BIESTERFELD

VARIA

Jelisaveta S. ALLEN, *Literature on Byzantine Art 1892-1967*. Vol. 1, Part 1: *By Location*, Part 2: *By Categories*. London, Mansell Publications Ltd., 1973 and 1976 (Part 1: 4to, LXVIII + 518 pp., Part 2: 4to, XXVIII + 586 pp.) = *Dumbarton Oaks Bibliographies Series I*. Price: £ 24.00.

The formidable task envisaged by R.P. Blake, the founder of this bibliographical project, which was begun forty years ago, was "to make readily accessible the most comprehensive bibliography of Byzantine culture ever compiled". The first step was to make a card index on the basis of the bibliographies which appeared regularly in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. Since then the project has seen several changes of editors and different teams of assistants, set-backs which on the face of it would seem insurmountable in a work where a consistent methodology is of the essence. The present editor consequently deserves great praise for her coordination of the work produced in all the various phases of the undertaking, and for bringing this remarkable bibliography to its conclusion.

The bibliographical entries reproduce the original text of *BZ*, including unavoidably all its mistakes, gaps and absurdities, as H.-G. Beck, the present editor of the periodical, points out in a foreword. Entries are given by countries, with subdivisions for general literature, architecture, painting, sculpture and mosaics, followed by a classification according to regions or sites. Under each heading entries are given chronologically, following the order of their appearance in *BZ*. Notices of book reviews in *BZ* bibliographies are also included where there is otherwise no record of the work, or when it is a case of a review article. Two indispensable indices are provided at the end of Part 2 — an index of place names, thoroughly cross-referenced, and an index of authors.

This is the only work of its kind — a practical, easily used guide to what has been published in the field of Byzantine art and architecture over a period of more than seventy years.

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam,
May 1981

P. ALLEN

* *

Hans-Werner GOETZ, *Die Geschichtstheologie des Orosius*. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980. (21 cm., VIII, 180 p.) = *Impulse der Forschung*, Band 32. ISBN 3 534 08325 3.

In 416 Augustine, having finished the first ten books of his monumental *De ciuitate Dei*, instructed the Spanish priest Orosius, who two years before had fled to Africa, to compose a kind of supplement to his work. In order to refute the pagans who kept harping on the responsibility of Christianity for the contemporary disasters, he asked him to make a survey of the wars, murders, epidemics, floods, earthquakes etc. of the past. This survey was to be a short (*ordinato breuiter uoluminis textu*) and "purposely nontheological account of secular history" (T.E.

Mommsen, *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, Cornell UP 1959, p. 336).

Like a faithful and obedient dog (as he says himself in the prologue) Orosius speedily carried out his task, writing the seven books of his *Historiae aduersus paganos*. Unlike the normal plan of such general histories he started right at the beginning, the creation and the fall of man: *ego initium miseriae hominum ab initio peccati hominis ducere institui*. I quote these words, because the author of the book under review not without reason calls this start 'programmatisch' (50): "Mit dem Sündenfall brachte der rechtschaffen und unbefleckt erschaffene Mensch die Sünden in die Welt, denen wiederum die Strafen folgten". Orosius indeed did not content himself with a mere list of past catastrophes, his purpose was rather to show how in the present times, the *Christiana tempora*, the whole situation had improved considerably thanks to the Christian faith and the grace of the Lord.

Measured by the interest shown by later generations the *Historiae* were a great success: there are over 200 manuscripts and medieval chroniclers made abundant use of the work. These facts are reviewed in Goetz' final chapter "Zur Wirkungsgeschichte des Orosianischen Werks". The master, however, seems to have been less charmed with the result of his faithful dog's labour: there are no signs that Augustine made any use of the *Historiae* in the second part of *De ciuitate Dei*. Remarkably enough, he even criticized rather sharply an idea which Orosius had developed at some length in his 7th book, viz. the parallel between the ten plagues of Egypt and the ten persecutions of the Christians by the pagan Emperors. Such an idea according to Augustine had been invented *non propheticis spiritu, sed coniectura mentis humanae* (*De ciu.* XVIII 52). And besides Augustine's reflections on history were infinitely more profound than Orosius' 'progressivist' theories. Small wonder that the judgment on the latter's achievement generally speaking has not been favourable, F. Paschoud in the relevant chapter of his *Roma Aeterna* (Rome 1967) using the harshest terms, such as 'petit esprit', 'étroitesse intellectuelle' and 'régression vers la théologie politique'. These forbidding criticisms fortunately did not cut short all scholarly work on Orosius: in 1968 appeared E. Corsini's fine monograph *Introduzione alle 'Storie' di Orosio* and in 1976 A. Lippold followed up his preliminary studies with a nice Italian edition of the *Historiae* with an introduction, translation and scholarly notes. (For the text he basically used Zangemeister's edition = CSEL V).

Continuing the work of his predecessors H.-W. Goetz has set himself the task to provide a thorough description of Orosius' views on the course of history. As can be seen in the title, Corsini's modest "Introduzione" has now become nothing less than 'Die Geschichtstheologie'. Possibly this somewhat pretentious term, which may make some readers raise their eyebrows, is partly due to the characterization the Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft has given of its series 'Impulse der Forschung': "die Behandlung herkömmlicher Themen unter völlig neuen Aspekten", but in fairness to the author it should be stressed that he has a definite purpose. According to him it is unsatisfactory to consider the *Historiae* merely as an apologetic survey; that would be a confusion of the immediate cause of the undertaking, which indeed bore an apologetic

character, and the historical methods themselves: "Geschichtsschreibung kann überhaupt nur dann einer apologetischen Tendenz dienen, wenn sie zugleich Geschichtsdeutung ist" (22). The apologist can only achieve cogency by presenting history as a coherent system of events, guided by God's will, and thus the *Historiae* give evidence of a "Geschichtsinterpretation, die die Überzeugung des christlichen Apologeten vom göttlichen Heilsplan offenlegt" (36). It should be admitted that Goetz is quite convincing on this subject, although the expression "die tiefeschürfende Erklärungsversuche des Geschichtstheologen" (36) is too much of a good thing.

'Die Geschichte als Werk Gottes', the title of the second chapter, is perhaps the shortest and clearest formula to sum up Orosius' views. God guides the course of history, especially by punishing sin. Corsini (o.c. p. 98) provides this appropriate definition of Orosius' conception of history: "una serie ininterrotta di peccati da parte dell'uomo e di punizioni da parte di Dio". Goetz' German wording is more dignified: "Der Geschichtsablauf als eine geplante und gezielte Entwicklung steht ganz im Zeichen der göttlichen Lenkung, die in richtenden Eingriffen die Sünden der Menschen zu einem heilsgeschichtlichen Ablauf harmonisiert" (57). (I cannot resist the temptation to quote Paschoud's scathing comment: "il fait de Dieu une sorte de censeur myope qui taxe toute action humaine et la fait aussitôt suivre de la récompense ou de la punition due" (o.c. p. 290)).

Having laid his foundations in ch. II Goetz next discusses Orosius' doctrine of the four empires, his ideas about Rome's place in the history of salvation, and his 'Kaiser- und Staatsideal': no one will be surprised that Theodosius is Orosius' great favourite. The *Christiana tempora* have brought real progress, the *pax Augusta* has become a *pax Christiana*. This state of affairs manifests itself in a unity on all levels: one God, one Empire, one Emperor, one law, one faith, one Church (117).

In ch. V Goetz proceeds to a formal comparison between Orosius and Augustine. Once more he defends his author against depreciation and disdain: "Auch Orosius war ein Geschichtstheologe" (140), the highest praise, it would seem, that Goetz can imagine, although he fully acknowledges the vast difference between the master and his pupil. "Augustin a si profondément ressenti et exprimé la contingence radicale de toute cité terrestre, Orose nous fait assister à un glissement du surnaturel au terrestre", a very apt phrase of a great 'augustinien' — thus he styles himself —: H. I. Marrou.

Precisely with regard to comparisons Goetz confronts the reader with two disappointments. In the first place one rather misses an explicit comparison with the ideas emerging from the poems of Orosius' Spanish contemporary Prudentius. Both in his Hymn on Lawrence and in the *Contra Symmachum* the latter has unfolded an idea about the significance and the future of *Roma Christiana* which it would have been worth while to compare with Orosius' theories; cf. *Iam mundus te, Christe, capit quem congrege nexu / pax et Roma tenent* (*Contra Symm.* II 635/6). More important, however, is the absence of a discussion of the resemblances to the pagan way of thinking. Essentially the pagan complaints regarded Alaric's sacco di Roma as the price paid for the neglect of the pagan gods and their cults. Already in 384 Symmachus in his well-known third

relatio had warned against such dangers, cf. Roma's own words in the prosopopoeia of par. 9: *hic cultus in leges meas orbem redegit, haec sacra Hannibalem a moenibus, a Capitolio Senonas repulerunt*. The vehement reproaches with which Augustine had to deal after 410 were in the same vein, witness e.g. his 296th sermon: *Ecce quando faciebamus sacrificia diis nostris, stabat Roma, florebat Roma; ... prohibita (sunt) sacrificia deorum nostrorum, ecce quid patitur Roma* (7). But the laments of the Christians in fact sprouted from a quite similar conviction. How did it come about that Peter and Paul — the sermon was preached on the occasion of their *natalis* — and other martyrs had not prevented the catastrophe?: *sanctorum martyrum corpora iacent Romae, et misera est Roma, et uastatur Roma, affligitur, conteritur, incenditur* (6). Faithful worship and piety deserve to be rewarded with prosperity. Clearly Orosius is fully in line with such a way of thinking, and Paschoud cannot be far from the truth in ascribing to him "la vieille conception utilitariste de la religion, le *do ut des* des âpres paysans de Latium" (o.c. p. 291). Goetz agrees: "Stichhaltiger ist Paschouds Feststellung, Orosius rechtfertigt das Christentum letztlich mit denselben Argumenten, mit denen Symmachus das Heidentum verteidigt habe" (146), but it is a pity that he has refrained from a further discussion of this matter. This does not alter the fact that *Die Geschichtstheologie des Orosius* is a very useful and clear description of Orosius' historical views and methods.

Leiderdorp, February 1981

J. DEN BOEFT

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Gerhard PFOHL (Hrsg.), *Inschriften der Griechen, epigraphische Quellen zur Geschichte der antiken Medizin*. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977 (19 cm., VI und 221 S., 1 Faltafel) DM 34,- (für Mitglieder). ISBN 3-534-06326-0.

Anders als es der Titel vermuten lässt, betrifft es hier keine Sammlung medizinhistorisch wichtigere griechischer Inschriften, sondern einen Sammelband mit Aufsätzen über medizinhistorische Epigraphik. G. Pfohl hat die Beiträge ausgewählt und leitet sie ausführlich ein. An der Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg stimulierte er mit Erfolg die Zusammenarbeit zwischen den Forschern der griechischen Epigraphik und der Geschichte der Medizin. Er möchte „im Rahmen der Geschichte der Medizin und ins besondere der medizinischen Soziologie die medizinhistorische Epigraphik (...) begründen" (Einleitung, S. 8). Möglicherweise steht ihm eine Art corpus inscriptionum ad medicinam biologiamque spectantium, ein 1908 in Paris angefangenes Unternehmen, das „vorläufig" die Antike ausser Betracht liess, vor Augen. K. Sudhoff schrieb darüber 2 „Notizen", die als Anhang aufgenommen wurden.

Der erste Aufsatz aus diesem Band stammt von A. G. Woodhead: „Der staatliche Gesundheitsdienst im alten Griechenland" (1952). Dieser Artikel hat sehr viele Reaktionen ausgelöst, vor allem auch wegen der provozierenden These, dass es in der griechischen Welt in der klassischen und in der hellenistischen Zeit einen staatlichen Gesund-

heitsdienst ('State Health Service' analog zu dem britischen 'National Health Service') gegeben habe. Die Auffassung, dass man im antiken Staat die Sorge für das körperliche Wohlbefinden der Bürger als Obrigkeitssache betrachtet habe und dass die moderne Organisation der Gesundheitsfürsorge eine Rückkehr zum antiken Staatskonzept sei, ist unhaltbar. Schon die antiken Begriffe 'Staat' und 'Obrigkeit' unterscheiden sich grundsätzlich von den modernen. F. Kudlien hat in seinem RAC-Artikel „Gesundheit“, Sp. 918 (1978), gezeigt, dass von einer gezielten Politik zur Förderung der Volksgesundheit im klassischen Altertum keine Rede gewesen ist. Das Konzept eines antiken Wohlfahrtsstaates ist ein Anachronismus. Es kann auch nicht richtig sein, z.B. Testimonien über Gesundheitsfürsorge in dem wohl sehr atypischen ptolemäischen Ägypten zu verallgemeinern, wie W. es macht. L. Cohn-Haft hat in: „The Public Physicians of Ancient Greece“ (1956) schon auf beide Fehlurteile hingewiesen. Die Bemerkung auf S. 32, Anm. 1, dass die Ansichten von W. und Cohn-Haft im grossen und ganzen übereinstimmen, trifft denn auch nicht zu. (Vgl. jetzt auch: F. Kudlien, *Der griechische Arzt im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*. Abh. d. Akad. d. Wiss., H. 6, S. 18ff. — Mainz (1979). Klar ist, dass, abhängig von der Grösse der Polis, ein oder mehrere Ärzte als iatros dêmosieion (Arzt im öffentlichen Dienst) angestellt wurden, wobei sie sich dazu verpflichteten, während der Vertragsfrist in der Polis ihre Praxis auszuüben. H. M. Koelbing zieht in seinem Buch: *Arzt und Patient in der antiken Welt* (1977), S. 140ff. eine aufschlussreiche Parallele zu der Lage in abgelegenen schweizer Bergdörfern, wo der Arzt zur Aufrechterhaltung des notwendigen Versorgungsniveaus eine bestimmte Entschädigung neben den Einkünften aus seiner nicht sehr grossen Praxis empfängt. Die Anwesenheit eines ‚Gemeindearztes‘ bedeutete freilich nicht, dass alle Einwohner einer Polis ein Anrecht auf eine kostenlose Behandlung hatten. Kategorisch ist hier Kudlien (a.a.O., S. 39): „Es kann nicht nachdrücklich genug wiederholt werden, dass die Vorstellung eines antiken ‚Wohlfahrtsstaates‘ mit einem ‚staatlichen Gesundheitsdienst‘ unter den Griechen (...) nach all unserer Kenntnis pure Phantasie ist“. Dies gilt sowohl für die klassische als für die hellenistische Periode.

Im Jahre 1931 erschien R. Herzogs: *Die Wunderheilungen von Epidauros*. In seinem Beitrag: „Fünf Wundergeschichten aus dem Asklepieion von Epidauros“ (1963) übt W. Peek Kritik an den Interpolationen von Herzog. Peek konstituierte den Text der grossen Stele IG IV 23 (Wunderheilungen XLIV-XLVII) neu. Ein Nachtrag aus 1975 enthält eine Reaktion von Peek auf die Kritik von L. Robert an seiner Rekonstruktion von Wunder XLVII.

Von L. Robert selbst wurde aufgenommen: „Metrische Grabinschriften von Ärzten in Nicaea und Tithorea“ (1946). Hier zeigt sich, welche enormen Reisen die antiken ‚Wanderärzte‘ gemacht haben müssen: von Bithynien bis in Afrika und bis an die ‚Ströme des Okeanos‘.

J. und L. Robert zusammen behandelten: „Grabchrift eines Sportarztes in Thyateira“ (1950). Ein Arzt namens Heleis stand offenbar als archiatros in Diensten bei dem örtlichen Sportverein (2. Jh. oder Anfang des 3. Jh. n.Chr. Geb.). Nützlich sind auch die Addenda von J. und L. Robert, die ihre Arbeiten in Bezug auf Ärzte erwähnen.

In dem Beitrag von Dina Peppas Delmousoy: „Ein attisches Grabgedicht für einen Arzt aus Cypern“ (1963),

wird ein Epigramm auf den Arzt Aristocrates, der vielleicht mit dem von Galen XII 878-9 genannten Arzt und Grammatiker identifiziert werden kann, besprochen. Die Inschrift stammt aus der ersten Hälfte des 4. Jh. v.Chr. Geb. Der aufgenommene Aufsatz von Adolf Wilhelm: „Ärzte und Ärztinnen in Pontos, Lykien und Ägypten“ (1932) besteht aus kurzen Besprechungen von 6 Grabchriften männlicher und weiblicher Ärzte. Der Beitrag ist sehr lebendig und lesbar geschrieben worden. Über weibliche Ärzte schrieben vor kurzem auch S.B. Pomeroy: „Technikai kai Mousikai, the Education of Women in the Fourth Century and in the Hellenistic Period“, *American Journal of Ancient History* 2 (1977), 51-68 und D. Nickel: „Berufsvorstellungen über weibliche Medizinalpersonen in der Antike“, *Klio* 6 (1979), 515-8. H.W. Pleket hat in seinen *Epigraphica II, Texts on the Social History of the Greek World* (Leiden 1969), einige Beispiele weiblicher Ärzte gesammelt (Ch. 1, 1, 12, 20, 26, 27) mit Literaturverweisen, worunter auch drei Texte (12, 20, 26), die Wilhelm behandelt. Vgl. auch Kudlien a.a.O. (1979), S. 88-9. Wilhelms Interpretation von F. Bilabel: *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten III*, S. 25, Nr. 6160 finde ich nicht überzeugend. Allein aus den Worten πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων βοιθὸς εἶναι (Z. 4) kann nicht geschlossen werden, dass diese Inschrift einen Arzt betrifft.

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Im Jahre 1934 wurde von Th. Wiegand eine zerbrochene Marmorstele in dem unteren Stadtteil von Pergamon nahe den mutmasslichen Ruinen des Gymnasiums aus römischer Zeit gefunden. Die Stele enthielt eine griechische und eine lateinische Inschrift, deren ausführliche Veröffentlichung Rudolf Herzog besorgte unter dem Titel: „Urkunden zur Hochschulpolitik der römischen Kaiser“ (1935) und die hier vollständig aufgenommen wurde. Danach folgt eine Rezension von Herzogs Studie durch Werner Hartke (1938). Ausser von Hartke sind die von Herzog vorgeschlagenen Ergänzungen und Interpretationen dieser beiden äusserst wichtigen Inschriften bemerkenswerterweise kritiklos übernommen worden, z.B. von K. H. Below: *Der Arzt im römischen Recht* (1953), S. 8ff., 23ff. und von H.-I. Marrou: *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (1956⁶), S. 574, Anm. 15. Vor einiger Zeit hat K. D. Fischer: „Kritisches zu den Urkunden zur Hochschulpolitik der Römischen Kaiser“, *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 14 (1979) S. 312-321, einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Fortsetzung der Diskussion geliefert. Die griechische Inschrift enthält ein Edikt von Vespasian aus 74, das eine Anzahl von Privilegien, worunter immunitas (Steuerfreiheit) für Ärzte, Masseure und Lehrer. Ausserdem enthält die Inschrift d.h. laut Herzogs Ergänzung (Z. 13ff.), eine Bestimmung, die den Ärzten und Lehrern das Recht verleiht, collegia auf Hochschulebene zu gründen: „die Magna Charta der Hochschule“ (S. 183). Hartke (S. 209) lehnt diese Interpretation ab, da der entscheidende Ausdruck (Z. 14 συνόδοις) eine Ergänzung von Herzog ist, die nicht durch den Kontext, der sich auf das Asylrecht bezieht, verlangt wird. Selbst wenn man diese Ergänzung akzeptieren würde, bleibt dennoch die richtige Bedeutung der sunodoi (collegia) unklar.

Fischer hat das gesamte bis jetzt bekannte Material über Ärztecologia untersucht und gelangt zu der Schluss-

folgerung, dass sich nicht klar ergibt, was der Zweck der collegia nun eigentlich war: Ausbildung, geselliger Verkehr, Interessenvertretung? Unsere Vorstellung vom Arzt als Akademiker spielt uns hier einen Streich. Zurecht bemerkt J. Kollesch (*Klio* 61, S. 507, 1979): „Der Begriff des akademischen Berufes ist überhaupt nicht auf die Antike anzuwenden, da er an eine Universitäts- bzw. Hochschulausbildung geknüpft ist die es im Altertum nicht gab“. — Die medizinische Ausbildung ist immer eine rein private Angelegenheit geblieben. Auch in den Mouseia von Alexandria, Ephesos und Smyrna wurde der Unterricht nicht in einem bestimmten organisierten Zusammenhang gegeben. Die Unterrichtsbemühungen beschränkten sich auf informelle Zusammenkünfte bei den Gelehrten zu Hause oder in öffentlichen Gebäuden, vgl. M. L. Clarke, *Higher Education in the Ancient World* (1971), 109-112. Herzog (S. 183) sieht in der Akademie und im Peripatos von Athen eine Kultgemeinschaft und will deshalb auch Paragraph 3 der Inschrift als Erlaubnis zur Gründung einer Kultgemeinschaft interpretieren. J. P. Lynch, *Aristotle's School* (1972), 108-127 weist jedoch nach, dass weder der Peripatos noch irgendein anderes Athener Hochschulinstitut als solches organisiert war. Das macht die Parallele unbrauchbar. Die lateinische Inschrift ist nach Herzog ein Reskript von Domitian aus 93 oder 94. Fischer erwähnt in einem ‚Nachtrag‘ (S. 321) ohne nähere Argumentation, dass Sir Ronald Syme diese in die Zeit des Trajan datiert. Fest steht nur, dass das Reskript sich bezieht auf die Ausbildung von Sklaven in der Absicht, Profit daraus zu schlagen. Herzogs Interpolationen und Interpretationen, es handle sich hier um ein Verbot, Sklaven gegen Entgelt eine medizinische Ausbildung zu geben und diese freigebornen Jünglingen vorzubehalten, stehen im Widerspruch zur Praxis. Von republikanischer Zeit an bis in die späte Kaiserzeit ist es eher Regel als Ausnahme, dass ein Arzt Sklave oder Freigelassener ist. C. A. Forbes, *TAPA* 86 (1955), S. 343ff., übernimmt Herzogs Meinung kritiklos, aber nennt selber viele Beispiele, aus denen klar wird, dass die vorausgesetzte Massnahme nicht effektiv gewesen ist. Es kommt mir wahrscheinlicher vor, dass in dem Reskript die immunitas, das Asylrecht und andere Privilegien aus fiskalischen Gründen vom Kaiser auf eine bestimmte Gruppe beschränkt wurden.

Die Motive, die zur Aufzeichnung der beiden Inschriften gerade zu dieser Zeit (in der Regierungsperiode des Trajan oder des Hadrian, Herzog S. 124) und an diesem Ort (dem Gymnasium von Pergamon) geführt haben, sind noch undeutlich. Die Inschriften werden auch in Zukunft von grosser Bedeutung für unsere Kenntnisse in bezug auf die gesellschaftliche Stellung der Ärzte sein, aber der These einer „Magna Charta der Hochschule“ wird nicht jeder mehr beipflichten können.

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Jetzt noch einige Bemerkungen über die Gestaltung des Buches. Alle ursprünglich in französischer oder englischer Sprache verfassten Artikel wurden ins Deutsche übersetzt. Die Artikel wurden oft durch Anmerkungen oder Nachträge auf den neuesten Stand gebracht. Leider geht nicht immer deutlich hervor, wer für die Ergänzungen verantwortlich ist: der Verfasser oder der Herausgeber (z.B.

S. 32, Anm. 1; S. 61, Anm. 11; S. 65. Testimonium Z. 7; S. 87, Anm. 35)?

Die internen Verweise im Sammelband wurden bald wohl, bald nicht den neuen Seitenzahlen angepasst (z.B. S. 119, Verweis auf Sp. 243), was äusserst verwirrend wirkt. Es wäre praktischer gewesen, wenn neben den neuen Seitenzahlen auch die ursprünglichen angegeben wären.

Der Band ist eine gute Einführung in die griechische Epigraphik im allgemeinen und in die Sittengeschichte der antiken Medizin im besonderen, ein Gebiet, wo noch viel Arbeit getan werden kann. Der Band wird vor allem dem Leser, der im ‚epigraphischen Labyrinth‘ nicht bewandert ist, einen guten Einblick in das reiche Material, das die griechischen Inschriften in diesem Bereich bieten, geben.

Leiden, Januar 1981

H. F. J. HORSTMANSHOFF

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Maria Isabel Santa Cruz de PRUNES, *La genèse du monde sensible dans la philosophie de Plotin*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1979 (24 cm., 147 pp.) = Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences Religieuses, Volume LXXXI.

Readers of this periodical will be interested in this book for at least two reasons. Firstly, because the whole of the Plotinian system once more unfolds in this „panoramic“ study. I call „panoramic“ those overall studies of which A. H. Armstrong's *The architecture of the intelligible universe in the philosophy of Plotinus*, Cambridge 1940, is the masterpiece. Mrs de Prunes' book treats with clarity a great number of Plotinian concepts, whose systematic discussion was necessary because of her intention to concentrate on one of the major issues of the third century (AD) that Plotinus had to cope with in his own way: the evaluation of the sensible world as such. This may be considered as a second reason to rouse the readers' interest.

Gnostics could easily ascribe the badness of this world to Spirits fallen into sin, belonging to higher transcendental realms (cf. H. Jonas, „The Soul in gnosticism and Plotinus“, *Le Néoplatonisme*, Paris 1971, 45-53). As a (neo)platonist Plotinus could not and did not want to do this: in his view the transcendental realm of Being must be looked upon as good and exempt from evil. So evil and badness can only come in where Being is lacking: in Non-Being, i.e. matter, which is zero on the scale of Being. In this manner Plotinus ingeniously protected Being from evil because obviously Being admits of no Non-Being and in consequence, of no badness at all. But Being and Non-Being inevitably border upon each other. It is precisely in the sensible world that the two of them meet, which leads to the awkward question whether this world may be predicated good or bad or both. In order to elucidate this issue Mrs de Prunes makes it her main theme to show how the sensible world is necessarily an offspring caused and produced by higher levels (hypostases). Hence she reconsiders the whole system of Plotinus. The productive force in Plotinus is contemplation, very interestingly

explained by Mrs de Prunes as a combination of the aristotelian notions praxis and poesis (p. 14 sqq). The sensible world has its origin in the contemplation of Soul, the third hypostasis of Being and this is the reason why Mrs de Prunes devoted most of her pages to Soul and its problems. For it was in this realm of Being that Plotinus shaped his very complicated philosophical apparatus to make the transition of Being to the sensible world innocent and harmless to higher levels so that they are immune from evil, of which matter is the bearer. In this hypostasis one meets

- a) a universal Soul, which does not descend into this world and which is in standing contemplation of its predecessor, Mind, the second hypostasis, which comes immediately after the One.
- b) a lower Soul, called Nature (physis) producing by contemplation only reflections of Mind, which as forms descend into the sensible in order to coagulate with matter, but never to unite with it. Mrs de Prunes adds a very elucidating paragraph about Logos, which, too, admits of a division into a higher Logos, and lower logoi (p. 70 sqq).
- c) individual souls.

It is about this level of Soul that Mrs de Prunes argues with A.H. Armstrong, who on p. 86 of his book felt forced by the complexity of the Soul issue and Plotinus' terminology (hypostasis) to assume a fourth hypostasis: Nature, the lowest part of Soul. Mrs de Prunes contests this point (p. 83 sqq), partly following remarks of J. M. Rist (Plotinus, *The road to Reality*, Cambridge 1967), partly adding reasons of her own. But all this amounts to a case of shadow-boxing, for A.H. Armstrong abandoned his view in 1970 in his contribution to the *Cambridge History of later Greek and Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge 1970, p. 254). Mrs de Prunes may not have known this change of view when completing her dissertation in 1971 but she should have mentioned it in the present edition of her thesis (1979). So she gained the victory in advance, although admittedly her considerations are not without value. Mrs de Prunes is profoundly impressed by the fact that even matter is a necessary product of Soul and as such not wholly cut off from the One (p. 115), and also by the fact that it is the logoi that are the informing forces in this world. That is why she ascribes to Plotinus a positive evaluation of the sensible universe. The harmony and beauty found in this world and caused by its having originated in Soul are so attractive to Mrs de Prunes that — obviously — she deliberately makes "beauté" the last word of her book. In Plotinus, however, the problem of the status of this world is also to be observed from another point of view. In his treatise on Evil he makes highly negative statements about the sensible, calling it by a discrediting manner "genesis" because of matter (I, 8, 4, 20). He displays this disapproving tendency especially when considering the world as a realm of prison or negativity, in which the individual soul can get lost. It may be that this tendency goes against his own metaphysical intentions, but its presence is undeniable. Although Mrs de Prunes discusses the problems of matter, evil and Non-Being at length (connecting this concept very instructively with Plato's Sophist p. 95 sqq), she underestimates this aspect in her evaluation and fails to bring or is not really willing to bring this aspect into balance with the optimistic point

of view of Plotinus, stressing the latter aspect too much. It seems to me to testify to audacity (tolma!) to attempt to solve a problem which ultimately Plotinus in his ambivalence did not or could not solve himself. The evaluation of this world remains, after all, a matter of approach: from the side of Being in the sensible world or from the side of matter.

Brevity of argumentation is a drawback inherent to "panoramic studies". This shows especially in the argument with the view of C. Rutten (*Les catégories du monde sensible dans les Ennéades de Plotin*, Paris 1961), which is diametrically opposed to the optimistic view that Mrs de Prunes expresses about the sensible and its existence. C. Rutten defends a nominalistic interpretation of Plotinian philosophy. His case Mrs de Prunes treats in a note, p. 131, n. 16 without even mentioning the texts adduced by C. Rutten as evidence. Another disadvantage of this book, already alluded to in the "Armstrong-case", is the gap of information between its completion in 1971 and its publication in 1979. I would like to focus attention on another case of missing information: the Soul-Sister-theory of Plotinus published in 1971 by H.J. Blumenthal ("Soul, World-Soul, and Individual Soul", *Le Néoplatonisme*, 55-56) accepted by Armstrong ("Form, Individual and Person", *Dionysius*, 1977, 49-68) and recently commented on by W. Helleman-Elgersma (*Soul-Sisters, A commentary on Enneads IV 3 (27) 1-8 Plotinus*, Amsterdam 1980).

According to this subtle view the universal Soul is parent both to the World-Soul and the individual souls, so that they are sisters, senior and junior. This is a pattern quite different from the traditional view, according to which individual souls stem from the World-Soul as the highest level in Soul. This new genealogy should have had its impact on pages 117-119, or it should at least have been mentioned. The negative tendency of some of my remarks does not detract from the fact that this book is well written, and conspicuous for its clarity and for the congeniality of the author with Plotinian philosophy: it is highly useful because of its thorough treatment of the vast range of Plotinian concepts in such a limited space. The circumstance that such an expert on Plotinus as P. Hadot wrote a Foreword expressing his gratitude alone may serve as a recommendation. Some misprints (pp. 48, 62, 132) and even a lacuna (p. 128) I regret to notice.

Leiden, February 1981

P. A. MEYER

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Friedrich SECK, *Isokrates*. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976 (8vo, VIII + 379 S.) = Wege der Forschung, Band CCCLI. Preis: DM 70.-. ISBN 3 543 05713 9.

Langweiligere Prosa als die des Isokrates, aber auch historisch und bildungsgeschichtlich interessanter lässt sich schwer finden. Die sechzehn im 361sten Band der „Wege zur Forschung“ neu veröffentlichten Aufsätze weisen somit kaum einiges Interesse an seinem übergepflegten Stil auf. Dennoch zeigen sie eine gewisse Vielseitigkeit hervor, welche sich gerade bezieht auf den gegen-

ständlichen Gehalt. Ich beschränke mich hier auf sechs Beispiele.

Die chronische Aporie hinsichtlich des Urteils Platons über Isokrates wird von Erbse (1971) angeschnitten anlässlich des Phaidroskommentars von G.J. de Vries (1969), welcher Platons verhältnismässig günstiges Urteil (*Phdr.* 279 a ff.) als „beissender Sarkasmus“ erledigt hatte. An etlichen Parallelstellen zeigt Erbse wie wenig Isokrates' *technè* und dessen Trias *Begabung, Kenntnis, Übung* den platonischen Anforderungen entsprachen. Jedoch gilt Isokrates, trotz seinem Kultus des gesunden Menschenverstandes und der Bürgermoral, trotz auch seiner Verwandtschaft mit Sophistik und naïvem Realismus, für Platon begabter und sittlicher als z.B. Lysias. Wenn Platon in ihm einen „göttlichen Drang“ und Begabung für Philosophie (im platonischen Sinne) verspürt, macht sich, vielmehr als Ironie, ein „ehrliches Bedauern“ laut „dass eine offenbar einzigartige Gelegenheit nicht genutzt werden konnte“. Man fragt sich indessen ob nicht auch Bedauern (ehrliches oder unehrliches) sich mit irgendwelcher Art von Ironie oder Sarkasmus verträge.

Mme de Romilly behandelt die *eunoia* als Zentralthema bei Isokrates, der sie den führenden Mächten als Bedingung zur *homonoia* unter ihren Bundesgenossen und dem individuellen Herrscher (wie Philippos von Makedonien) als seine Herrschaft förderendes Mittel empfiehlt. Die aus der *eunoia* hervorgehende *doxa* des Einzelnen beruht eben auf dem Vermögen so viele wie möglich zu seinen Einsichten (*doxai*) zu bringen. Diese *doxa* und *doxai* befinden sich halbwegs zwischen den absoluten ethischen und erkenntnistheoretischen Anforderungen Platons und dem Pragmatismus eines Thukydids, der die *eunoia* als politischen Faktor zu unterschätzen geneigt ist.

Drerup (1895!) zeigt wie der *Panegyrikos* vom Königsfrieden (386) veranlasst wurde. Mässiges Lob für die Vergangenheit Spartas und Angriffe gegen die aktuelle spartanische Politik zielen eher ab auf die Begründung des neuen Bündnisses, das den Krieg mit Persien vorbereiten sollte, als auf die Förderung der *homonoia*.

Jüthner bestreitet die Ansicht, Isokrates' *humanitas*-Ideal beziehe sich auf jeden Gebildeten, ungeachtet seiner Herkunft. Die menschenwürdige Bildung wird eben reserviert für diejenigen unter den Griechen, die eine Erziehung im Sinne Isokrates genossen haben.

Momigliano behandelt Europa als politische Idee, die in ihrer zweideutigen und vorläufigen Art durch das Weltreich Alexanders überholt wurde.

Von Hagen führt Isokrates als Fürstenerzieher vor. Er entlarvt die Legende von seinem Tod durch Hungerstreik infolge der Niederlage bei Chaironeia (338). Alexander habe im Perserkrieg, besonders aber im Bündnis mit den Griechen, Isokrateische Gedanken verwirklicht. In seinem Brief an Philippos greift er der Vergöttlichung des hellenistischen Fürsten vor, wie sehr er auch die Anbetung (*proskynesis*) Sterblicher abweist.

In diesen Aufsätzen, denen sich zehn andere spezialistischer Art anschliessen, hat der Lesende ein hochwürdiges Instrument zum weiteren Studium des umstrittenen Autors in Händen.

Februar 1981

J. TH. M. F. PIETERS

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ONTVANGEN BOEKEN

ALGEMEEN

C.A.O. van Nieuwenhuijze, *Between Glorious Past and Uncertain Future. Essays on the Prospects and Hazards of a Come-back of the Middle East as a World Civilization*. Napoli, Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1981 (24 cm., VI + 298 pp.).

Vergote, Antoine and Alvaro Tamayo, *The Parental Figures and the Representation of God. A Psychological and Cross-Cultural Study*. The Hague, Paris, New York, Mouton Publishers, 1981 (24 cm., XII + 255 pp., 1 folder) = Religion and Society 21. DM 55,-. ISBN 90 279 3059 7.

Weiler, Ingomar, *Der Sport bei den Völkern der alten Welt. Eine Einführung mit dem Beitrag „Sport bei den Naturvölkern“ von Christoph Ulf. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1981 (20 cm., XVIII + 305 S.).* ISBN 3 534 07056 9.

EGYPTOLOGIE

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Baginski, Alisa and Amalia Tidhar, *Textiles from Egypt 4th-13th Centuries C.E.* Jerusalem, L. A. Mayer Memorial Institute for Islamic Art, 1980 (25 cm., 176 pp.).

Barc, Bernard, *L'Hypothèse des Archontes. Traité gnostique sur l'origine de l'homme, du monde et des Archontes* (NH II,4), suivi de Noréa (NH IX,2) par Michel Roberge. Louvain, Éditions Peeters, Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1980 (24 cm., 174 pp.) = Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi, section Textes, no. 5. FB 900.-. ISBN 2 7637 6889 X.

Begelsbacher-Fischer, Barbara L., *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des Alten Reiches im Spiegel der Privatgräber der IV. und V. Dynastie*. Freiburg, Universitätsverlag, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981 (24 cm., 336 S.) = Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, 37. ISBN 3 7278 0249 9 (Universitätsverlag), 3 525 53345 4 (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).

Bietak, Manfred, Avaris and Piramese. *Archaeological Exploration in the Eastern Nile Delta*. London, The British Academy, 1981 (25 cm., II + 65 pp., 38 pls.) = Mortimer Wheeler Archaeological Lecture. Price: £ 2.75. ISBN 0 85672 201 4.

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